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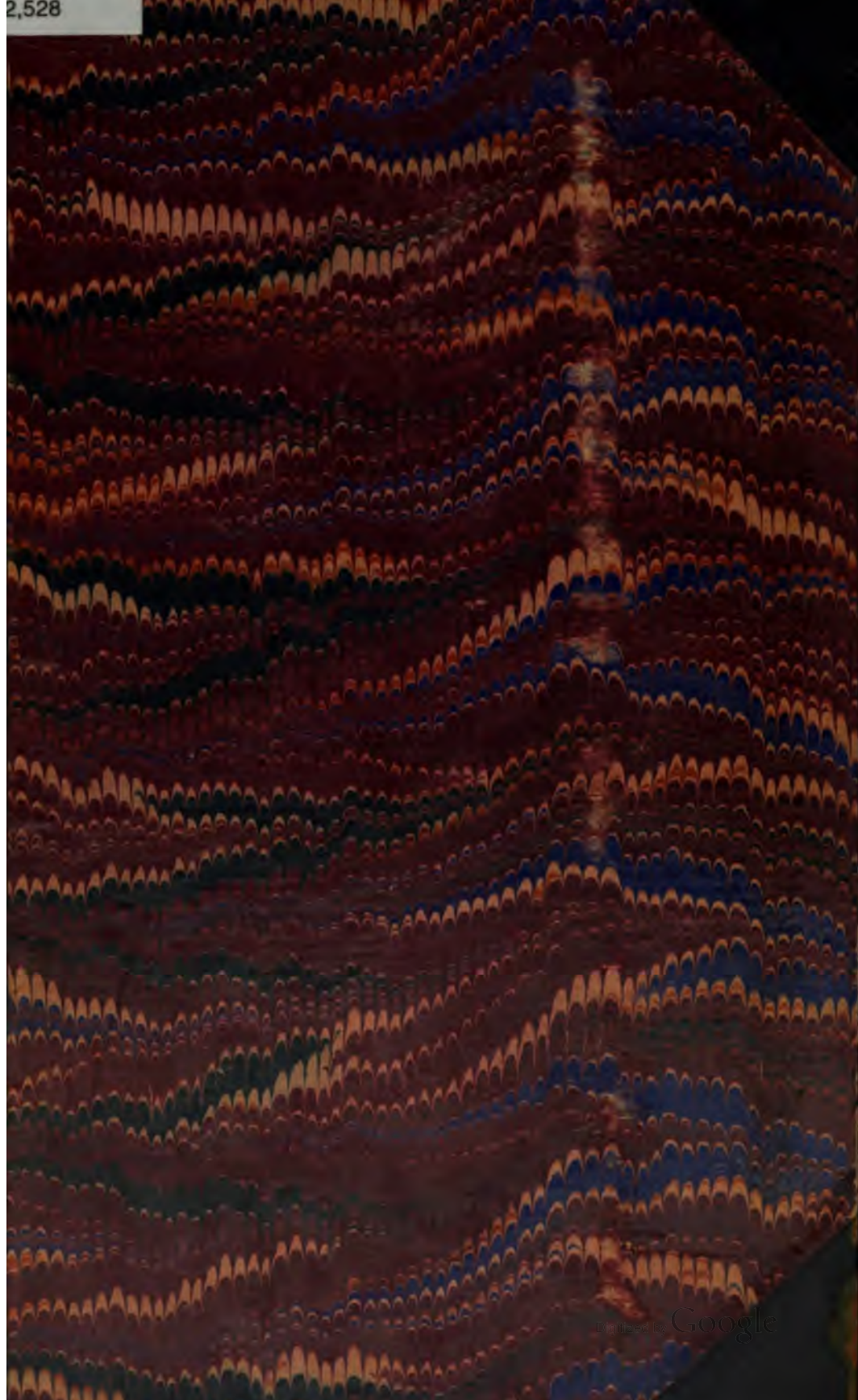
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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

SESSION 1901-2.

(FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT.)

VOL. V.

(Comprising the period from 3rd October, 1901, to 7th November, 1901.)

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Mr. REID.—Of course not; but supposing the officer had a suspicion that a person came under sub-clause (d), he could “dish” him under sub-clause (a) by putting, for instance, a Russian test to a German, who seemed to be suffering from some infectious disorder.

Mr. BARTON.—If the doctor gave a certificate that a man had not a loathsome disease when he apparently had, I do not know what we should do, but I think we should take care to keep the fellow out.

Mr. REID.—But surely this sub-clause is intended as a convenient way of solving doubts. If a Customs officer has a suspicion that a man is likely to become a public charge, or that he has some disease, or has been convicted of an offence, he will catch him under sub-clause (a) by giving, perhaps, a Frenchman a test in the Turkish language.

Mr. BARTON.—There is no intention to play any tricks at all.

Mr. REID.—Not any, but the one trick.

Mr. BARTON.—The trick the right honorable and learned member is familiar with.

Mr. REID.—Do I understand that the Ministry are copying my old familiar trick? Is that the function of this galaxy of talent?

Mr. BARTON.—God forbid!

Mr. REID.—Unfortunately the Ministry pick only my worst attributes, instead of my best; but I hope that during the next two or three days they will study my best attributes and my desire to keep taxation on a sound basis.

Mr. BARTON.—We should like a photograph of the right honorable gentleman's attribute, because that might not change so much.

Mr. REID.—On the fiscal question, the Premier must not talk about change. I am where we were together 30 years ago, when he spoke of the Chinese wall that protectionists built round Australia. I have had the satisfaction of carrying out the glorious ambition he and I had, as young politicians in New South Wales, in the way of freedom of commerce. The Prime Minister went the other way; he had to do it, I admit, because there was not room for him on our side. But I do not want to go into any of these old matters, though the Prime Minister has tempted me to say a word or two. I hope there will be, at least, the satisfaction of an assurance that so far as Europeans are

concerned, his clause is not intended to be applied.

Mr. BARTON.—There is no necessity for any further declaration, which has been given over and over again.

Mr. REID.—I understand that has been so stated.

Mr. BARTON.—The right honorable member knows that it has.

Mr. REID.—I confess that I do not, because one has to read so many pages of what the Prime Minister says, in order to find out what he means. But I take his assurance across the table, because his assurances are always straight.

Mr. BARTON.—Nobody knows the debates better than the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. REID.—I assure the Prime Minister that I have not read more than 200 or 300 lines of *Hansard*—at any rate I have not read my own speeches. I understand that this Bill is not aimed at Europeans, but that sub-clause (a) may be used against Europeans of doubtful reputation, under the other sub-clauses. I cannot say much more. The Prime Minister has the ear of the House, and the Bill is practically through, and I simply wish to do justice to the attitude I have taken up in the matter.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia).—I rise to express my sincere sympathy with the honorable and learned member for Parkes in the way in which he now finds he is trapped. I am really astonished that the honorable and learned member takes such great exception to this new phase of the question. He must have known that the Bill as it stands to-day is in fact, or will be when it becomes law, a legalized lie. If a similar Bill had been administered as this one reads, it would have kept out half the pioneers of these States. We ought to blush for shame in this first Federal Parliament, when, instead of having the courage to state our case and make our position clear, we legalize a lie.

Mr. PIESSE.—Question!

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member does not deny what I am saying?

Mr. PIESSE.—Yes, I do; the honorable member has not read the Bill.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have read the Bill often. Each day shows fresh developments in connexion with it. The other day the honorable and learned member for Indi, when trying to get an amendment inserted, uttered a tirade against the measure on the ground of its ineffectiveness. The honorable

and learned member for Parkes stands in a different position in regard to the measure from other honorable members, because he made no secret of his intention to vote for the Bill on the ground that it would let people in.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Some of them.

Mr. POYNTON.—Now he is complaining because he finds that it will not do so.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is not why I complain.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member complains that, if we passed the Bill as it stands, we should be the laughing-stock of the world. I am not so concerned about that, however, as I am about the fact that the Bill, on the face of it, is a living lie. If it had not been for the scourge applied to honorable members last week, the Bill would not have been passed through committee in its present form.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Bunkum.

Mr. POYNTON.—The Bill has been carried through because of the ignominious threats of dissolution made by the Government.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—And threats of resignation.

Mr. POYNTON.—Yes. All those who have spoken against the provisions of the Bill have been characterized as disloyal. I think, however, that those who wish to exclude all but European races from this continent are more loyal from the stand-point of the future interests of this country and of England than are those who would allow aliens to come in so long as they can pass an education test.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who is prepared to do that?

Mr. POYNTON.—All who voted for the Bill as it stands. The honorable member spoke one way and voted the other.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not true.

The CHAIRMAN.—I ask the honorable member for South Australia to confine himself to the amendment, and not to reflect upon the action of other honorable members.

Mr. POYNTON.—I feel very strongly upon this subject, and I shall speak my mind upon it. However, I have nothing further to say at this stage, though there will be some strong talking on the Bill before it finally leaves the Chamber.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—The other evening, when this

matter was discussed, there was really no debate so far as honorable members on the Ministerial side of the Chamber were concerned. Honorable members on this side represented the very anomalous position in which we should be placed if we passed the clause as it stood, and we only had the statement of the Prime Minister, which he reiterated this afternoon, that it would do what was desired. I think that the honorable and learned member for Parkes has been hardly dealt with, and that he did not foresee, when he took his previous attitude, the tremendous anomalies which would occur under the Bill. Perhaps, if he had done so, he would have voted for the amendment. What he desires to point out now is that in the action we are taking to-day we are to a certain extent transgressing the very principles of legislation. An ordinary person reading the clause would say that it meant that any European coming here might be required to submit himself to a test of his knowledge of his own language. That is the common-sense reading of the clause, and, under ordinary circumstances, when a question arises as to the interpretation of a provision in an enactment, Parliament is willing to assent to an amendment which will make its intentions perfectly clear. The honorable and learned member for Parkes asks that that be done in this case. We are dealing now with an international question, and our determination may have a serious effect upon shipping interests. Unless it is distinctly declared under what conditions persons may come here, how can a ship-owner or ship-charterer know whether he will be permitted to land certain passengers? The clause as it stands would prohibit all immigration, because it practically amounts to a statement to the world that we do not want any people, whatever their race or language, to come here. What ship-owner would take the risk of bringing any large number of manual labourers to this country if there were the slightest risk of having to take them back again? If the clause is passed as it stands, we shall declare ourselves to be an absolutely uncivilized people. In my opinion we should clearly state what our intention is. It is all very well for the Prime Minister to say that he will issue certain instructions and regulations, but it must be remembered that they will have to be carried out by subordinate officers all over the Commonwealth.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—And they will not be known to persons at home.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—If he is not going to straightforwardly carry out the provisions of the clause, how can he give definite instructions which will be applicable to every case? It is only definite and distinct instructions that the Customs officers can act under. By passing the clause as it stands, we publish it to the world that we not only prohibit the immigration of aliens from Asia and Africa, but make it questionable whether any ship-owner or ship-charterer may bring to our shores any body of men from European countries as well.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH (Parkes).—I should like to say a word or two in the nature of a personal explanation. I am, and I hope always shall be, desirous of being clearly understood by honorable members. A remark made by the honorable member for Bland, however, showed that that honorable member quite misunderstood the attitude I have taken up. He practically suggested that I was sorry for something I had done.

Mr. WATSON.—No. I said that I quite understood and appreciated the position of the honorable and learned gentleman, which was distinct from that of any other member of the committee.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I understood the honorable member to say that I seemed to be harking back on a question which had been decided against me. I do not, however, wish to do that. My responsibility was gone the moment a division was taken, and my vote recorded. What I found fault with was that, while the committee evidently intend that any European shall be allowed to come here if he can pass an examination in his own language, they are not stating that intention on the face of the Bill.

Mr. WATSON.—We admit that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If it is admitted that the intention of the committee is that any European may come in here who can pass an examination in his own language—

Mr. REID.—Without passing an examination. That is the statement of the Government.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Is the right honorable and learned member, with his experience of political life, satisfied that an important matter of this sort should be

left to the Government or a Custom-house officer?

Mr. REID.—I should think not.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—As the clause stands, if a Messageries steam-ship came here with a number of Italians on board, the captain could not be sure that, because of some ephemeral excitement, the Government would not instruct the Customs officials that it was undesirable to allow them to land; because it would be open to the Government, acting strictly within the provisions of the Bill, to require those Italians to pass an examination in Russian, which, of course, would be tantamount to prohibiting their landing. In the State of New South Wales there was for a short time a most violent agitation against Italians, because of the large number of persons of that race who had engaged in fruit-selling in Sydney, and it was felt that they were interfering very much with English, Irish, and Scotch people who were following the same pursuit. Honorable members will recollect, too, that some time ago there was an agitation in New South Wales in regard to the importation of a large number of Italians who came with some special knowledge of street asphaltting. I mention these instances to show that I am within the province of the practical in dealing with this difficulty. But under the clause it is open to the Government to instruct a Custom-house officer to do what would result in the shutting out of a body of Italians, or of any other persons of European race, by requiring them to pass an examination in a European language not their own. But the committee never intended that an European should be submitted to an examination in some language other than his own. I can see now how the difficulty has arisen. When I left the House on Friday last, the word "dictated" was in the place now occupied by the word "directed," and any one reading that clause would understand that the word dictated did not refer to the language but to the words, and therefore it was intended that the 50 words should be in an European language, which words should be dictated to the immigrant.

Mr. GLYNN.—That was read otherwise.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The word "dictated," which obviously referred to the words constituting the passage, was taken out, and the word "directed" substituted,

and now the paragraph is open to the interpretation, not that the words, but that the language, shall be directed by the officer, and the alteration has, no doubt, rendered the words of the paragraph open to a double interpretation.

Mr. GLYNN.—We have got rid of one difficulty and created another.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Very likely, but that is not my fault. When I was last acquainted with this clause, it was in such a condition that it would have permitted any European to come into the Commonwealth after passing an examination in fifty words of his own language, dictated by the officer. Even as the clause stood then it was open to objection, which I privately pointed out to the Prime Minister before I left. I stated that the form of words was liable to misinterpretation, because it might be contended that the officer or person administering the Act could determine the language to be used for the test, whereas the intention might be that the language should be selected at the option of the European who came here. As to my being caught in a trap, I am not at all anxious to clear my reputation with regard to my liability to be caught in traps—not at all—and the honorable member's little "twitting" phraseology does not affect me. I admit that I saw the danger last week—I saw the danger even before the word "directed" was substituted for "dictated"—and I have the satisfaction of knowing that I pointed it out to the Prime Minister. I remember now, and read in quite a new light, the answer he gave me on that occasion, because I can see that this equivocal feature of the clause has been kept back as a means of shutting out people who are not directly and honestly excluded by the Bill. I am very much obliged to the honorable member for Wentworth for his sympathy, but I do not at all regret having voted against the amendment to exclude all Asiatics, Africans and Pacific islanders. If I had voted for that I should have remembered it with great regret, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that joined in passing the clause in such a form that, read in the light of common every-day interpretation, it would have allowed a civilized European citizen to come into Australia so long as he could pass the test in his own language. If it is now open to the Government by an insidious method to exclude Europeans by asking them to pass a test in a language other

than their own, that is one of the unfortunate results of using language which is sometimes capable of two or three interpretations; and I protest against any measure which goes forth to the world conveying a meaning other than that which any person reading it in an every-day way would put upon it.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—What took place the other day was this:—I suggested that the paragraph should be amended by providing that the test should be "a passage of 50 words in length dictated by or at the instance of the officer, in any European language selected by the immigrant." That, of course, would have been perfectly fair, and would have been an ingenuous method of legislating in order to secure our object. The Government, however, abandoned my suggestion, and substituted the word "directed" for the word "dictated," and as I could not carry my own amendment I had to accept theirs. I did, however, object to it as being bad for the reasons given by the honorable member for Parkes—that it made it more clear that the choice of the language was to be in the hands of the officer. We got rid of one difficulty, which would have arisen if the officer were not able to read some of the European languages, but we created another difficulty which has been pointed out by the honorable and learned member for Parkes.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It was the honorable and learned member who was caught in a trap.

Mr. GLYNN.—No; because if we had left in the word "dictated" the officer might not have been able to read a passage in, say the Hungarian language, and might perhaps exclude an immigrant who would otherwise be able to pass the test, and the amendment was made so as to give an opportunity to the officer to act to some extent honestly.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I desire to make a suggestion quite apart from the matter we have been discussing. It has been represented to me by the manager of one of the big shipping companies that arrangements might be made for the appointment of inspectors, who might subject intending passengers to the necessary supervision at the principal ports of departure. This is a matter of administration, and it might involve some alteration of the Bill, but I commend it to the earnest consideration of the Government as a practical suggestion

which might relieve the Government as well as the shipping companies and the intending immigrants. I think it must be obvious that with regard to prohibited immigrants of the classes set forth in this clause, such as persons likely to become a charge upon the public, idiots, persons suffering from infectious diseases and so on, it would be a great protection to the shipping companies if the Government were to take power to appoint agents at the principal ports abroad so that an opportunity might be given for examining passengers before they leave for the Commonwealth. The great bulk of our immigrants come from a few ports in the mother country and in Europe, and it would not be necessary to make many appointments. The Government, therefore, might consider the propriety of altering the Bill—in another place, if it is too late here—in the direction I have indicated. The agents should of course be men in whom the Government could implicitly trust, and the shipping companies could afford every facility for the examination of their passengers so as to insure the rejection of prohibited persons.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat — Attorney-General).—I think that the Bill as drawn would permit of such appointments, because the definition of “officer” means not only an officer of Customs, but any officer appointed under this Act, and clause 14 provides that subject to any Act relating to the public service, the Governor-General may appoint officers for carrying out the provision of the Bill, and may prescribe their duties. Practically, therefore, there is no limitation to the appointments that may be made. The suggestion made is practical from every point of view. It is not desired that persons who are certain to be rejected should be brought here at great expense and inconvenience, and it would facilitate the operations of the shipping companies, and also our own, if an inspection were made at the port of departure. So far as ship-owners are concerned, we might consider whether by affording facilities for a prior practical scrutiny of passengers, they might not be absolved from any accusation of wantonly bringing undesirable immigrants to our shores. Of course the Government would not renounce its right to reject those passengers if circumstances should arise to render that course advisable.

Paragraph (a), as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8A:—

Any person coming within the definitions of a prohibited immigrant contained in section four and not naturalized within the Commonwealth, who is convicted of any crime of violence against the person, shall be liable on the expiration of any term of imprisonment or penal servitude imposed on him therefor to be deported from the Commonwealth pursuant to any order of the Minister.

Mr. DEAKIN.—This clause was accepted at the instance of the honorable member for Coolgardie. As it stands it relates back to people now here who would have been prohibited immigrants, and provides that if they are afterwards convicted they shall be liable to be deported. There are persons in Australia at the present time, who if they come within the scope of any part of clause 4, will be liable to be dealt with in the manner described in this clause. Clause 4 not only deals with persons who come under paragraph (a), but prohibits persons who are likely to become a charge upon the public, idiotic or insane persons, persons suffering from infectious or dangerous diseases, or persons coming here under contract to perform manual labour. So that if honorable members look at the clause as it stands it will be seen that it relates back to a great variety of persons. A man, for instance, might contract an infectious disease, and be brought within the scope of this clause.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What harm would there be in that?

Mr. DEAKIN.—This clause covers Europeans as well as others, and is very extensive in its scope, and I am sure the honorable member who moved it did not intend that it should be so far-reaching. If you admit that what is required here, as in other places, is, without putting it on the face of the Bill, to as far as possible reach those not of European birth, then it is necessary to introduce some restriction. It is not sufficient to limit it to clause 4, paragraph (a), because that provision applies also to Europeans. Consequently, the only manner in which I can suggest a limitation which will get rid of most of the coloured people—for after all this is not an important power, and it is one which will rarely be exercised—is by the proposal which has been submitted. As the honorable member for Coolgardie proposed it, it would not apply to those who are naturalized in the Commonwealth. This is the only form in which I find it possible to restrict the operation of

the provision in such a way as to carry out the intention of its mover, without sweeping into the net the whole body of Europeans who might, from some circumstances, come within the meaning of clause 4.

Mr. ISAACS.—How will that work? It refers to prohibited immigrants under sub-clause (a), and it must be assumed that a prohibited immigrant does not enter the Commonwealth.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It refers to any person who comes within the definition of a prohibited immigrant. The aim is that it shall date back, and that any person found in the Commonwealth under the circumstances set forth, who cannot comply with the requirements of clause 4, either in whole or in part, shall be capable of being deported.

Mr. GLYNN.—It is not worth talking about, because it is impossible to deport these men.

Mr. DEAKIN.—There is no physical impossibility in deporting them.

Mr. GLYNN.—But there is a financial one.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I do not think that the clause is likely to be used in many cases. My object is to restrict its application to those who are not Europeans, and to provide that when convicted, although they are in the Commonwealth, if they are unable to comply with the requirements of clause 4, paragraph (a), they may be deported.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—The object of the Attorney-General I am afraid will not be achieved by this clause. If the provision remains in its present form, or if it is passed in the amended form suggested, it will be an impossibility to apply it in any case, because a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of paragraph (a) of clause 4, is a person who is prevented from landing.

Mr. DEAKIN.—There are prohibited immigrants within the Commonwealth.

Mr. ISAACS.—What I think the Attorney-General wishes to do is to say that any person who is not a British subject either naturalized under the laws of the United Kingdom, or of the Commonwealth, or of the State, and who is convicted of any crime of violence against the person may be, asked by the officer to comply with the conditions of paragraph (a) of clause 4. If he is unable to do so, the Attorney-General wishes to have the power to deport him. That, I understand, is the end intended to be arrived at. But it is necessary first of

all that such a person shall be lawfully within the Commonwealth. Then we need to describe him as a person who is not a British subject. We also require to have the power to ask him to comply with certain conditions, and if he fails to do so to order his deportation. At present it seems to me that the clause will not effect the object desired.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I think that the wording of the provision bears out the contention of the honorable and learned member for Indi. If the clause remains in its original form, it will simply be inoperative. I think that the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne made a suggestion a few moments ago, the adoption of which would render the clause effective in regard to those who had arrived in the Commonwealth after the passing of the Act. At present I do not see the necessity of exempting Hindoos from the operation of this clause.

Mr. DEAKIN.—We should only exempt them in order to get at all the other Asiatics. If I could see any other way of doing it I should be glad to take it.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I suggest that we should provide that any person who, if he attempted to enter the Commonwealth after the passing of this Act would be a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of paragraph (a) of clause 4, and who is convicted of any crime, &c., shall be liable to be deported.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That sweeps in the whole of the Europeans.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I do not think it is possible on the spur of the moment to draft a provision accurately enough to meet the difficulty. If the Attorney-General postpones this clause till after the adjournment for dinner, perhaps some such clause might be drafted.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I wish to direct attention to paragraph (2) of clause 6. I think that the words employed there might with advantage be adopted here. The paragraph sets out that—

Any immigrant may at any time within one year after he has entered the Commonwealth be asked to comply with the requirements of paragraph (a) of section 4, and shall if he fails to do so, be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant offending against this Act.

Could we not amend this clause by providing that any person who upon being asked to comply with the requirements of paragraph (a) of clause 4, was found to be a

prohibited immigrant, shall be liable to be deported?

Mr. KIRWAN (Kalgoorlie).—I fail to see what the educational test has to do with a matter of this kind. It seems to me that the clause should be made to provide that any person naturalized under the law of the United Kingdom, or of the Commonwealth, or of a State, can under certain circumstances be sent back to the country of which he is a citizen.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That would not be dealing with immigrants.

Mr. KIRWAN.—That is a mere matter of detail. To my mind, if any man who is an undesirable citizen of Australia comes from another country, there is no possible reason why the Commonwealth should not return him to the country from which he came. That is a law which is recognised all over the world.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I think that the suggestion that this clause should be postponed is a good one.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—I wish to make a brief explanation. The original object of this clause was to give power to deport from Australia, on conviction of any serious crime, persons now within the Commonwealth who, if this Act was in existence when they arrived, would be within the class of prohibited immigrants. The difficulty with which I was confronted was that we could not return any persons except those who entered the Commonwealth subsequent to the passing of this Act. I took into account the statement of the Attorney-General made during the progress of this debate that there were already between 70,000 and 80,000 coloured aliens in Australia, and I considered it very desirable that a clause of this kind should be made to apply to them as well as to those who may enter the Commonwealth after the passing of this Act. The difficulty arose through attempting to make the people who are already here liable to the consequence of deportation for any crime which they might commit hereafter. If the words "prohibited immigrant" are retained, the Attorney-General will confine the operation of this provision to those persons who enter the Commonwealth after the passing of this Act. I want the Bill to be retrospective to the extent of reaching aliens already here, and in so far as future crime is concerned, but not as the honorable and learned member for Corio desires—retrospective in regard

to past crime—that is, I desire it to deal only with crimes committed after the Bill becomes law. As I had the clause drafted originally, it dealt with any person who, if this Bill had been in force, would have been prohibited, and who is now within the Commonwealth. But I found great difficulty in regard to that provision. My immediate object is to ask the Attorney-General whether, if he uses the words "prohibited immigrant," the Bill will not then be confined to people who come into Australia after the Bill becomes law?

Mr. DEAKIN.—I shall take care to word the amendment which I shall submit, so as to avoid any possibility of that construction. I desire to carry out the views of the honorable member, but the old difficulty arises of so wording the amendment that, without our saying so, it shall not apply to Europeans.

Mr. MAHON.—I leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Government.

Clause postponed.

Clause 9—

The master, owners, and charterers of any vessel from which any prohibited immigrant enters the Commonwealth contrary to this Act shall be jointly and severally liable to a penalty not exceeding £100 for each prohibited immigrant so entering the Commonwealth.

No penalty shall be imposed under this section on any master or owner who proves, to the satisfaction of the Court, that he had no knowledge of any prohibited European immigrant being landed contrary to this Act, and that he took all reasonable precautions to prevent it.

Mr. DEAKIN.—There was an amendment which was accepted at the table, and which, as it at present stands, would lead to a very curious suggestion. I move—

That before the word "no," line 7, the following words be inserted:—"provided that in the case of an European immigrant so entering the Commonwealth."

There are two subsequent verbal amendments, which will give effect to the intention which the honorable member for Melbourne had in submitting the amendment previously, and will at the same time remove ambiguity.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—The words "European immigrant" may give rise to difficult considerations. There is a vast difference between "European language" and "European immigrant." The European language is the language of the United States, but an American immigrant is not an European immigrant, and this clause places American immigrants in the same position as Asiatics.

The clause says that, *prima facie*, a master of a ship is liable for bringing a prohibited immigrant here. But in the case of an European immigrant, and an European immigrant only, the captain may prove he took all reasonable care. A just complaint may arise, when least expected, that America is placed in the same category as Japan and China.

Mr. HIGGINS.—American negroes were aimed at.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The words "European race" might be used.

Mr. ISAACS.—An European immigrant would, I imagine, be an immigrant from Europe, and we ought to be very careful lest we are led into a difficulty on that account.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The words "European race" would cover white Americans.

Mr. ISAACS.—This is a matter that requires a little consideration, because to my mind if the court had to construe "European immigrant" great difficulty indeed might arise.

Mr. DEAKIN.—What we call America, or the United States, is after all only a portion of America. I think sufficient of the objection—which had not occurred to me in this connexion, though it had in relation to another part of the Bill—to be of opinion that we cannot do wrong in altering "European immigrant" to "European race." The latter words will cover the white inhabitants of the United States, where all, with the exception of the Indians and the negroes, are of European descent.

Mr. ISAACS.—Would this clause not apply to even Canada?

Mr. DEAKIN.—The words "European race" or "European descent" would cover Canadians.

Mr. ISAACS.—But "European immigrant" would not.

Mr. GLYNN.—Why not make compliance with sub-clause as the test?

Mr. DEAKIN.—I will postpone the clause for further consideration. Perhaps the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for South Australia will meet the case.

Clause postponed.

Clause 10 (Powers of detaining officer)—

(2) For the purposes of the detention, or intention to detain, and other lawful dealing with the vessel the officer so authorized shall be entitled to obtain such writ of assistance or other aid as is

provided under any law relating to the Customs with respect to the seizure of vessels or goods.

Amendment (by Mr. DEAKIN) proposed—

That after the word "detention," the words "or intention to detain" be omitted, with a view to insert the word "of" in lieu thereof.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN (Melbourne).—I would ask the Attorney-General not to omit the words as proposed. This paragraph was put in to avoid taking out the words "in the opinion of the officer," and I feel certain that the words "intention to detain" were suggested by the Prime Minister.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That was so, rather than accept another phrase which the honorable member for Melbourne suggested to the same effect. But notice has to be given forthwith, and it can be proved what "forthwith" is in regard to the actual detention of which notice must be given; but how to give notice forthwith of the "intention," it is very hard to say.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—There is not much in the matter except that a shipowner would like to know the intention; he could then give a bond immediately.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Any business man knows that when it becomes a question of "intention," we are at large. Who is to prove intention?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—When an officer is sent to detain the vessel, could the authorities not at the same time communicate with the owner?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes; and that can be done without these words. It is after consideration of that point that I propose they shall be omitted.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—To comply with the Bill, has there to be actual detention?

Mr. DEAKIN.—No; notice can be given without any detention.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—If notice is given, there will not be the indignity of being detained.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Notice will be given.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I accept the assurance of the Attorney-General.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10A—

Save as in this Act provided, no contract or agreement made with persons without the Commonwealth for such persons to perform manual labour within the Commonwealth shall be enforceable or have any effect.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I move—

That the words, "Save as in this Act provided," be omitted, and that after the word "Commonwealth," the following words be inserted:—"whereby such persons become prohibited immigrants within the meaning of paragraph (g) of section four."

The amendment previously made in the clause is obviously too wide.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN (Melbourne).—If the words which it is proposed to insert were to stop at "immigrants," the case would be met.

Mr. DEAKIN.—This limits the operation, otherwise we are at large.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I do not think it is necessary to have this limitation.

Mr. ISAACS.—These people become prohibited immigrants by reason of the contract.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes, and for no other reason.

Amendments agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 11—

Any person who in any way wilfully assists any other person to contravene or attempt to contravene any of the provisions of this Act shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I move—

That before the word "shall," the following words be inserted:—"or makes any contract or agreement, the performance of which would be a contravention of this Act."

This amendment is to carry out a suggestion made by the honorable and learned member for Indi, in order to provide that clause 10A shall, as far as possible, be given effect to. The amendment is to make people liable who enter into such a contract.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—To make the clause effectual, it is necessary to put in the words "or authorizes to be made." These contracts are made abroad.

Mr. GLYNN.—Could we convict for a contract made abroad?

Mr. ISAACS.—If the authority to make a contract were given within the federal jurisdiction, the person would be liable. This being a penal offence, the clause would be construed strictly, and as a person might say he did not make the contract though it was made on his behalf, the words I have suggested ought to be inserted to meet such cases.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I agree to the insertion of the words "or authorizes."

Amendment amended accordingly.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN (Melbourne).—I think that the words proposed to be added are very objectionable. It often happens that contracts are made for the performance of special work. I have made such contracts in connexion with works at Brisbane. Where the delivery and erection of perhaps a certain kind of boiler is contracted for, the contractor will not intrust the work to any but men of whom he has had considerable experience. But, under the amendment, if a contractor sent out experienced men to do special work he would render himself liable to a penalty. I ask the Minister if he cannot amend the clause so as to provide for these cases?

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I do not think that the amendment should be agreed to. Throughout the Bill, what is punished is an act of immigration or attempted immigration; but the amendment goes further, and makes it a penal offence to enter into a contract to import labour, although the immigration never takes place. I do not think we should put a provision of this kind into the Bill. It is really not necessary.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—Without the proposed amendment, encouragement will be given to people to try to evade the provisions of the Bill. If a man succeeds in getting out labourers under contract, it will be so much the better for him, and if he fails he will suffer no harm.

Mr. ISAACS.—But perhaps the workman whom he imports will suffer.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Of course, the question arises—Are we able to punish persons living outside Australia for offences against this Bill? and to that the answer is that if we can get hold of them we can punish them.

Mr. TUDOR (Yarra).—I hope that the Minister will accept the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for Indi. In America the Act is directed against, not the persons abroad who make the contract, but those who in America agree to it, or authorize the making of it. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has stated very clearly what would be the position if the amendment were not made—that if the contractor succeeded it would be so much the better for him, whereas if he failed he would not suffer, although the workmen whom he tried to import might suffer. I think that any one who attempts to import labour against the

provisions of the Bill should be severely punished.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I do not know if we should stop even at this point. It seems to me that where an Act of Parliament is clear and distinct, as this Bill will be, and the capitalist endeavours to introduce labour in contravention of its provisions, not only should we make the contract void, but he should be made liable to the Commonwealth for any expense incurred in the maintenance or deportation of the persons imported or attempted to be imported. I would apply to such a person a provision similar to that which applies to persons who introduce idiots or insane persons into the Commonwealth.

Mr. E. SOLOMON (Fremantle).—I agree with what has been said by the honorable and learned member for Indi. The person who really breaks the law is the person living within the Commonwealth, and it is he who should be held responsible.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I do not think that we shall want to send back men who are imported in contravention of this provision, because it must be remembered that it is directed, not against the importation of coloured aliens, but against the importation of Europeans under deceptive conditions. The men imported under a contract of this kind might be first-class citizens, whom we should rather welcome to our shores than deport from the Commonwealth.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I think that there is a great deal to be said in favour of the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for Indi, that the person who is responsible for causing the contract to be made should bear at least some portion of any expense that the Commonwealth may be put to for the maintenance of the persons imported, or for returning them to their homes. I am doubtful whether the words proposed to be inserted by the Attorney-General will quite meet the case that we want to meet. It is very unlikely that the person in Australia who pulls the strings will actually make the contract himself.

Mr. DEAKIN.—But we get at him by inserting the words "or authorizes."

Mr. TUDOR (Yarra).—I hope that the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, that the persons imported in contravention of this provision should be allowed to

remain, will not be given effect to. He has pointed out that they may be valuable citizens; but the chances are that, although the contract is rendered null and void, if they are allowed to remain here they will do the work at the rates of pay to which they originally agreed. I think they should be sent back at the expense of the person who authorized the contract to be made. If we do not provide for that, we shall probably have collusion between employers and employed in this matter.

Mr. L. E. GROOM (Darling Downs).—I do not see how the insertion of the word "authorizes" will carry us any further, because it is an ordinary legal principle that *qui facit per alium facit per se*—that a person is responsible for what is done by an agent acting in his behalf. I have not the American Act before me, but I believe that its provisions contemplate the possibility of the person who desires the importation of labour encouraging some person elsewhere to send people out with a view to entering into a contract.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I think, with regard to the matter of making the contractor responsible for any expense incurred by the Commonwealth in regard to an importation or attempted importation of workmen under contract, it would be better to postpone the further consideration of the clause until a suitable amendment can be drafted.

Mr. DEAKIN.—We cannot postpone the clause now that we have amended it, but, with the permission of the House, I shall be ready to agree to a recommittal.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—I should like to point out that the head offices of many of the principal mining companies operating in Western Australia are situated in London, and all contracts are authorized and made there, no person in Australia being responsible for them.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Are not most of those companies London companies?

Mr. MAHON.—Yes; and it is a distinct evil, because in some cases I believe foreigners are imported by them to work at very low wages. Of course it is very hard to say whether they are under contract or not. They are mostly men who cannot speak the English language, and it takes some time to find out the conditions under which they reach Western Australia. These contracts are entered into in Europe, and if the honorable

member for Indi desires to make some one here responsible for them, it is just as well, before he completes his amendment, he should be aware that no person in Australia has authorized them.

MR. DEAKIN.—We could not reach them unless they came within our jurisdiction.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 15 (Regulations).

SIR MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I had intended to insert words here which would make it clear that no regulations should be passed that would be inconsistent with the Bill, but I will accept the assurance of the Attorney-General that the present wording of the Bill affords a sufficient safeguard on that point.

Clause agreed to.

MR. R. EDWARDS (Oxley).—With reference to paragraph (j) of section 4, which exempts the masters and crews of vessels who may land during the stay of any vessel in a Commonwealth port, I desire to know whether the masters and crews of pearl-shelling vessels are included in the exemption. I have to-day received a telegram from one of the leading men in the pearl-shelling industry, who says—

Immigration Restriction Bill and Kanaka Bill will, if passed, ruin pearl-shellers Queensland and Western Australia unless we place our vessels under foreign flag and work outside 3-mile limit, which we are doing present time. Request you will impress this on Federal Government with view getting pearlers exempt. Preferably let matters remain as they are, with Queensland and Western Australia deriving revenue and controlling fisheries, than having numerous aliens alongside coast uncontrolled. Please reply.

It is well known that this industry is one of considerable magnitude, both in Queensland and in Western Australia, and it should be made clear whether the masters and crews of pearling vessels will be allowed to land on the shores of the Commonwealth at certain seasons of the year, when they are unable to carry on their ordinary occupation.

MR. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—With regard to paragraph (g) of clause 4, I understood that the Prime Minister undertook to alter the wording of the clause so as to make the certificate of exemption of a temporary character, otherwise there will be means afforded for evading the Bill wholesale, because any officer appointed under the Act, whether within or without the Commonwealth, may give a certificate of exemption absolutely. When I called the attention

of the Prime Minister to the fact that there was no restriction as to the issue of these certificates, he said he would revise the wording.

MR. DEAKIN.—He referred to the schedule, and said it showed that the certificate of exemption was intended to be of a temporary character. I made a note against the paragraph myself, but it seems to me that if anything is done it will have to be done under clause 5. If the substitution of the word "shall" for the word "may" in that clause will meet the case, I will make the alteration when the clause is recommitted.

MR. HIGGINS.—That will serve the purpose.

MR. WATSON (Bland).—With regard to clause 10A, I think the amendment that the Attorney-General was arguing in favour of a few minutes ago will have the effect of nullifying the clause altogether. The amendment limits the application of the clause to persons who come within the scope of paragraph (ff) of clause 4, and, seeing that these people are prohibited from entering the Commonwealth, I do not see that clause 10A is of any value, because it simply nullifies contracts in respect of people who do not come here.

MR. ISAACS.—The clause is very necessary.

MR. WATSON.—I think it is important to have a nullification of such contracts, but the nullification should be general, and should be in respect to contracts made with any immigrants, whether they happen to be prohibited or not.

SIR MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I think that all the honorable member desires is covered under the clause as amended.

MR. WATSON.—I think we might reconsider the position, because clause 10A, in its amended shape, does not carry us any further than paragraph (ff) of clause 4.

MR. DEAKIN.—Referring first to the question raised by the honorable member for Oxley, I may say that the exemption under paragraph (j) is a very wide one, and refers to the masters and crews of all vessels, but not to any other persons employed on them. The preceding paragraph relates to all public vessels, and paragraph (j) has reference to all private vessels generally, and does not exclude pearl-shelling or any other kind of boats. It relates, however, only to the masters and crews of such boats. With regard to clause 10A, the position is this: that first of all we prohibit

the entrance of certain people into the Commonwealth, but some persons may, after all, reach the Commonwealth before we discover that they are under contract, and in clause 10A we take power to declare that the contracts under which they come are absolutely void. Clause 10A, therefore, affords a second and very valuable safeguard similar to what exists in the United States.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes; but it is being restricted too much.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I do not see that it ought to relate to any persons other than those under contract. It is limited to them and them alone.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I think I see the difficulty that occurs to the honorable member for Bland. Paragraph (*f*) says that persons under contract or agreement to perform manual labour within the Commonwealth are prohibited immigrants. But there are exceptions, namely, workmen of special skill, or persons serving as part of the crew of a vessel engaged in the coastal trade if the rates of wages paid to them are not lower than the rates ruling in the Commonwealth. Clause 10, as it stood in the first instance, would make null and void any contract for manual labour within the Commonwealth, and, therefore, would void contracts for skilled labour or for labour employed on vessels trading within the Commonwealth. The Attorney-General, by his amendment, while securing the nullification of such contracts as would make the workmen prohibited immigrants under paragraph (*f*) of clause 4, keeps intact the classes of contracts coming under the two exceptions named in the paragraph.

Mr. WATSON.—Would not that be so anyhow?

Mr. ISAACS.—No; because without the amendment clause 10A would nullify all contracts, and we do not desire to do that.

Progress reported.

CUSTOMS BILL.

Royal assent reported.

EXCISE BILL.

Bill returned from the Senate with amendments.

EXCISE ON BEER BILL.

In Committee (consideration of Senate's amendments):

Clause 3 (Application of Act).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate omitting all the words after "Parliament."

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trade and Customs).—I do not think it is necessary to object to the striking out of the words which declare that the Act shall operate to the exclusion, after the imposition of the excise on beer, of all State Acts relating to the excise on beer. This follows by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5 (Definitions).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, inserting the words "or of nine gallons" before the word "or," in the paragraph defining "keg."

Mr. KINGSTON.—I understand that there is a keg known as a firkin, which contains nine gallons, and which has been omitted from the list of vessels specified as kegs.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7 (Act relates to Customs).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, omitting the words, "This Act is an Act relating to the Customs within the meaning of the Customs," and inserting in lieu thereof the words—"Parts II., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., and XIV. of the Excise."

Mr. KINGSTON.—The effect of this alteration is that, instead of relying on the incorporation of this Bill with the Customs Act, we provide for incorporation with the various parts of the Excise Acts, which deal generally with the matters that are intended to be dealt with.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion proposed.

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate inserting the following new clause:—

27A. A brewer may, under permit in writing from the collector, and subject to the prescribed conditions—

- (i) Transfer beer in vessels from one brewery to another, both breweries being occupied and carried on by him;
- (ii) Transfer beer in vessels or bottles from his brewery to a delivery store used by him in connexion with his brewery, and approved by the collector;

and duty shall be paid on the beer so transferred before it is removed from the brewery or delivery store to which it was transferred, and no transfer of beer under this section shall be deemed a removal, and every delivery store shall be deemed

part of the brewery in connexion with which it is used. No brewer shall have more than one delivery store in connexion with any brewery.

Mr. KINGSTON.—his is a provision which enables a brewer to have a delivery store to which he can remove his beer without payment of duty. The privilege will be subject to permission, and the store has to be approved. The power is one which depends upon the discretion of the collector, and one which should not be very liberally exercised, but I am prepared to allow the clause to go.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 46 (Access to brewery and books).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, omitting the words “and the making of the beer.”

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not propose to agree with this amendment, which has reference to limiting the authority of officers in connexion with the making of beer. We discussed and settled the proper form of this clause when it was before the committee on the previous occasion. I am informed by the officers of the department that practical experience has shown that, in order to detect the evasion of duty, it is necessary that they shall be able to view the process of manufacture. If officers had not possessed this power in a recent case, the department would have been defrauded. The Comptroller of Customs tells me that it is a very common provision, the absence of which would do harm. To quote from the minute with which he has favoured me, he says—

I strongly object to amendment in section 46. Practical experience has shown that in order to detect evasion of duty the officer should be able to view every and the entire process of manufacture. There has never been any objection to such inspection in the State of Victoria, where a large number of breweries are in operation. Once permit a place where officers cannot penetrate, and room will be created for fraud. The right of access might be given to senior officers only if so desired, but is necessary. No other objections. I have no other objections to offer to the clause.

Amendment disagreed with.

Reported that the committee had agreed to the whole of the amendments of the Senate except that in clause 46.

Motion (by Mr. KINGSTON) agreed to—

That Sir William McMillan, Mr. Deakin, and the mover be appointed a committee to prepare reasons for disagreement with the amendment of the Senate in clause 46.

The committee presented a report containing the following reason:—

Because the provision proposed to be struck out is necessary for the protection of the revenue.

Report adopted.

DISTILLATION BILL.

In Committee (consideration of Senate's amendments):

Clause 4 (Act to apply).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate omitting all the words after the word “Parliament.”

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—This certainly looks a very innocent amendment, but it raises a very important constitutional question. We purport to do here what we have done more directly in other Bills, namely, to repeal or declare by express words the nullification or exclusion of State legislation. The question arose in relation to the Canadian Parliament, and it is worth the while of the Government to consider the matter in connexion with any future legislation. In the case of the Attorney-General of Ontario, against the Attorney-General of the Dominion, which is reported in the 1896 Appeal Cases, page 348, the Privy Council very distinctly laid down, so recently as 1895, that—

Dominion enactments, when competent, override, but cannot directly repeal provincial legislation. Whether they have in a particular instance effected virtual repeal by repugnancy, is a question for adjudication by the tribunals, and cannot be determined by either the Dominion or provincial Legislature.

It may be the Senate has struck out the remaining words of the clause in recognition of that principle. In view of that position we should be very careful to see that the substantive provisions of our laws actually do override—if we intend them to override—State legislation. It will not be sufficient to rely upon a clause which says that the Federal Legislature purports to repeal an Act of the State Legislature. Although this is a small matter—and I have no doubt that the main provisions of the Bill carry out all what the Minister desires—still a day or two ago we had an express provision in one Bill purporting to repeal State Acts.

Mr. KINGSTON.—To which Bill is the honorable and learned member referring?

Mr. ISAACS.—To the Immigration Restriction Bill. There are three States in which the Immigration Acts purport to be repealed. I think that the provisions

of the Bill itself will effectually do all that we require, and that the repeal of these State Acts is therefore comparatively immaterial. But it is a matter which ought to be carefully looked at in order that we may see that the actual substantive provisions of the enactments proposed, attain the aim which is looked for, because there is a possibility of the matter being challenged, and of a decision being given similar to that which was given in Canada.

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trade and Customs).—I recognise that this is a matter of very considerable importance. I confess that my first inclination was to provide for a direct repeal. But afterwards we came to the conclusion that the modified form would be better. I think we should do the best thing of all if we accept the position which is here laid down, and rely on the strength of the provisions in the Acts themselves to do what is necessary. The Customs Act stands in a different category to all other Acts on account of the express provision for cesser in the event of certain things occurring under the Constitution.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—If a change of policy took place on the question of immigration, I think the point would arise as to whether the old State Acts are revived.

Mr. ISAACS.—No.

Mr. GLYNN.—It is just as much open to doubt as is the other point. If they still remain as something to fall back upon in the event of federal legislation being imperfect, they must be capable of being revived. If we change our policy in relation to immigration, the mere repeal of our legislation would be useless, because the State Acts would all be revived.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 57 (Strength of spirits for fortifying).—

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, inserting after the word "proof," the words—"in the case of wine spirit and of at least 60 degrees above proof in the case of any other spirit."

Mr. KINGSTON.—There has been a happy compromise here on the subjects upon which we previously differed. In the Bill, as it left this chamber, this clause provided that no spirits should be used for fortifying wine unless they were approved by the officer, and were of a strength of at least

30 degrees above proof. The Senate has now provided that no wine spirit shall be used for fortifying wine of a less strength than 30 degrees over-proof, whilst in the case of any other spirit the strength shall be 60 degrees over-proof. I think that the proposal is fair enough.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 58 (Maximum strength of wine).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, inserting after the word "spirit" the words "of a strength of at least 30 degrees above-proof."

Mr. KINGSTON.—I move—

That the following words be added to the amendment:—"Or of any other spirit of a strength of less than 60 degrees above-proof."

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The right honorable and learned gentleman will not be in order if he attempts that.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is not consequential upon any amendment of the Senate.

Mr. KINGSTON.—In clause 57 it is provided that the spirit used for fortifying wine shall be 30 degrees over proof, and that any other spirit must be 60 degrees above proof.

Mr. ISAACS.—No.

Mr. KINGSTON.—We have agreed to that in clause 57.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Then it was without knowing it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think it is a fair enough provision. What we have reckoned on is that wine spirit can be used at a less strength than another spirit, and we have, therefore, provided that, as regards wine spirit, 30 degrees over proof shall suffice, but that, in regard to other spirit, 60 degrees is necessary before it can be passed. That having been provided in this clause, it seems a fair and proper thing to provide in the following clause that the same test shall apply.

Mr. ISAACS.—I venture to suggest that this amendment is altogether out of order. The Minister is now endeavouring, I think very unfairly, to reverse the vote that we gave some time ago. Clause 57 provides that, unless otherwise prescribed, no spirit shall be used for fortifying wine—that is any wine—unless it is approved by the officer and is of a strength of at least 30 degrees over proof. An amendment has been inserted by the Senate, drawing a distinction between wine spirit and other spirit; but when we come to clause 58, we

are not talking about wine in general, but Australian wine, and the committee have determined—and the provision was afterwards sent on to the Senate by this House—that no Australian wine shall be fortified under this Bill so as to contain more than 35 per cent. of approved spirit, nor shall be fortified with any other spirit than pure wine spirit.

Mr. POYNTON.—That was done on the representation that this was the law on the continent and in other places.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am now talking on the point of order. The Senate has said that there is a doubt about this being a pure wine spirit, and in order to define a pure wine spirit, and with no other object, they suggest an amendment which specifies the strength of that spirit. But that does not alter the fact that it is pure wine spirit in all cases. This House has determined and the Senate has determined on pure wine spirit; and now the Minister wants to do something that I apprehend is not within the competency of the committee, because what he proposes is no part of the amendment and not consequential on it, inasmuch as he wants to add a provision to the effect that spirit other than pure wine spirit may be used. This seems to me an endeavour—no doubt the Minister thinks rightly, though I think wrongly—to obtain a reversal of a vote which has been passed by both this House and the Senate. The present proposal is foreign altogether to the Senate's amendment. The Senate has proposed that pure wine spirit should be of a certain strength, and it is nonsense to say that we may not only agree to that being the strength, but may add something else of a different strength. I hope the Minister will adhere to the forms of the House, and that this amendment will not be allowed.

Mr. McCAY.—On referring to the standing order which relates to this question, there seems to be no reasonable doubt that this amendment is outside the competency of the committee. The standing order provides—

No amendment shall be proposed to an amendment of the Senate that is not strictly relevant thereto.

The clause as we sent it to the Senate provided that Australian wine should be fortified with pure wine spirit only. The Senate added a further restriction that it should be not only pure wine spirit, but only

pure wine spirit which is 30 degrees above proof.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is not a pure wine spirit.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member does not seem to understand the difference between a point of order and wine spirit. The Senate altered the description of the wine spirit which is to be used—the Senate did not alter the description of the spirit, but the description of the wine spirit. An amendment is now proposed which says, not merely that wine spirit of this or that kind must be used, but that some other kind altogether may be used. When we recall the debate that took place in this House on the question, we can all see that that amendment is a change in substance. As the honorable and learned member for Indi has said, both Houses have definitely agreed that wine spirit of some kind or another shall be used in fortifying wine spirit, and that nothing but wine spirit of one kind or another shall be used. How is it relevant to the clause or the Senate's amendment to turn round and say that we shall use some other kind of spirit? In a discussion as to what is strictly relevant, we have to look at the scope and object of the clause, as we sent it up and as the Senate amended it. The whole fight was as to what kind of spirit—wine spirit or not wine spirit—Australian wine is to be fortified with, and it seems to me to be clearly irrelevant to introduce a fresh issue by proposing to change the kind of spirit. Instead of varying the character of the wine spirit, we are varying the kind of spirit altogether, and that is a new issue which is not within the competency of the committee. Apart from that, I confess to some surprise at what appears an attempt to alter a decision of the committee arrived at after a good deal of debate.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It has been said that the two Houses have agreed to the same thing, and that their decision cannot be altered—that there is no issue between the two Houses. Nothing of the sort. The House of Representatives agreed that pure wine spirit only should be used, and we were told, time and again, what a good thing that would be. I believe the words were taken from a certain Act which is said to have worked wonders in the interests of the reputation of Victorian wines. The words were "pure wine spirit"—not spirit of any particular strength. But the

Senate would not have that provision, and wanted something else.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Senate is clear that only wine spirit shall be used for fortifying Australian wine.

Mr. KINGSTON.—But the Senate is not clear about "pure wine spirit," and that is the whole gist of the difference. The honorable and learned member for Indi knows well that the object of the addition of the words "thirty per cent." is to cut down and destroy the meaning of the words "pure wine spirit."

Mr. GLYNN.—And yet it is said that we cannot qualify the Senate's amendments.

Mr. ISAACS.—If we cannot agree with the amendment of the Senate let us disagree with it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—If the honorable and learned member will permit me, I will put the matter in a better shape. I have a disposition to agree, but, at the same time, I humbly wish that the Senate shall also agree with us in a little matter which will make their proposal more acceptable to us. The whole thing in so many words is—what was the Senate thinking of in the preceding clause? The Senate made two varying provisions—one as regards wine spirit of 30 degrees over proof, and another as regards any other spirit of 60 degrees over proof. The Senate said that either one or other of these spirits may be used, and it follows, almost as a natural corollary, that we should alter this clause. Indeed, I might almost claim this as a consequential amendment. It is said that clause 57, which has no qualification as regards any particular wine, applies to wine generally. To say that we may use either of the spirits of different strengths—the wine of the lesser, and the other spirits of the higher strength—and that we cannot make a similar provision in the next clause, seems to me absurd. I think the Chairman will see that a distinct difference is raised. The Senate has not agreed with us, but they have substituted some other spirit to be used for the purpose of fortification, and they have abandoned our suggestion that it shall be pure. When it is said that we cannot have it pure at 30 per cent., then at least we ought to give the alternative of something else. My proposal is a fair one, and is simply a qualification of the Senate's amendment.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not consider that I ought to rule the proposed addition

to the amendment out of order, and I must allow it to go to the committee.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—On the main question I may say that, although I voted with the Government before, I agree with the honorable and learned member for Indi that this is trying to test again a question that we have already settled. I felt rather chagrined at the Minister allowing the recommittal of the Bill as regards this clause, when he had already obtained a victory. But when it was recommitted there was a majority of, I think, one against the Minister's proposal, and if it had not been that the other Chamber has sanctioned that provision, I think there might have been fair justification for another recommittal. Seeing, however, that the Bill has gone to another place which has approved the action of those who voted with the majority in this committee, it is scarcely fair at this hour of the day to reopen the discussion.

Mr. ISAACS.—Without the slightest warning.

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia).—We do everything for the purpose of obliging honorable members.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Why was the Bill recommitted?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Because of my good nature. There are various systems which have been adopted for the purpose of deciding differences; and in one of these systems a "copper" forms the chief factor. The Government won on the first occasion, and then the honorable and learned member for Indi objected to making it a case of "sudden death," and urged that there must be another attempt. When we facilitated another attempt and the honorable member won he said that that was the last throw, even though the Government who first won would prefer "two out of three." There seems, however, to be something to be said in favour of a further exhibition of good nature, which is not altogether appreciated. There is not such a large attendance of members to-night as there was on the occasion when we last debated this question. The first time the Government won by four votes, and the last time our adversaries—using the word in its mildest form—won by one, so that there is a balance of three in favour of the Government. Seeing that we cannot get as good a fight over the question as we had last time, owing to circumstances over which we had no control, I

shall not ask the House to take a division on the subject, and I hope honorable members will remember this fact to the good record of the Government at some future time.

Amendment of the amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia).—Do I understand that the Government have accepted the amendment of the Senate as it now stands? Does the Minister agree that the strength shall be 30 per cent. over-proof?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I have not said that just yet.

Mr. POYNTON.—The amendment of the Senate is quite different from the provision as it left this Chamber. The proposal, as it was carried here, was "pure wine spirit," and that is a different thing to "pure wine spirit" of 30 degrees over-proof. No honorable member will contend that 30 degrees over proof is pure wine spirit, and to a very great extent the amendment was agreed on in the Senate on a misrepresentation. Honorable members were told that on the continent, and in various other places, all spirit, except the spirit of the grape, was prohibited for this purpose. But in certain places where wine is produced, spirit distilled from other material is used. Even under the Act passed this year by the Parliament of the United States, spirits made from potatoes, grain, molasses, rye, and roots are allowed, though it is insisted that the spirits shall be pure. Will honorable members contend that a provision that the spirit must be 30 degrees over-proof is any guarantee that, even if the spirit is the produce of the grape, it will be pure? Do not honorable members know that the Senate inserted this amendment because they found that pure wine meant 45 degrees overproof at the very least? I ask the Minister to reject that portion of the amendment at any rate. I am not particular whether or not we have a contest on the other part of the amendment, but I am as particular as any other honorable member about having pure wine. We insist on 60 degrees over-proof in the spirits used for fortifying imported wines, which are drunk by our people without any question being raised as to their deleterious qualities. People are allowed to drink imported wine, fortified with any other spirit than the spirit of the grape; but in regard to Australian wines we

insist that they must be fortified with impure wine spirit of 30 degrees over proof. The whole crux of the thing is that this is a huge monopoly, for the benefit of a few distillers, and all the talk we have heard about the small vine-grower goes for nothing.

Mr. SALMON (Laanecoorie).—We cannot but admire the tenacity of the honorable member for South Australia, who has just resumed his seat; but, in stating that the amendment which was carried here was adopted under a misapprehension, the honorable member is not exactly fair to those who are opposed to him. The expression used here, "pure wine spirit," is susceptible of two interpretations, and I invite the honorable member to say which interpretation was intended to be placed upon it by the committee. There is such a thing as wine spirit which may be pure, and pure spirit which may be made from wine. Pure wine spirit means a spirit which is not mixed with any spirit obtained from other materials than wine—that is pure wine spirit. I cannot say what was in the minds of the committee when they passed this clause previously, but there is a great difference between pure spirit as a spirit and pure wine spirit. Distillation makes a spirit pure, but all the distillation in the world will not make a pure wine spirit out of potatoes. The Senate were anxious that pure wine spirit should be placed on exactly the same level as the spirits which are referred to in clause 57, and they wished the same strength to be allowed. I was one of those who opposed a reduction of strength.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Surely there is a test for spirit made from grapes, in the same way as for spirits made from anything else?

Mr. SALMON.—Yes, there is a test of course; but the idea in the minds of the committee was that nothing but wine-spirit should be used for fortifying purposes.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—But the spirit must be pure.

Mr. SALMON.—It must be pure in the sense that it is not adulterated.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That was the basis of the idea, but we must go further and see that the spirit is pure, that is, of a certain quality.

Mr. SALMON.—The spirit to be pure, in the sense in which the honorable member

is speaking, would require to be between 60 and 65 degrees over proof.

Mr. KINGSTON. — The honorable and learned member says in effect that the word "pure" ought to be "purely."

Mr. SALMON. — Undoubtedly, that is my idea of what was the desire of the committee on a former occasion.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN. — Does not the honorable and learned member think that a strength of 30 degrees over proof is too low?

Mr. SALMON. — Yes, I do.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN. — Then clause 57 will cover what the honorable and learned member wants.

Mr. SALMON. — No; so far as wine spirit is concerned, if we fix too high a strength, it will be necessary for most of the wine spirit stills now in use to be altered so that they may distil absolutely pure alcohol. I do not think we can do better than allow the clause to stand as we originally passed it.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi). — I feel that the Minister has been very gracious to-day, and I think he has taken the right course in yielding upon this matter. With regard to the merits of the case, we are right in accepting this amendment, in the first place because it will make the clause accord to some extent with the previous one. In the next place we have definitely decided that only wine spirit shall be used for the fortification of wine. It was with the view to preventing ambiguity with regard to the word "pure" that the Senate inserted the amendment. I understand that the idea of putting in the words providing that the spirit should be at least 30 degrees above proof was to prevent misconception as to what was meant by pure spirit, as some people might take that as indicating spirit of 70 degrees over proof.

Mr. KINGSTON. — Spirit of 30 degrees over proof is not pure wine spirit—it is a contradiction in terms.

Mr. ISAACS. — That is a question to which the Minister may address himself; but I do not see how he can alter this amendment, with regard to the 30 degrees over proof, if he is content to leave clause 57 as it stands.

Mr. GLYNN. — Clause 57 applies to other wine than Australian wine.

Mr. ISAACS. — It includes Australian wine. We do not remove Australian wine

from the operation of clause 57, but we prevent the use of any but pure wine spirit for the fortification of Australian wine, and the two clauses will read quite harmoniously if we leave the amendment in the clause now under discussion.

Mr. KINGSTON. — I was arguing that because we had one provision in clause 57, we ought to have a similar provision in clause 58, and taking up the very position the honorable and learned member for Indi had assumed. I shall stick to the Bill, and resist the amendment.

Mr. FOWLER (Perth). — There seems to be a good deal of misapprehension as to what constitutes purity of wine or any other spirit. As I understand it, given a sound wine, and putting it through the process of distillation, a sound wine spirit can be produced. Such spirit may not be chemically pure, but with each increase of the proof strength, the spirit is taken further and further away from the characteristics of wine, so that if you have absolutely pure spirit from a chemical point of view, you naturally have something which has no connexion whatever with the material from which it is produced. It is contended that when wine-spirit is used for fortification purposes it should possess some of the essential characteristics of the wine. Now, so far as the distillation of whisky is concerned, it is one of the greatest anxieties of the distiller not to put the spirit through at too high a degree of proof strength, but to derive from the process of distillation certain of the characteristics of malt, and exactly the same end is held in view in connexion with wine-spirit distillation. To argue that chemically pure alcohol is what is wanted is equivalent to arguing that you can go to the chemist and receive from him the equivalent in chemicals of the component parts of an apple, and thus secure a good substitute for the actual fruit. No one, however, will contend that the combination of chemicals supplied by the chemist would be at all palatable or as wholesome as the original fruit. I take it, therefore, that the intention of this clause as it stands, is to give a good sound wine, fortified with a spirit which may not be chemically pure, but which will contain the essential, and, as far as blending is concerned, the necessary qualities of the wine.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia). — The honorable member for Perth seems to

assume that good wine is used for the distillation of wine spirit, but, according to the advocates of the use of wine spirit, it is bad wine that is principally used for the production of wine spirit.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Not bad wine, but inferior wine.

Mr. POYNTON.—The advocates of wine spirit have used, as one of the arguments why the distillation of spirits from grapes should be encouraged, the fact that it will prevent a large quantity of rubbishy wine from being placed on the market and entering into consumption.

Mr. ISAACS.—The fortification of wines will be prevented altogether if the spirit has to be distilled to such a degree that it will be too expensive to use.

Mr. POYNTON.—But bad wine has to go through more distillation than good wine in order to make good spirit. With regard to the statement of the honorable and learned member for Laanecoorie, I repeat that this clause was passed by the committee on the former occasion under a misapprehension, the impression being that a provision similar to that in the clause was generally enforced in the wine growing countries of Europe. I challenge the honorable and learned member to name any place on the continent, or elsewhere, where they have insisted upon the use of pure grape spirit only for the fortification of wine.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have a provision very like it here, and I will read it to the honorable member presently.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member referred to the United States as one place in which they had a law preventing the use of spirits other than that distilled from grapes for the fortification of wine, but the latest Act of the United States does not restrict wine-growers to the use of any one class of spirit for the fortification of wine.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—They have very poor wine in the United States.

Mr. POYNTON.—In France and Germany and Italy they recognise only one thing, and that is purity and strength, irrespective of the material from which the spirit is produced. In every instance it has to be pure.

Mr. SALMON.—Does the honorable member mean to say that it has to be absolute alcohol?

Mr. POYNTON.—It has to be pure wine spirit. This amendment has been moved, not so much in the interests of the quality of the wine as in the interests of certain distillers, and the wine-makers will discover this fact later on when the distillers have secured a monopoly.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have just received a letter from the Wine-Growers' Association of New South Wales approving of what we are doing.

Mr. SALMON (Laanecoorie). — If it pleases the honorable member for South Australia to assume that this amendment was carried previously as the result of misrepresentation, I am not going to say any more in regard to it. I regret that he is under any such misapprehension. The whole question was decided upon its merits. The honorable member for Perth put the matter as well as it could be put. I feel that he thoroughly realizes what is the true position. What we desire is that wine spirit only shall be used for the purposes of fortification. The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, said that we wish this provision inserted in order that inferior wines may be used. Nothing of the sort. Of this we may be sure, that the process of distillation will remove dangerous impurities. I admit that 30 degrees over proof will not completely clear the spirit of impurities, but the impurities which are left will not be deleterious. If the vigneron use potato spirit of an inferior character for the purpose of fortifying their wines, they run a very great risk indeed of poisoning them. I feel that the Senate has been anxious that there shall be no misapprehension regarding the interpretation of the words "pure wine spirit." I would point out that in clause 58 it was not desired that there should be a pure spirit so much as that the spirit should be made purely from wine. Had it been otherwise, the ordinary expression would have been used, "pure spirits of wine." What merchant would ask for pure wine-spirit to be sent to him if he wanted pure spirits of wine? The amendment of the Senate provides a necessary safeguard, and its adoption will place the desire of this committee beyond all doubt.

Mr. KINGSTON.—When we were discussing this matter some time ago, it was repeatedly put that we were proceeding on the lines of Victorian legislation. There is

no doubt whatever that, whilst we were able to discount some of the force which it was attempted to attach to the argument by pointing to the age of the Victorian Act, yet a deal of weight was carried by this sort of reasoning. The honorable and learned member for Indi claimed great credit in connexion with that wonderful Act. Why is he now attempting to depart from it? The measure provides not only that vigneron shall not fortify except with pure wine spirit, but that the spirit must be of a certain age, and that anybody who is in possession of wine fortified with any other than this pure wine-spirit will incur all sorts of penalties. I am sure that the life of any vigneron who was detected in violating the Act would scarcely be worth living. Why not do the same thing here? I was seeking for information when I asked the honorable and learned member for Laanecoorie what the rectified distillate would be, and he told me that it would be pure alcohol. We merely propose to provide for pure wine spirit, and if there is any difference as to what we mean, the Victorian Act, of which we have heard so much, certainly leaves no room for doubt upon the question. It tells us what the rectified distillate is. In the very forefront of that Act is a definition of pure wine spirit. It says—

Pure wine spirit means the rectified distillate resulting solely from the distillation of wine.

In other words it is absolute alcohol. Under the circumstances I ask the committee to allow the Bill to stand. I think that the measure in its original form, which provided that the strength of the spirit to be used should be 50 degrees over proof, was preferable. I am sorry that I gave way and allowed the strength of the spirit to be reduced to 30 degrees, but I do not propose to give way any more in this respect.

Mr. SALMON.—How does the Minister interpret the expression “pure wine spirit”?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Ask the authors of it.

Mr. SALMON.—Is not the Minister the author of it?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Indeed I am not. The honorable and learned member for Indi moved the insertion of these wretched words, and found a most powerful supporter in the honorable member for Laanecoorie, who now tells the committee that he did not know what they meant?

Mr. SALMON.—I did not say that.

Mr. KINGSTON.—To suggest that the Government are responsible for these words is absolutely ridiculous.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—There is one spirit that will never abate, and that is the spirit of the Minister. There is no doubt about its purity and its strength. At the same time, I wish to point out that the Senate appears to have met this matter in a practical, business-like fashion, and it has really carried out the intention of this Chamber. That intention was to declare that no spirit should be used for fortifying wine which was not produced from wine. Vignerons were not allowed to use any admixture of other substances whether they ranged from potato spirit to vitriol. The Senate, however, fairly saw that in the heat of our struggle we did not fully express our intention, and accordingly that Chamber has made an amendment, which not only does not alter our intention, but effectuates it. The observations of the Minister, if carried out, would go far to nullify the provision under which wine can be fortified at all. In the Victorian Act, the words “pure wine spirit” are defined for the purpose of that Act. There are certain limitations which I am not scientifically capable of explaining, but in one of the sections I observe that the strength of the spirit is prescribed to some extent. I do not care, however, what that Act provides in regard to this particular matter. I say that we shall be carrying out our intention by assenting to this amendment, which I think the committee ought to adopt, because it will protect the public against the adulteration of wine, and enable vigneron to carry on their businesses in a proper fashion.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I merely desire to point out that this amendment, instead of safeguarding the purity of our wines, does nothing of the sort, but it cuts down the strength of the spirit which was previously provided, and which is to be found within the four corners of the Victorian Act.

Question.—That the amendment of the Senate be agreed to—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 15 |
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| | | | |
|------|-----|-----|----|
| Noes | ... | ... | 20 |
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|----------|-----|-----|---|
| Majority | ... | ... | 5 |
|----------|-----|-----|---|

AYES.

Cook, Joseph
Edwards, R.
Fowler, J. M.
Groom, A. C.
Issacs, I. A.
Kirwan, J. W.
McLean, A.
Piesse, F. W.

Ronald, J. B.
Skene, T.
Solomon, E.
Tudor, F. G.
Watson, J. C.
Tellers.
McCay, J. W.
Salmon, C. C.

NOES.

Bamford, F. W.
Cooke, S. W.
Crouch, R. A.
Deakin, A.
Fisher, A.
Forrest, Sir J.
Fuller, G. W.
Groom, L. E.
Higgins, H. B.
Kingston, C. C.
Mahon, H.

Mauger, S.
McEacharn, Sir M.
O'Malley, K.
Page, J.
Poynton, A.
Smith, S.
Wilks, W. H.

Tellers.

Chapman, A.
Cruickshank, G. A.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Amendment disagreed with.

Third Schedule—

59. Every case must have branded or painted thereon the name of the distiller, or the name of the distillery, and the place where the spirits were distilled, and any number or letter which the collector shall direct; and, if so prescribed, the materials of which the spirits have been made.

60. No label shall be affixed by a distiller to any bottles containing spirits, unless the collector has given his permission in writing to the affixing of such labels; and, if so prescribed, each label shall state the materials of which the contents are made.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate omitting from regulation 59 the words "and if so prescribed, the materials of which the spirits have been made."

MR. WATSON (Bland).—I suggest to the Minister the propriety of disagreeing with the Senate's amendment. The reason actuating the Senate in omitting the last portion of the regulation seems to be that, in as much as we have not power to prescribe that labels stating the materials from which imported spirits are made shall be affixed to the bottles in which those spirits are imported, we should not require the local product to be labelled. But it seems to me a good principle that each person shall be required to keep clean the pavement in front of his own door, and it rests with each community to insure, as far as possible, that its people shall know what they are consuming. Most of us, I suppose, hope that gradually the local article will successfully compete with, and eventually supplant, the imported article;

and, if that happens, it will be more than ever necessary to have this provision. A firm that has made somewhat of an outcry in regard to it is that of Joshua Bros. They point out that they are selling a spirit which is as near brandy as anything else on the market, although only a portion of it is brandy. But the excuse that other people sell materials under a wrong name is not, I think, sufficient justification for allowing local manufacturers to do so. I trust that the committee will insist that where spirits are sold to the public, they shall be sold under their real name, and not as something which they are not.

MR. KINGSTON.—If I recollect rightly, the Government originally opposed the insertion of words providing for the specification of materials which Regulations 59 and 60 requires, but amendments were carried against them. It was seen, however, that it would be unfair to require certain things to be done by our own distillers which foreign distillers, whose goods come into competition with theirs, are not required to do, and it was therefore determined that the better thing would be to call these provisions into existence only where they could be fairly applied, without hampering or doing injustice to the local distiller. For that reason, the words "if so prescribed" were inserted, and I think that the regulations as they left this Chamber were fair and practicable. Considering the unanimity of the committee on the question before, I think we should disagree with the amendment.

MR. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—I agree with the honorable member for Bland, that it would be better to stand by the regulations, and, if necessary, require by another Act that the ingredients of both imported and Australian made articles, shall be made known in the way provided for.

SIR MALCOLM McEACHARN (Melbourne).—I think that the committee would do wrong in disagreeing with the amendment. It is unfair that local manufactures should be placed on a different footing from foreign manufacturers who send their goods here.

MR. KINGSTON.—The regulation takes effect only "if so prescribed."

SIR MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Until we have some general law which will place imported spirits upon the same footing as

locally manufactured spirits, I think we should allow things to stand as they are.

Amendment disagreed with.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree with the Senate's amendment omitting the words—"And if so prescribed each label shall state the materials of which the contents are made."

Amendment disagreed with.

Remaining amendments agreed to.

Reported that the committee had agreed to some, and disagreed with other, of the Senate's amendments.

Report adopted.

Motion (by Mr. KINGSTON) agreed to—

That the Hon. the Attorney-General, the honorable member for Maranoa, and the Right Hon. the Minister of Trade and Customs, be a committee to prepare and bring in reasons for disagreeing with the Senate's amendments.

The committee presented a report containing the following reasons:—

As to amendment No. 8—Because the amendment is unnecessary. As to amendments No. 19 and 20—because the information will be useful to the public, and no regulation need be made until foreign spirits have been fortified in the same manner.

Report adopted.

EXCISE BILL.

In Committee (consideration of Senate's amendments):

Clause 15 (Time for compliance with this Act).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate adding to the clause the following words:—"But during such period every unlicensed person who manufactures excisable goods shall comply with this Act as if licensed and the premises on which he manufactures excisable goods shall be deemed a factory."

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trades and Customs).—This amendment simply provides that during the interval given to persons to comply with the necessary requirements as to licences, they shall be bound by the obligations imposed by the Act as if they were licensed.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate inserting the following new clause:—

23A. Excisable goods and goods liable to duties of Customs may in prescribed cases and subject to the prescribed conditions be delivered free of duty or subject to such duty as may be prescribed for use in the manufacture of excisable goods.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—Will the Minister kindly explain this new clause, which seems to be rather puzzling? Is the effect that the Executive will have power to increase a duty?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No.

Mr. GLYNN.—Excisable goods are goods on which Parliament has imposed a duty of excise. This new clause says, "subject to such duty as may be prescribed for use in the manufacture of excisable goods." That means, I take it, that goods subject to impost may be delivered for manufacture, subject to such duty as the Executive may prescribe.

Mr. KINGSTON.—This is a provision usually found in Acts relating to excise on tobacco. Various minor articles enter into the manufacture of tobacco, and while the manufacturer is charged on the full weight, it would not be proper to charge him twice, that is both on the minor articles as delivered, and on the full weight of the manufactured tobacco. This is only carrying out a similar provision in the Customs Bill.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—This is not creating any new duty?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No.

Amendment (by Mr. GLYNN) agreed to—

That the amendment be amended by inserting the word "lower" between the words "such" and "duty."

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—To me the amendment appears a most sweeping one, which would allow a free-trade Ministry to prescribe such regulations as would abolish the whole of the duties. Does the Minister not think there is great danger in the clause?

Mr. KINGSTON.—This is merely an extension of the provision in the Customs Act, and it is a concession to be carefully exercised in regard to the utilization in manufactures of goods which would be dutiable.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—Does the clause mean that, if excisable or dutiable goods are used in the manufacture of other articles, the Executive may impose no duty, or less duty, on the articles so used?

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is so.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Sugar, for instance, is used for making beer, and I would like to know whether the Minister, in the regulations, has taken any precaution to prevent sugar, given to brewers for the purpose

of brewing, being handed out to grocers to sell in the ordinary way? I have reason to believe that a considerable amount of duty is lost by devices of that sort, brewers obtaining sugar for the purpose of making beer, and then entering into arrangements with people who sell sugar as sugar.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I should be delighted to have full particulars of those cases, in order that a salutary example may be made.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Has any precaution been taken?

Mr. KINGSTON.—There will be precaution taken, but we have not yet framed our regulations under the Beer Bill, because the measure is not ready. I do not think, however, there is the slightest chance of anything of the sort described by the honorable and learned member being done. In the manufacture of tobacco, I believe a variety of materials are used, amongst other things liquorice, in order to give sweetness. I have heard that the manufactured article described as 109 lbs. of tobacco would, without these ingredients, be only 100 lbs., and if these minor articles were not allowed for, the manufacturer would not only pay on the full weight of tobacco, but, in addition, on the minor articles.

Mr. CROUCH.—Under this clause could not a Ministry sweep away the whole of the duties?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not think so. I know what would happen if a Ministry tried to do that—the Ministry would be swept away.

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—The words “and goods liable to duties of customs” occur in the clause, and seeing that the Bill is a Bill relating to excise, I question whether these words are in order. Section 55 of the Constitution declares that laws imposing duties of customs shall deal with duties of customs only, and there is a similar provision in regard to excise duties, and I am of opinion that the words I have quoted are, at any rate, out of order in regard to the title of the Bill. I should like to move that these words be omitted.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member cannot submit that amendment now, an amendment having been made at a later period of the clause.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—The word “lower” should be inserted before “duty,” otherwise goods liable to duties of

customs, but on which no duty of customs has been imposed, might be made the subject of duties under this amendment. If we insert the word “lower” there is an implication that we cannot impose any duty, but only reduce duties already imposed.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 43—

No manufacturer shall manufacture excisable goods at any place other than the factory specified in his licence, or shall manufacture in his factory excisable goods to a greater quantity than allowed by his licence. Penalty: £100.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, inserting after the word “licence” the words “or except by permission sell by retail any excisable goods in his factory, or at any place within 50 yards thereof.”

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—For years in Victoria there have been issued licences to small tobacco manufacturers, who have had retail shops in connexion with their factories. Sometimes these men have been able, by means of their shop-earnings, to keep a business together until they have got a footing in the trade, and I should like to know whether this provision will have any prejudicial effect on those small manufacturers.

Mr. KINGSTON.—This is not an absolute prohibition, because permission to sell by retail may be obtained. I do not think that the retailing of excisable goods should be allowed without permission.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate inserting the following new clause:—“50A. Every manufacturer is responsible for the safe custody of all material and excisable goods in his factory and for the observance of this Act within his factory.”

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—Supposing goods are lost, will the manufacturer be liable to a penalty or have to pay the value of the goods lost; or is this simply intended to be a sort of barren thunderbolt to be hurled at his head?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Some one must be responsible for the goods in the factory, and as the manufacturer has control of them, he should not be able to escape from his responsibility regarding them by coming to us with a cock and bull story that they have been lost.

Mr. GLYNN. — What becomes of the goods?

Mr. KINGSTON. — The manufacturer ought to know.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 65—

All tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, and snuff manufactured in a factory shall be put up in packages of the prescribed weights and sizes.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate omitting the words "cigars, cigarettes."

Mr. KINGSTON. — I think we undoubtedly ought to have the power to prescribe the weights and sizes of the packages in which cigars and cigarettes are put up in the factory, and as the provision seems to be a very useful one, I shall ask the committee to reject the amendment proposed by the Senate.

Amendment disagreed with.

Clause 66—

The manufacturer shall mark upon every package of manufactured tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, or snuff, his name and address, a consecutive number, the gross weight of the package, and the net weight of the contents before it is removed from the factory. Penalty: £20.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate omitting the words "cigars, cigarettes."

Mr. KINGSTON. — It is proposed to leave out these words, because it is represented that it will be inconvenient if cigar and cigarette manufacturers have to mark upon every package the name of the manufacturer and the other particulars required. So long as the authorities are furnished with sufficient information with regard to the manufacture of these goods, I do not think we need bind the manufacturers to publish all the particulars that are specified.

Mr. WATSON (Bland). — This provision brings up the whole question of labels again, and the point is whether the public are to be misled by false labels.

Mr. KINGSTON. — This is not intended to permit that.

Mr. WATSON. — Very many goods of local manufacture are put up with false labels giving the name of some English firm, and this abuse has reached such a stage in New South Wales and perhaps Victoria that the wholesale merchants will not take anything from the local manufacturers if they bear their own labels. People are gradually

being educated up to the idea that nothing is good unless it has an English or foreign label upon it, and it seems to me that Australian productions will have no chance of making a name for themselves unless we insist that they shall bear the name of the maker, and that he shall get the credit that is due to him. I do not sympathize with the idea of striking out these words, but think that what applies to other classes of manufactures should also apply to cigarettes and cigars. The sooner our people find out that the greater number of the cigars they smoke are of Australian manufacture, the better it will be for the manufacturers and for the public generally. It is only the first plunge that our manufacturers have to fear, and I think that the Bill as originally drafted should be adhered to. The provision in this clause seems to require that the particulars specified shall be placed on the larger parcels of goods and not be attached to each individual article, but I should not object to a proposal that there should be a label affixed to every cigar. There is not the slightest objection to the retailer knowing what he is buying. The wholesale men know very well where the goods come from, and that they are not of foreign make, and that knowledge should be generally extended, so as to reduce the fraud upon the public as much as possible.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports). — A number of small manufacturers of cigars have represented to me that they would suffer very considerably owing to the practice that the honorable member for Bland has referred to, but at the same time I would urge that they would profit in the long run if their articles merited approval. This fraud of foisting upon the public locally-made goods under foreign labels has been very largely practised in Victoria, and goods made in Collingwood are very frequently sold under the pretence that they were manufactured in England. People have been led to believe that they have been getting first-class Continental goods, whereas they have been buying the products of their own local labour — equally of first-class quality. I believe it would be to the interests of the men themselves if the truth were told about their productions. A number of small cigar-makers, who sell to the large hotels, urge that if the purchasers of their cigars were made aware that they were manufactured locally, the hotel-keepers would at

once discontinue their orders, as they would not be able to sell the local article. That might be the case at first, but the position would soon improve if the article were such as to merit public patronage. I should like to see a general Trade Marks Act which would compel every one to mark his goods accurately, stating where they were made and the conditions under which they were manufactured.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am a little surprised at the reason which is given for the amendment. I understood that it was simply an innocent proposal that the name of the local manufacturer should not be required to be blazoned abroad on the package containing the cigars or cigarettes manufactured, because there was a prejudice against the local manufacturers ; but I confess that I did not know of or appreciate the suggestion which is now made that the suppression of the name of the manufacturer is intended to facilitate fraud.

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not think there is any doubt about it.

Mr. GLYNN.—The amendment proposes to do the very opposite to what we have done in other parts of the Bill.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The Government are certainly not willing to lend themselves to anything in the nature of fraud, and I am a little surprised that a proposal has been made in that direction. I can hardly understand it, but I am prepared to take the authority of those who know more about these matters than I do, and under the circumstances I do not think I shall ask the House to follow the suggestion of the Senate.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—There might be something to be said in favour of omitting cigarettes from the operation of the clause. I understand that the honorable member for Bland wishes to insure that these cigarettes shall be labelled as having been made in Australia, and not represented as goods made in Europe ; but why we should go further and insist upon every package of cigarettes having the name of the manufacturer upon it I do not know. We know very well that in England the wholesalers and the great manufacturers are supplied by numbers of small people, and it seems to be going rather far to say that in the matter of cigarettes, which might be made by a number of small people, the manufacturer should be compelled to

put his name on the packages containing his goods. Probably the name placed upon them in the ordinary way would be that of the wholesale distributor of the goods ; and I think cigarettes, at any rate, might be very well omitted.

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not think the remarks of the honorable member would apply to cigarettes so much as to cigars.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Then the question is whether the Senate is not right.

Mr. PAGE.—The question is whether the public are buying a real or a sham article.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That is not the point. No one cares twopence about the name of the manufacturer, so long as the article has a good reputation, and our only object should be to put down frauds under which locally-made cigarettes might be palmed off as English or Egyptian.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—It seems to me that not only for the reasons that have been advanced, but for departmental purposes, it is desirable that the goods manufactured should be properly identified.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is another provision which gives me the same information, but which is not so much open to the public.

Mr. ISAACS.—In this clause it is provided that the manufacturer's name and address, a consecutive number, the gross weight of the package, and the net weight of the contents shall be marked upon every package before it is removed from the factory. Some of these provisions are absolutely necessary for the protection of the revenue. If we cut out cigars and cigarettes from this clause, we shall lose, not merely the name, but other things. If the size of the package is a reasonable one, I cannot see that any harm would result from requiring the name of the maker of the goods which it contains to be stamped on the outside. Of course we could not expect the name of the manufacturers to be put upon every cigar or cigarette.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I think that a very much larger issue has been raised by the honorable member for Bland and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. It has reference to the marking of goods by the maker of them. Of course it is a great advantage to struggling manufacturers to get their goods sold by any means, but I should not like in an Excise Bill to force too far the view

which has been taken by honorable members in regard to this matter. We ought not to thrust it upon the manufacturers without first consulting them in some way. At the same time I think that the Government might fairly confer with those interested and see if it is not to their advantage that the name of the maker should appear upon all packages of goods. I admit that the ordinary public as a rule do not see the brand on a package. Of course they would see the brand on a package of cigarettes, but they would not see it on a bale of wool. For the sake of the permanent advantage to the local manufacturers, I think it is worth considering whether we should not insist upon the name of the manufacturer appearing on the face of his goods, and also upon imported goods bearing the imprint of the fact that they have been manufactured abroad.

Mr. TUDOR (Yarra).—I trust that the committee will agree to the Senate's amendment. I do not desire that the colonial product shall be placed at a disadvantage as compared with the imported article. I am quite satisfied that the warehouseman would not take the manufactured article from the manufacturer if he found that the manufacturer had his name upon it, because in that case the retailer would go direct to the manufacturer and obtain it. I am quite in favour of having a stamp placed upon the goods to intimate to all who are interested that they have been made in the States. I may mention that I have been waited upon by a number of employes who desire that the name of the State in which any particular goods are manufactured shall be branded upon them. Dr. Wollaston is, I believe, agreeable to that proposal. In the United States it is provided that the number of the factory and of the district in which goods are made shall be stamped upon them. I think that is all that is necessary. Our workers would be placed at a disadvantage if we compelled manufacturers to stamp their names and addresses upon every package of goods which they turn out. I trust that the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—The wholesale men in Melbourne must be a much simpler class than they appear if they do not know absolutely where the goods come from. In most cases in New South Wales even the retailers know that they are using colonial goods.

Mr. TUDOR.—But they do not know who the manufacturer is.

Mr. WATSON.—In most cases they gradually get to know. To my own knowledge there was a case in Sydney where a firm had for years been putting up a large quantity of goods with foreign labels. Legislation was foreshadowed in the State Parliament compelling manufacturers of that class of goods to brand their goods with their name and address, with the result that this particular firm anticipated legislation by putting their own name on the goods. As a consequence, that firm are to-day doing a bigger business than they ever did before. People are using their pickles, jams, and preserves in preference to the imported articles. There is nothing whatever to fear, therefore, from a provision of this sort.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I support the remarks of the honorable member for Yarra. As that honorable member points out, the retailers will, in the event of such a provision as this being adopted, go past the wholesale distributor to the manufacturer. That will be all the better for the big men and all the worse for the small men who depend on the wholesale men to take the distribution out of their hands. This provision will operate very adversely in the case of the small men. I would point out that it is only colonial goods which are supposed to be branded with the name of the State and the manufacturer's number. There is no doubt that goods numbered in the manner proposed get the reputation enjoyed by the worst manufacturer. If the purchaser gets a bad article he cannot trace it to the man who made it, but he simply resolves never to purchase the same class of goods again, and will avoid numbered goods in future.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I cannot support the amendment. There seems to be a good deal to be said on both sides of this question. The first remarks made in connexion with it, induced the conclusion that the amendment proposed is right. The matter was mentioned to me before the Bill left this House, and action was taken in the Senate, which resulted in the amendment before us. I ask leave to postpone the consideration of amendments 8 and 9 till the remaining amendments have been dealt with.

Amendments postponed. 

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate inserting the following new clause:—

128A. In any excise prosecution where the penalty exceeds one hundred pounds, and the excess is not abandoned, the defendant within seven days after service of process shall have the right in manner prescribed to elect to have the case tried in the option of the prosecutor either in the High Court of Australia or in the Supreme Court of the State in which such prosecution has been instituted, and thereupon the proceedings shall stand removed accordingly, and may be continued as if originally instituted in the court to which they are so removed.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I scarcely think this is correctly worded. It says that the defendant shall have the right to elect, and “thereupon” the proceedings can be shifted. I think the wording ought to be “on such election,” because there is no period or moment of time fixed by the clause as it at present stands.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think the clause is right enough. It is almost a precise copy of the clause which was thrashed out by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. V. L. Solomon, and myself, when the Customs Bill was before us. I do not think it is worth making any alteration, because it says that the claimant shall have the right to elect, and that the proceedings shall be shifted “thereupon,” that is on that election.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I do not read the word “thereupon” as relating to the election. The defendant is to elect for one court or the other, and thereupon the prosecution is to declare the option. It is only when the option is declared that the proceedings are to be removed. When the defendant elects, no one knows to which court the proceedings are going.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate inserting the following new clause:—

154A. If any rebate is allowed in respect of any excise duty, the allowance shall be made and duty paid as prescribed.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—Will the Minister kindly explain this clause?

Mr. KINGSTON.—If a rebate is provided for by regulation, we may prescribe the mode. It is a mere matter of machinery.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does it mean that the mode of payment is to be prescribed, or the amount?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Only the mode.
Amendment agreed to.
Progress reported.

SERVICE AND EXECUTION OF PROCESS BILL.

In Committee (consideration of Senate's amendments):

Clause 18—

Any person in whose favour a judgment is given or made, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, in a suit by any Court of Record of any State or part of the Commonwealth, may obtain from the prothonotary or registrar or other proper officer of such court a certificate of such judgment.

Motion proposed—

That the committee do not insist on the amendment omitting “whether before or.”

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—This amendment gives a new power of recovery, which was not in existence at the time the action was decided. It is all very well for us to say that all judgments may have the benefit of this Bill, but whether it should extend to judgments already on the record is a question which the committee ought to consider before we agree to reinsert the words.

Mr. DEAKIN (Attorney-General).—I think that, after all, this amendment is not worth insisting on. If the honorable member refers to clauses 22 and 23 he will see that the court has power to deal with any of the cases if a re-hearing is required. The time within which this can be done has been reduced from two years to one year.

Amendment not insisted on.

Clause 20—

For the purposes of the last preceding section any court mentioned in any of the following sub-sections shall be deemed to be a court of like jurisdiction with any other court mentioned in such sub-section, namely:—

- (b) The Vice-Admiralty Courts in the States of New South Wales and Victoria, and the Supreme Court of any other State in its Admiralty jurisdiction.

Motion proposed—

That the committee do not insist on the amendment omitting paragraph (b).

Mr. DEAKIN.—The jurisdiction to be included is that of courts corresponding to the Vice-Admiralty Courts of New South Wales and Victoria, that is the Supreme Courts of the other States which have Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction.

Mr. HIGGINS. — Is there no Vice-Admiralty Court in South Australia?

Mr. DEAKIN. — No ; there the Supreme Court has Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction.

Amendment not insisted on.

Reported that the committee do not insist on the amendments disagreed to by the Senate.

Report adopted.

PROPERTY ACQUISITION BILL.

In Committee (consideration resumed from 2nd October, *vide* page 5492) :

Clause 44 (Mode of payment to State) —

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume—Minister for Home Affairs). — As clauses 44 and 45 have somewhat the same object to be achieved by different modes, a promise has been made that they shall be considered later on ; and I propose that the clause be postponed.

Clause postponed.

Clause 46 —

Where any land of a State has, either before or after the commencement of this Act, become vested in the Commonwealth or been acquired by the Commonwealth under section 85 of the Constitution, such land shall for all purposes whatever be deemed to be vested in the Commonwealth in the same way and to the same extent as if it had been acquired under this Act, and the provisions of this Act, so far as they are applicable, and subject to the Constitution, shall apply to such land.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia). — This clause seems to put in a general form what is put in a particular form in clause 46. It appears that this Bill is to apply generally to property which has been acquired under section 85 of the Constitution. To some extent I think that is invalid. Under sub-section (2), of section 85, the mode of valuation prescribed is the mode of valuation under the law of the State in force at the time of the establishment of the Commonwealth. This clause, so far as it concerns property not exclusively used in connexion with any department taken over, is *ultra vires*, because it fixes the mode of valuation prescribed in the Bill as the mode applicable to properties taken over, but not exclusively used, although the Constitution fixes the mode as the law of the State.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — The words here are "so far as they are applicable."

Mr. PIESE (Tasmania). — What is the intention of the Bill as to property acquired under section 51, sub-section 31? This is

a general sub-section, empowering the Commonwealth to acquire property for any purpose in respect of which this Parliament has power to make laws, and I do not see that such property is included under this or succeeding clauses. It may be that it is intentional, but I do not see any provision to deal with the acquisition of land under section 51, sub-section (32), of the Constitution, and I would like some explanation from the Minister.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — If I understand the honorable and learned member, he refers to article 31 of section 51 of the Constitution Act, which provides for the acquisition of property on just terms from any State or person for any purpose in respect of which the Parliament has power to make laws. The object of this clause is to put together the two methods of acquiring land, and this is simply a consolidation provision.

Mr. PIESE. — That is to say that this Bill is not intended to deal with land that would be acquired under article 31?

Mr. DEAKIN. — Yes ; this clause will put all classes of land acquired in the same position, so that there shall not be two or more sets of titles.

Mr. PIESE. — I am afraid that the words of the clause do not carry out that intention.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — The draftsman assures me that the words do deal with the land contemplated by the very article that the honorable member has referred to.

Mr. PIESE (Tasmania). — The point is this—we have here the word "vested" to signify one method by which the Commonwealth may acquire land, whilst the term used in article 31 of section 51 of the Constitution Act is "acquired." Section 85 of the Constitution Act only deals with the property of the transferred departments.

Mr. DEAKIN. — What this clause does is to put all these properties in the same position as if they were acquired under this Bill. It really does not make any change.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne). — I hope the reference to the last difficulty will not obscure the reference made by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, to another point. Clause 47 distinguishes between lands vested in the Commonwealth under sub-section 1 of section 85 of the Constitution, and land acquired under sub-section (2) of the same section. It provides that where land vests in the Commonwealth under the 1st

sub-section the Commonwealth is to determine the amount of compensation in a certain way, and where land is acquired under the 2nd sub-section the compensation is to be estimated in another way. I think, however, that it is clause 46 that will create most confusion, because if it means anything it provides that whenever land is either vested in or acquired by the Commonwealth under either of the sub-sections of section 85 of the Constitution it is to be deemed to be vested in the same way as if acquired under this Bill. I suppose the intention is to apply the provisions for compensation which are prescribed in this Bill to all lands whether vested under sub-section 1 or acquired under sub-section 2 of section 85 of the Constitution. I am afraid, however, that that will not work out very smoothly, but will lead to a good deal of litigation. I should like the Minister to consider whether anything is to be gained by retaining section 46. All they want is provided for in clause 47, and even as regards that clause, I think that if we were to follow the wording of the Constitution more closely, it would answer the purpose better.

suggest that clause 46 should be postponed.

Clause postponed.

Clauses 47 and 48 postponed.

Clause 50 (Incorporation of the Commonwealth).

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—This clause provides that the Commonwealth shall be a corporation sole, I presume, for the purposes of suing and being sued, and I do not see the object of providing that all legal proceedings by or against the Commonwealth may be instituted by or against the Attorney-General. I think that the Commonwealth should sue and be sued in its own name, as in the United States.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is so long since I saw this Bill—when it was sent to another place—that I was under the impression that legal proceedings were to be taken by or against the Commonwealth in its own name. I cannot see at present that there is anything to be gained by naming the Attorney-General instead of the Commonwealth, and I will look into the matter.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 51—

(1) In case any land purchased or taken under this Act is not required for the public purpose for which it was purchased or taken, the

Commonwealth may sell, lease, or dispose of such land.

(2) A receipt under the hand of the Attorney-General shall be a sufficient discharge to the purchaser or lessee of such land for the purchase money or rent in such receipt expressed to be received.

(3) Any land sold leased or disposed of under this section may be conveyed or leased in the name of the Commonwealth and executed by the Attorney-General.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—In this clause the Government propose to take the power to sell, lease, or dispose of any land that may be acquired, and which may not be wanted for the purposes for which it was originally secured; but it seems to me that it is not necessary to give the Government power to sell. I do not wish to go into the whole argument in favour of the nationalization of land; but when the Commonwealth by any process becomes possessed of land, we should not dispose of it again except under lease.

Mr. PIESSE.—The only land sold would be in very small pieces.

Mr. WATSON.—The whole trouble in regard to small pieces of land would be that they would probably be in cities or towns, and the Government would not want to be bothered with them; but as a matter of fact the greatest amount of increment that is likely to accrue to land in the course of years would attach to city and town lands and not to lands situated in the country. In connexion with town lands, speaking generally, there is a constant increase in value owing to the growing pressure of population, and I think the Government might very well be content with the power to dispose of land by lease. The Government have committed themselves to that general policy in respect to the capital site, and I think it will be in consonance with that policy to omit the provision for power of sale from this clause.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am quite at one with the honorable member in his desire that we should not sell large areas of land, but this power of sale is intended to meet a different class of cases altogether. It is not likely that the Commonwealth will take up large areas of land, but we shall probably buy an acre or two acres in various places, and may not require the whole area. It would be scarcely worth our while to hold the balance, and allow it to remain practically useless, and if the land is not

required there can be no harm in disposing of it by sale. When the draftsman showed me the Bill I at once raised the question as to the desirability of giving power of sale; but after discussion I came to the conclusion that there was no harm in putting in this provision, because it is not only really necessary but entirely free from any risk of abuse. I think under the circumstances it would be wise to give the Government the power of sale, because if their hands are tied they will perhaps be required to hold a lot of land that is not really needed by them.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I would point out that in towns of any considerable size the greater part of the areas held for business purposes are occupied under ground leases, and it would be just as easy for the Commonwealth to dispose of their spare land under similar leases as to sell it.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Would not that involve the Commonwealth in building operations?

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think it would; but I am not sure that I would not be prepared to advocate that the Commonwealth should, if necessary, erect buildings so that they might derive some return from their property. I feel that there may be a danger of a greater area of land than is absolutely necessary being resumed and sold again, and the safer plan, and one that will conduce to caution on the part of those responsible for the administration of affairs will be to provide that land shall not be sold after having been resumed for the purposes of the Commonwealth. I move—

That the word "sell," line 4, be omitted.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I hope the honorable member will not press this amendment, because without the power of sale the hands of the Government would be tied very tightly, and the Commonwealth might be placed at a great disadvantage in consequence. I would ask the honorable member to remember what has been done in the State of New South Wales. The Government there have had the power of sale, but in consequence of the general feeling that the Government land should not be sold, the Ministry have deferred to the wishes of the people, and have refrained from disposing of their property. The Parliament can always exercise control over the Ministry, and if there should be a very valuable piece of land that could be leased, the Parliament

could practically direct the Ministry what they are to do with it. We are not exactly in the same position as a State, and we are not likely to resume land, except for the most important and necessary purposes. If the power of sale is taken away from the Government, it may be necessary for the Commonwealth to enter into building speculations, which it would be better for us to have nothing to do with. We do not want to traffic in land. I think that the Commonwealth will be very careful indeed not to traffic in any way in land. This provision is merely inserted in case it may be required. Under these circumstances, I hope that the honorable member for Bland will not press his amendment.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—It seems to me, that in connexion with this clause, the amendment of the honorable member for Bland ought not to be insisted upon. This provision simply applies to land which has been resumed. We arbitrarily take away a freehold from the individual, and surely if we find that we do not require it, it is only reasonable to allow its former owner an opportunity of re-purchasing it. Under such circumstances, it will be very unwise to tie the hands of the Executive. We cannot possibly foresee all the contingencies that may arise. If we lay down the principle that land acquired by the Commonwealth and kept for Commonwealth purposes, shall be leased only—

Mr. WATSON.—If it is kept for Commonwealth purposes it cannot be sold; that is certain.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That is a very fair principle. But by adopting the amendment proposed, we should very often paralyze the operations of the Commonwealth Government. The Government might purchase land and afterwards secure other land which was more suitable, but under this amendment the very land, which, if they had the power to sell, could have been got rid of at once thus relieving the public Treasury, might remain on their hands for years. We must all recognise that the principle underlying the disposition of our people is to have a freehold. In regard to land which we do not intend to retain for Commonwealth purposes, it would be absolute folly to carry out the principle which we are trying only as an experiment for ourselves.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I ask the honorable member for Bland not to press his amendment. I have had a slight experience of selling to the Victorian Railway department, and of purchasing from that department. As a matter of fact, they have found it cheaper in many instances to purchase a whole block rather than pay for its severance. I do not suppose that the Commonwealth is going in for bartering in land, and to tie their hands in the way proposed would mean adding largely to the cost of any land which we may desire to possess, and which we would have to retain for ever.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I would point out that it is not proposed that the Commonwealth shall become a trader in land. The amendment simply means that if an odd corner has been acquired, it ought to be allowed to get rid of it in the way which happens to be current at the time. There is no power for the Commonwealth to acquire land, unless the acquisition is reasonably incidental to the purposes of the Commonwealth. For instance, it might acquire a piece of land for a post-office, and it might subsequently transpire that the population of the town in which the building was to be erected has moved half-a-mile further, so that instead of the post-office being at one end of the town, it ought to be at the other.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is not a good thing for the Commonwealth to be carrying unnecessary property in its own hands.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I want to take an intermediate view. The Ministry have laid down a very important principle with reference to the Federal Capital. They say it is not well in the interests of the community that land should be sold, but that the community should have the advantage of the land, and it should never be alienated. That is a principle to which I am very glad the Ministry have given their adhesion. It shows how, in spite of the arguments of certain economists, people are coming to a state of sanity in regard to these matters. Concerning this particular proposal I would suggest that it is not expedient, in a Bill which deals only with the acquisition of property, for the Commonwealth to meddle with this large question, which may give rise to a great deal of discussion. I suggest that we might insert a provision that superfluous land should be disposed of in a manner

to be directed by a resolution of both Houses.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—How on earth could Parliament go into a question of that kind? How could they deal with a particular piece of land?

Mr. HIGGINS.—I merely wish Parliament to have a voice in the matter before there is any actual sale of lands. Ministers have a good deal of reason behind them when they do not desire these big questions to be settled or discussed at this stage. If we are going to apply the principle of the non-alienation of Commonwealth lands to the federal capital I do not see why that principle is not good enough to be applied elsewhere.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—I wish to point out that land will only be acquired by the Commonwealth for post and telegraph offices and Custom-houses. This is a very simple provision. There may be an odd piece of land which no one would lease, and which it would not pay the Commonwealth to collect rent from. No Ministry would abuse the principle of sale, because they would be under the control of Parliament. The Commonwealth Government are limited in their operations, and the necessity for holding land is also limited. This is a wise provision, and I heartily support it.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—I contend that it is absolutely wrong for the Commonwealth to hold lands of this kind. The Commonwealth holds land in the different States simply for its own public purposes, and the moment it finds that it does not require any of it for public purposes that land ought to be sold. We want to strictly confine the Commonwealth to the holding of land for its own purposes, and not allow it to speculate in land. I do not believe in the principle that all land should be leased. I think that some should be held in fee simple and some should be leased. It would be absolutely dangerous to say that all land acquired under any possible circumstances, but not occupied for federal purposes, should be kept under lease, thus increasing the assets of the Commonwealth, the machinery of government, and the general expenditure, against all the rules of common sense.

Mr. A. McLEAN (Gippsland).—I think that the principle of leasing hardly arises upon this question. It is not intended that the Commonwealth shall acquire any lands which they do not believe they need

for public purposes. I think it would be unwise to tie the hands of the Government, and compel them to accumulate little remnants of land which they cannot use. I agree that the experiment of leasing lands in perpetuity should be tried in connexion with the federal capital, but that is a different matter altogether. I am glad to think that there is every prospect of that experiment proving successful. The unearned increment in that case should be very large, and it is only right that the Commonwealth should reap the full benefit of it. But to apply the same principle to little remnants of land in outlying places would be a mistake. I think there is more danger of the Government erring in the other direction than there is of it selling land with undue haste.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—It is undesirable that the Government should be asked to part with any land which they have acquired for public purposes. I disagree with the honorable member for Wentworth when he says that the Commonwealth have no powers to hold land which they do not require. They have power to deal with every kind of property which comes into their possession. The chief argument urged against the amendment of the honorable member for Bland is, that the Government might become possessed of certain land, and might not require the whole of it for the particular purpose for which they acquired it. I am somewhat surprised to hear honorable members who say that they favour the application of the principle of the non-alienation of Commonwealth lands to the federal capital opposing this amendment. If the Federal Government is a good thing, will not the value of land which is acquired by them be enhanced in every case? If not, we must admit that, generally speaking, the Federal Government is a bad thing for Australia. I understand, however, that the Minister has some suggestion to make.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Before I make a suggestion, I should like to give as an illustration a case which came before me to-day or yesterday. A building was purchased from a Melbourne suburban council some time ago for a post-office, and has been found to be absolutely useless for the purpose, and it would cost more money than the object is worth to erect a suitable building on the site. The suburban council occupies

premises in the same block, and a recommendation has been made to me to ask the council to buy this building back in order that a more suitable piece of land for the purposes of a post-office may be got elsewhere.

Mr. WATSON.—The suburban council will only take the building as a gift.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The money paid for the building was £2,000, and under the amendment we should be saddled with these premises at one end of the block, the other end of which is occupied by the local corporation. The building can be utilized by the municipal council, but it is no good to us as a post-office, the site of which in any case must be removed. The amendment would load the Government with properties which the Government do not wish to keep. The suggestion I have to make is that the words "sell, lease, or" be omitted, and at the end of the sub-clause the words "in such manner as the Governor-General in Council may think fit" be added. That will throw the responsibility on the Governor-General in Council.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I am thoroughly in sympathy with the honorable member for Bland in regard to leasing. I have had that policy on the brain since 1884, and perhaps have had as much to do with its advocacy as any honorable member in the House of Representatives. We have the system of perpetual leasing in South Australia, and, while I am in sympathy with the honorable member, I would not like to be forced to a division on the amendment, because I might be misunderstood. I look on the Commonwealth as not a land-holder by profession, except in relation to federal territory.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Or in relation to other territory the Commonwealth may acquire.

Mr. GLYNN.—But the Commonwealth is not a dealer in land, except for the purposes of the federal territory; and inconvenience would arise out of our forcing the Commonwealth to hold general lands in any part of the Commonwealth outside of the territory required for the immediate purposes of the Constitution. These outside lands would not be subject to State taxation, so that the Commonwealth might own lands in the States, and would not have to pay a single penny of municipal rates or direct taxation to the States; and that is not advisable. I therefore ask the

honorable member for Bland not to move generally that there shall be no land sold, because that would be implying that one of the functions of the Commonwealth is to hold land. We could, if we wish, add a proviso that land becoming vested in the Commonwealth under or for the purposes of section 125 of the Constitution, shall not be sold. That would be a complete declaration of the principle, and would show that we are against parting with any land which becomes the property of the Commonwealth. I prefer that the whole question of leasing should be deferred until we deal with the federal territory in regard to which the Commonwealth will be the landlord.

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—I am very much in sympathy with what has been advanced by the honorable member for Bland, but I am afraid that the land acquired under the Bill cannot be leased in the way he desires. There is a peculiarity in the title under which the Government is to hold land. It has apparently to hold the land on a title somewhat inferior to that on which the States at present hold land. The Commonwealth is to have the fee-simple, and its method of parting with the land is by conveyance, as is the case with all subjects of the Crown, including corporations. But a State may grant land in the name of the King to the Commonwealth, and apparently the Commonwealth will not hold land in the same way as the States do.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Is that in pursuance of the Constitution?

Mr. PIESSE.—No; it is the terms in which this Bill is drawn, and it would be of some interest if the Attorney-General gave us reasons for this course. Clause 4 deals with land purchased from private individuals, and provides that they may "sell or convey the same to the Commonwealth for the purposes of this Act." By clause 7, under which land is taken by notification in the *Gazette*, the land is vested in the Commonwealth "for the purposes of this Act for an estate in fee simple." The purposes are the purposes in reference to which this Parliament has power to make laws, and I do not know that the Parliament has power in regard to any dealings in land.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The incidental powers in sub-section (39) of section 51 of the Constitution will cover that.

Mr. PIESSE.—That may be so, but it might be held that the land was vested for

a particular purpose, and that the Commonwealth was only entitled to hold the land for that purpose. If the powers referred to by the honorable and learned member do not cover the power to lease the land, I am afraid that land cannot be properly dealt with, if acquired, under this Bill.

Mr. TUDOR (Yarra).—I think the amendment of the honorable member for Bland will have an opposite effect to what most honorable members think. The Minister has told us of a case in which there is a piece of land practically useless to the department, but we have not been told whether that land was acquired recently. The honorable member for Wentworth suggested that the Commonwealth might acquire a piece of land, and then find it possible to get another piece which would answer the purpose better. If the amendment were carried the Government would exercise the greatest care before they purchased any land, knowing, as they would, that they would not be able to dispose of it. The honorable member for Gippsland told us that it might be possible for the Commonwealth Government to get an acre of land for the same money as half-an-acre of land, in a case where half-an-acre was enough for the purpose; but, if that were so, the Commonwealth would have half-an-acre of land which had practically cost nothing. The amendment is a wise one, which we would do well to incorporate in the Bill.

Mr. E. SOLOMON (Fremantle).—The principle of the amendment is a correct one. When once a principle is embodied in a statute, it is referred to as a precedent, and what we do now, more particularly as this is the first time we have had to deal with the sale of land, will be referred to as a guide in the carrying out of purchases on a larger scale at some future time. We should show that we do not believe in the principle that, when once land has been acquired for a specific purpose, it shall be sold or trafficked in by the Government. If the amendment were carried, no doubt the Commonwealth would think twice before they purchased land, and would come to a decisive conclusion as to what they were going to do with the land before they purchased it. It is only right that we should put on the statute-book the principle that we do not believe in the Government having the power of sale.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—I feel sure that if the question were more fully discussed, the result would be in favour of the amendment of the honorable member for Bland. We have seen the development of questions such as this, and fortunately there is always a tendency to preventing the Government selling any land. As there seems to be a general desire not to press this matter further under this Bill, I would like to ask whether the Minister will promise to insert a clause to provide for an annual return to Parliament giving details as to the prices paid for the acquisition of the land, and also the particulars as to the prices received for any land sold by the Government. If that return be promised, it may not be necessary to take this amendment to a division. I feel very strongly in this matter, and unless there is some way of getting proper information, it will be necessary to protest on every occasion.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I see no objection to the suggestion of the honorable member for Wide Bay, and I shall see that an amendment is prepared, probably in this clause, providing that there shall be laid on the table of the House a return showing, not only the price of the land, but all other necessary particulars in connexion with the transaction. If the honorable member will withdraw his amendment, I shall submit a provision to that effect.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—We must recollect that we, as a Federal Parliament, have to deal fairly with the States. Land acquired for public purposes may be in the direct route of a line of railway, and under the clause, as amended, we practically could not have any friendly arrangement to give that land up in fee simple to the State.

Mr. FISHER.—We could lease it to them.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—A bit of railway line could not be leased to a State. I can see clearly that, both with regard to the municipalities—which are, after all, the ground-work of the constitutional system of government—and to the State, there may be many occasions on which, in a friendly way, it would be necessary perhaps to exchange land, which would practically mean selling land; in other words, to deal with land might be just as necessary for the public interest in the particular locality as for the Commonwealth interest. The clause does not infringe on any principles honorable members may hold in regard to the

general desirability of leasing public land. We ought in matters of this kind to give a very free hand in regard to the interests concerned—not to private interests, but to the public interests arising out of municipal or State government.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—Some private railway companies at present lease land from the State in New South Wales, and if such leasing pays private companies, surely it would be profitable to the State. But there is something in the contention put forward by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, that the transfer of an area of land from private people to the State might mean a loss of revenue to the municipalities. Still, if I thought there was a chance of carrying my amendment that argument would not affect me. My feeling is very strong on this subject, and has been so ever since I was able to think on political affairs at all, and in New South Wales I have said a word or two on the question so far as general land administration is concerned. As there seems no chance of carrying the amendment, and the Minister has agreed to the suggestion of the honorable member for Wide Bay as to the presentation of a return, I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I understand that the Minister is going to so amend the clause, as I have suggested to him, that it shall be left to the Governor-General to dispose of these lands as he thinks fit. I think the particular mode in which the Commonwealth is to hold lands is worthy of the full attention of the Ministry. I never knew of the King being his own tenant, but clause 7 practically provides that the King, in his capacity as the head of the Commonwealth, is to hold land in fee simple under the King in his capacity as head of the State. I think the committee is indebted to the honorable member for Tasmania (Mr. Piesse) for the attention which he has given to the titles in connexion with this Bill. I can foresee that the most difficult questions of title will arise unless great care is taken in regard to the expressions used in the Bill.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I move—

That the words "sell, lease or," line 4, be omitted, and that, after the word "land," line 5, the following words be inserted:—"in such manner as the Governor-General in Council shall think fit."

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—We find that this land is to be vested in the Commonwealth as an estate in fee simple, but that when it is to be disposed of it is not to be conveyed by the Commonwealth in the name of the Commonwealth, but that the transfer is to be executed by the Attorney-General.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 55 (Compensation for temporary occupation).

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I understand that the Attorney-General intends to insert provisions throughout this Bill that in all cases where it is provided that matters are to come before the High Court of Australia they shall, until the High Court of Australia is established, be brought before the Supreme Courts of the various States.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes; that is the intention.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 57 (Costs to be borne by Minister).

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—It is provided in this clause that in the case of any land "purchased or taken under this Act" the Commonwealth shall bear all costs, charges, and expenses. I think it is necessary to provide that this shall apply only to cases in which land is "taken by the Commonwealth," otherwise the Commonwealth may have to bear the costs of transferring land which may be bought from it by some one else.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I will look into that matter.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 61 (Power to set apart and dedicate land).

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—If the Commonwealth is to be incorporated the land belonging to it should be held in the name of the Commonwealth and not in the name of any officer or person on behalf of the Commonwealth, and I suggest that the words in the clause providing for the latter alternative should be omitted.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I will make a note of the point raised by the honorable and learned member.

Clause agreed to.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I move—

That the following new clause be inserted after clause 11 :—

1. Where land has been acquired under this Act by notification in the *Gazette*, except where—

(a) The Parliament has appropriated a sum of money out of the Consolidated

Revenue Fund, for or towards the purpose in respect of which the land was acquired; or

(b) The Governor-General has sanctioned the construction or carrying out of the work, or undertaking, in respect of which the land was acquired and public funds are legally available for that purpose; or

(c) The Minister certifies in writing, under his hand, that the estimated value of the land does not exceed £100,

if either House of the Parliament within 30 days after a copy of the notification has been laid before it, passes a resolution declaring the notification to be void, the notification shall be deemed to be void and of no effect, and the land shall be deemed not to have been vested in the Commonwealth, and the owners of the land shall be entitled to compensation for any damage which they may have suffered by reason of the notification or the exercise of the powers of the Minister consequent thereupon.

2. Every person or State claiming compensation under this section shall within 120 days from the passing of such a resolution, or within such further time as a Justice of the High Court upon the application and at the cost of the claimant may either before or after the expiration of such 120 days appoint in their behalf, serve upon the Minister and upon the Attorney-General a notice in writing similar to the notice mentioned in section 12, and the like proceedings shall thereupon be taken as in the case of compensation claimed under Part 3 of this Act.

This clause is intended to meet the case which was raised last night in connexion with the provision that on a proclamation being issued the land referred to in it should at once become vested in the Commonwealth. The clause provides that land shall only be acquired under certain conditions which are fully set forth, and that the transfer to the Commonwealth shall not be absolute, except in certain cases, until after Parliament has had an opportunity of reviewing the action of the Government and ratifying the resumption or otherwise.

Clause agreed to.

Progress reported.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL.

In Committee (consideration resumed) :

Clause 8A—

Any person coming within the definitions of a prohibited immigrant contained in section 4 and not naturalized within the Commonwealth, who is convicted of any crime of violence against the person, shall be liable on the expiration of any term of imprisonment or penal servitude imposed on him thereof to be deported from the Commonwealth pursuant to any order of the Minister.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat—Attorney-General).—I move—

That all the words after the words “any person” down to and inclusive of the words “therefor to” be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words—“who is not a British subject, either natural born or naturalized under a law of the United Kingdom or of the Commonwealth, or of a State, and who is convicted of any crime of violence against the person, shall be liable, upon the expiration of any term of imprisonment imposed on him therefor, to be required to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of an officer a passage of 50 words in length in an European language, directed by the officer, and if he fails to do so shall be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant, and shall”

I have re-cast the clause of the honorable member for Coolgardie into a form in which I hope it will prove acceptable to the House.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 9—

The master, owners, and charterers of any vessel from which any prohibited immigrant enters the Commonwealth contrary to this Act shall be jointly and severally liable to a penalty not exceeding £100 for each prohibited immigrant so entering the Commonwealth.

No penalty shall be imposed under this section on any master, owner, or charterer who proves to the satisfaction of the court that he had no knowledge of the immigrant being landed contrary to this Act, and that he took all reasonable precautions to prevent it.

Mr. DEAKIN.—In order to meet the case of our relations in America who would not be included in the term “European,” I move—

That the words “provided that in the case of an immigrant not of European race or descent” be inserted before the word “no,” line 7.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 11 (Assisting persons to contravene Act).

Amendment (by Mr. DEAKIN) agreed to—

That the following words be added as sub-clause (2):—“Any person who makes or authorizes such contract or agreement shall be liable to the Commonwealth for any expense incurred by the Commonwealth in respect of any immigrant prohibited by reason of the contract or agreement.”

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Bill reported with further amendments.

Motion (by Mr. DEAKIN) agreed to—

That the Bill be recommitted for the purpose of reconsidering clause 5.

In Committee (recommittal):

Amendment (by Mr. DEAKIN) agreed to—

That the word “may” be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word “shall.”

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Bill reported with a further amendment.

ADJOURNMENT.

RETURNS RE LAND FOR COMMONWEALTH PURPOSES.

Motion (by Mr. DEAKIN) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. E. SOLOMON (Fremantle).—I wish to direct the Attorney-General's attention to the fact that on August 30 certain returns were ordered by the House for the supply of particulars as to the amount of money expended in the purchase of land for the Commonwealth, and as to the estimated value of any lands which were likely to be taken over for Commonwealth purposes. Those returns have not yet been furnished.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat — Attorney-General).—I will make inquiries regarding the matter. I noticed that there were several returns circulated in the papers to-day, but am not aware whether they included those asked for by the honorable member.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

Senate.

Friday, 4 October, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO DUTIES.

Senator PULSFORD. — Referring to Senator O'Connor's statement of 31st May, that suggestions relative to the rates of duties which it was sought to have fixed, had been received from various associations and that there would be no objection to lay them upon the table of the Senate as soon as the Tariff resolutions had been tabled in the other House, will he see that they are laid on the table upon Wednesday next?

Senator O'CONNOR. — I ask the honorable senator to give notice of the question.

The PRESIDENT.—Papers can only be laid upon the table pursuant to statute, by order of the Senate, by command of His Excellency the Governor-General, or by the President. Therefore, it is not competent for the Vice-President of the Executive Council, on his own motion, to lay any paper upon the table. Of course he can do it by command.

PUBLIC SERVICE BILL.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, upon notice—

1. Was not the Public Service Bill read a first time in this Senate on the 17th July, or over eleven weeks ago?

2. On how many occasions has the said Bill been brought before this Senate during all this period?

3. How many hours has the Government devoted to the discussion of this measure in this Senate?

4. Is it the intention of the Government to make any effort to deal with the Public Service Bill, or is it intended to bring forward the said Bill, when, and so often as, the Government has no other business ready to bring before this Senate?

5. Is the Minister aware that several senators have, at great personal sacrifice, attended week after week, in the expectation of the Public Service Bill being dealt with, merely to meet with long-continued disappointment?

6. Does the Minister consider that this unsatisfactory and fragmentary method of conducting important measures through this Senate is conducive to the speedy and efficient conduct of public business?

Senator O'CONNOR.—As these questions appear to have been framed more with the view of conveying offensive comment than of seeking information, I decline to answer them.

VICTORIAN MILITARY FORCES.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, upon notice—

1. Has the report of Major-General Downes upon the Victorian Military Forces during the year 1900-1 been presented to the Federal or to the State Minister for Defence?

2. Is the Victorian Field Artillery still armed with the "worse than useless" guns described in the said report?

3. Are the horses now in use by the Victorian Field Artillery those described in the said report as "thoroughly unsuited" for the work required of them?

4. Are steps being taken to efficiently arm and horse the said Artillery?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The answers are as follow:—

1. To the Minister of State for the Commonwealth.

2. Yes; but action has been taken to remedy the matter.

3. A report from the Commandant on this subject has been asked for.

4. Yes.

PAPERS.

Senator DRAKE laid upon the table—

A return with regard to Customs statistics as to imports of sugar, tea, spirits, tobacco, kerosene, &c.

A return to an order of the Senate for copies of all correspondence and documents relating to and inquiry connected with the holding of a military camp at Hobart.

Ordered to be printed.

KANAKA AND COLOURED LABOUR.

Ordered (on motion by Senator WALKER)—

That there be laid on the table of the Senate copies of all correspondence that has taken place between the Government of Queensland and the Commonwealth Government respecting the kanaka and coloured labour question.

BEER EXCISE BILL.

In Committee (consideration of amendments of House of Representatives):

Clause 46 (Access to brewery and books).

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—An amendment was made by the Senate in clause 46 in order to make it certain that secrets of manufacture should not be unnecessarily pried into. There seemed to be very good reason for moving the amendment, and, at the suggestion of Senator Walker, I moved a similar amendment in the Excise Bill. As I do not see any necessity for altering that opinion, I move—

That the committee insists on its amendment in clause 46, omitting the words "and the making of beer."

Motion agreed to.

Resolution reported and adopted.

DISTILLATION BILL.

In Committee (consideration of amendments of House of Representatives):

Clause 58 (Maximum strength of wine).

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).

—It will be remembered that clauses 57 and 58, involving the question of the fortifying of wines, particularly of Australian wines, were very much discussed. There was a discussion in regard to clause 57, as a result of which a certain amendment was carried on the motion of Senator McGregor, and a consequential amendment was moved in clause 58 to add words to make it quite clear what the meaning of pure white spirit was. Inasmuch as our amendment in clause 57 has been allowed to stand, it seems to me that the consequential amendment must stand also. Therefore, I move—

That the committee insist on its amendment in clause 58, inserting the words "of a strength of at least 30 degrees above proof."

Motion agreed to.

THIRD SCHEDULE.

. . . . 59. Every case must have branded or painted thereon the name of the distiller or the name of the distillery, and the place where the spirits were distilled, and any number or letter which the collector shall direct; and, if so prescribed, the materials of which the spirits have been made. . . .

Senator O'CONNOR.—All the words, after the word "direct," in regulation 59, were struck out by the Senate after a considerable debate, on the ground that they would put the Australian distiller in an unfair position in regard to any other distiller, and that there was really no reason for their insertion. I do not see that there is any reason now why that view should be altered, therefore I move—

That the committee insist on its amendment omitting from regulation No. 59 all the words after the word "direct."

Motion agreed to.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I should like to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council if this amendment was the one which was suggested by the Government in another place? If so—I shall be delighted to hear an affirmative answer—I am glad we are going to defy, not merely the other House, but a suggestion originated in that House by members of the Government. I think that is what we are doing.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I do not know that it is necessary for me to answer the question.

Motion agreed to.

. . . . 60. No label shall be affixed by a distiller to any bottles containing spirits, unless the collector has given his permission in

writing to the affixing of such labels, and, if so prescribed, each label shall state the materials of which the contents are made.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I move—

That the committee insist upon the amendment in regulation 60, omitting all the words after the word "labels."

This is an amendment of precisely the same kind as the preceding one.

Motion agreed to.

Resolutions reported, and adopted.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

In Committee (consideration of amendments of House of Representatives resumed, from October 3, *vide* page 5565):

New clause 15A—

(1) No contract or arrangement for the carriage of mails shall be entered into on behalf of the Commonwealth unless it contains a condition that only white labour shall be employed in such carriage.

(2) This condition shall not apply to the coal- ing and loading of ships at places beyond the limits of the Commonwealth.

Motion (by Senator O'CONNOR) again proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives inserting new clause.

Upon which Senator NEILD had moved, by way of amendment—

That, after the word "apply," line 6, the following words be inserted:—"To agreements limited to single voyages nor."

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania). — I listened with a great deal of interest to the long and heated debate which took place last night upon this proposed new clause.

Senator DRAKE.—There was no heat.

Senator CLEMONS.—I recognise that there was a considerable amount of heat in the debate. At the beginning of my remarks I prefer to go back to the commencement of the debate last night. The committee will probably remember that the discussion on the clause was initiated by the Postmaster-General. We are discussing an amendment which the committee negatived by a very large majority when the Bill was first considered. *Primâ facie* therefore we, as a committee, have to determine to what extent we can stultify our original decision, or whether we shall adhere to what we formerly decided by a large majority. The Postmaster-General began the debate with some remarks with which I was very much amused. He is, so to speak, the parliamentary author of this Bill,

and he is certainly the custodian of it in the Senate. What is his attitude with regard to this very important amendment? He seemed to me to start with a mild and gentle regretting of the fact that the usefulness of the Australian aborigine might be seriously impaired if we accepted the proposed new clause. That was his first argument, and in a quasi-defiant way he went on to inform the committee that although apparently, under the wording of this clause, he would not be able to use the aborigine as he wanted, he nevertheless intended to defeat the clause by making use of him. The Postmaster-General's further attitude, so far as he betrayed his feelings in regard to the clause, was to instruct the committee that the amendment which has been suggested by the House of Representatives could be entirely set at nought by the force of other clauses in the Bill.

Senator DRAKE.—No, not entirely set at nought.

Senator CLEMONS.—The Postmaster-General referred gratuitously to clauses 14 and 67. He certainly said that clause 14 would be of considerable assistance to him in avoiding the difficulty he would be placed in if he had to administer this new clause literally, and he also reminded the committee that under clause 67 he was still enabled to make any arrangement that he chose with regard to the conveyance of mails from any port of the Commonwealth to any other part of the world.

Senator DRAKE.—Not arrangement.

Senator CLEMONS.—We all know that the companies which are largely interested in this clause are the P. and O. and Orient Companies; and the Postmaster-General gratuitously informed the committee that he would be able, in spite of it, to employ both these companies as fully as he chose under the operation of clause 67.

Senator DRAKE.—By force of law, yes.

Senator DOBSON.—But at greater expense.

Senator CLEMONS.—Of course, it is not supposed that the Postmaster-General is going to bother about expense. We are going to enforce the principle of a white Australia, and in doing so the Postmaster-General and the rest of us are to disregard entirely the question of expense.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not know that it would be at greater expense, but we should have no control over the steamers in the matter of speed.

Senator CLEMONS.—The clause will be enforced at the expense of the regularity of the service.

Senator DRAKE.—There would be less regularity—that is right.

Senator CLEMONS.—The Postmaster-General would be able to call upon the P. and O. and Orient boats to carry our mails, but he would not be able to enter into any contract with them to deliver the mails within any specified time.

Senator DRAKE.—That is right.

Senator CLEMONS.—While the Postmaster-General says that probably the Commonwealth would not be put to greater expense, he admits that there will be trouble in the matter of mail deliveries.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not admit that, even.

Senator GLASSEY.—Why should there be?

Senator DRAKE.—The companies have other reasons for running their ships regularly; they are competing with one another.

Senator CLEMONS.—But one of the chief inducements the Commonwealth recognises in entering into contracts with the P. and O. and Orient Companies is the regularity of the mail service. That is one of the demands that the public has a right to make. Of course, if the Government enters into no contract, the regularity of the service will suffer, and the public will to that extent be inconvenienced. Of that there is no question. Another attitude that has entertained me very much is that of the Vice-President of the Executive Council. I do not suppose there is any honorable senator who remembers the original discussion upon this question, who does not agree with me that the Vice-President of the Executive Council was equally emphatic and forceful in two directions. He was overflowing with sympathy with the demand for a white Australia. At the same time he was never more emphatic in this chamber than in his declaration that the provision now proposed to be inserted in the Bill was impossible and impracticable. Of that there can be no doubt. These are the words in which the Vice-President of the Executive Council dealt with the question—

Therefore, dealing with the question in a practical way, I say that it is impossible to apply this principle.

He then considered it impossible to apply the principle. It may be said that this

impossibility has vanished on closer investigation, but, so far as we can understand, that is not so. I listened with the very utmost care to the words of the Vice-President of the Executive Council yesterday, and I saw, as we all did, that he entirely left alone the question of practicability. All that he did yesterday was to reiterate his sympathy with the demand for a white Australia, but not by one single word did he attempt to change from his former position as to the impracticability of enforcing the principle. That is his attitude at the present time. All the excuse he could make was one with which I can heartily sympathize. He said that as a member of the Cabinet he had to compromise. I sympathize with the honorable and learned senator in having to recognise his duty to the Cabinet; but I say distinctly that I prefer the remarks of Senator O'Connor to the remarks of the Vice-President of the Executive Council, and that I recognise that Senator O'Connor is still of the opinion that the clause proposed to be inserted is one that it will be absolutely impossible to carry out. That was Senator O'Connor's opinion a fortnight ago, and it is his opinion this morning. The Vice-President of the Executive Council is not applying, with regard to the employment of black labour on boats, the educational test that is to be applied to those black people whom it is desired to exclude from the country. I hope honorable senators who support the amendment will be equally satisfied with the attitude of the Government when we come to deal with the presence of black men on shore. I hope they will then find Senator O'Connor's attitude as satisfactory as they do now.

The CHAIRMAN.—Order.

Senator CLEMONS.—I hope you will not, under the circumstances, call me to order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable senator is referring to another Bill altogether.

Senator CLEMONS.—But it is closely involved in the consideration of this question. If I am trespassing in this matter I am not the first who has trespassed, but I shall apparently be the first to be stopped. If we take away from some honorable senators their cry on the question of a white Australia, practically we take away from them their support, because it is on that cry that they rely. Therefore, I remind those who rely upon the cry for a white Australia

that they are treating this matter in a way that they do not desire to see the other question treated. I point out that the blemishes and blots that appear in connexion with the policy of a white Australia as represented on board ship, are blots which are treated in a very different way from the blemishes that are to be removed from Australia on shore.

Senator PEARCE.—Not so far as we are concerned.

Senator CLEMONS.—I hope Senator Pearce will be satisfied with the treatment he is to get in that matter. From those who have made themselves most conspicuous in their advocacy of this amendment I have heard no arguments with the exception of the remarks from Senator Pearce, which seem to me to be worth answering. I should like to compliment Senator Pearce on the way in which he has approached this subject. He alone, of all the honorable senators who have urged reasons why we should adopt this amendment, has adduced arguments which are worth answering. I would also say that in my humble opinion his remarks lost none of their effectiveness because they were characterized by no approach to violence. The honorable senator's chief argument is that by excluding black labour from ships that carry mails we shall be doing something to improve the position of our mercantile marine. If we in Australia were in possession either of a navy or of a very large mercantile fleet I might be disposed to admit that there is a good deal in his argument, but I would remind him that in this matter he is attempting to legislate, not for Australia, but for Great Britain. I deprecate any interference, even on the part of this magnificent Commonwealth Parliament, with the management of the naval affairs of Great Britain. Great Britain can manage her own naval affairs, and it is quite unnecessary for us to interfere, however sincere our motives and however worthy our efforts in the interests of the British Navy may be.

Senator HIGGS.—That is very far-fetched.

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not think it is, because I do not recognise that we have any mercantile marine to assist in this way. I remember, of course, that our most magnificent contribution to the British Navy—for the squadron which constitutes our chief means of defence—represents about £105,000 per annum. I suppose it is intended to

add to that exuberant generosity by this attempt to see that every sailor on board our mail ships is a white man. That argument has no effect upon me. There is another statement of the question to which I object. I have heard both from honorable senators who support the amendment, and from those who oppose it, more or less fervent appeals to patriotism. This question is not amenable to patriotic treatment, and I might say further at this point that I do not think the difficulty will be made soluble by attempting to immerse it in poetry. Such an attempt was made last night. With regard to the cry for a "White Australia," let me say that, in my opinion, there is abundant justification for it. A proper desire for the preservation of the white races in Australia is the justification for the cry; but when the demand is extended to vessels that may carry our mails, what are honorable senators doing? Those who wish to extend it in that direction are determined to persecute the black races. There is an enormous difference between the justifiable demand for preserving the white races on our shores and the persecution of black races at sea. That is, undoubtedly, what honorable senators who favour this amendment are supporting, and that is why it has no sympathy from me. I cannot see that the supporters of the amendment are in any way within their proper demand for a white Australia in attempting to exclude black men from mail ships. To my mind, it amounts to nothing more nor less than the persecution of the black people.

Senator HIGGS.—The persecution exists on the boats at the present time; they are persecuted by the shipping companies.

Senator CLEMONS.—These black men are not slaves. They go on the boats by their own free will. There is no compulsion in the matter. To say that they are persecuted on these boats is simply idle.

Senator DOBSON.—It is contrary to fact.

Senator HIGGS.—What did Senator Dobson show in his quotation last night?

Senator CLEMONS.—The demand for a white Australia to preserve the purity of our race is well justified. But there is an industrial side to this question which honorable senators in the labour corner recognise. Is there a single senator, however fervent his desire may be to improve the industrial conditions of Australia,

who believes that by carrying this amendment we shall improve the condition of a single Australian workman?

Senator HIGGS.—We believe that will be the result.

Senator CLEMONS.—What is going to happen if black men are excluded from our mail steamers? Do honorable senators think that a single white Australian will sign on in their places? Such a man will not be able to do so, because the crews are all shipped in England, and no opportunity will be given for the shipping of white instead of black men in any Australian port. If the opportunity were given, however, would it be availed of? I do not think for one moment that there are any white men in Australia who would jump at the chance of working in the stoke-holes of vessels which pass through the tropics and the Red Sea. Even if the amendment is passed, those who support it will secure nothing. That is one of the chief reasons why I cannot vote for it. I can see no likelihood of any practical result from it, save, as I have said before, the persecution of coloured men, which is unworthy of those whose chief cry is for the preservation of the purity of their own race. There is yet another aspect to be dealt with. A good many honorable senators have obviously changed their opinions. After due consideration, I say that every honorable senator who is prepared to-day to vote for the absolute and direct exclusion of black men from mail steam-ships is bound to vote for the absolute and direct exclusion of black men from Australian shores. I shall be most interested in hearing the debate which will take place in the Senate at an early date, and in seeing how the votes of those honorable senators who propose to vote for this amendment will be given.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The honorable and learned senator will find that they will come out all right.

Senator CLEMONS.—There is no contradicting the fact that those who are going to exclude black men from mail steam-ships must vote for their exclusion from our shores. Why should they not do so? Are they going to be afraid of Downing-street?

Senator BARRETT.—No.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is the argument always used. Do honorable senators think that Downing-street will not be affronted or annoyed if we exclude black

labour from mail steamers? If we compel the British Government to enter into another form of contract, will not that be an affront to the Imperial authorities? The Home Government desire, of course, to secure the conveyance of mails from England to Australia just as we wish to secure their conveyance from Australia to England. They have made their own contract in this matter, and it has been in existence for many years. If this Bill receives the Royal assent the inevitable result will be that the terms of the contract must be altered, and the expenses increased. That is not the sort of thing which is calculated to meet with the approval of the Home authorities. What do we say here? The Government are quite prepared to ignore any demand the Home authorities make in this matter. They have no compunction whatever in telling them that in framing this contract chief consideration will have to be shown to the Australian side of it. I am simply making these remarks in order to show that there is no deferring to Downing-street; and I wish to show every honorable senator who supports this amendment that when we come to vote on a kindred subject he will not be able to say that he objects to the direct method in this matter, because he does not wish to affront the Imperial authorities.

Senator O'KEEFE.—If the honorable and learned senator believes in the direct method in one case why should he not support it in this?

Senator CLEMONS.—If I did believe in the direct method in the other case that would be a strong reason why I should not apply it in this instance. I think that this is indistinctly unworthy of the cry for a white Australia.

Senator HIGGS.—The British public will compel the Home Government to do the same thing before long.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am dealing now with honorable senators who are going to support the Government on this division, although it is a direct method of excluding black labour, and although it is in direct antagonism to the desires of Downing-street. If they have any regard for consistency, they must be equally determined when they record their votes on another question; they will not be able to fall behind the shadow of an educational test.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—We shall not be afraid.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is what I want to impress upon every honorable senator who is going to be this morning a blind follower of the Government. I hope he will not always limit his vote by a regard for the desires of the Government; but I think that in this case the desires of the Government will have a good deal to do with the votes of more than one honorable senator. I am free to express my own opinion, and if the Government turn round completely, and swallow their own words, I am not going to vote with them. I do not intend to delay much longer on this subject, because I know perfectly well that honorable senators have made up their minds.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Why speak to the question then?

Senator CLEMONS.—Because I think it is an occasion upon which every honorable senator should express his view. I want to make my attitude on the question clear, because I am distinctly opposed to the amendment. My honorable friends in the labour corner have come into this Chamber with strict orders—I do not use the term offensively—and they are determined, and willingly determined, to enforce the conditions of a white Australia. They have orders, and are not ashamed of having received those orders.

Senator PEARCE.—Some honorable senators have received the same orders, but are going to disobey them.

Senator CLEMONS.—Precisely. I can see already obvious traces of that kind of arrogance which comes from a successful division, and which they are going to have presently. I want to ask those honorable senators who are so keen on the subject of a white Australia whether they expect to be very jubilant when we shall have finally thrashed out this question?

Senator HIGGS.—What is the honorable and learned senator hinting at?

Senator CLEMONS.—What I want to know is whether those honorable senators imagine they are going to celebrate a glorious victory at the close of the first session of Parliament, and that they will be able to go back to their constituents and say—"We have not been able to make Australia quite snow white, but there is not a single black speck on any boat that carries our mails"? That is the position in which they will find themselves.

Senator PEARCE.—It depends upon the free-trade members.

Senator CLEMONS.—It does not. It depends upon the Government. My opinion is that the Government are going to enable those honorable senators who advocate a "White Australia" to celebrate a glorious victory in this way. In fact, it seems to me that those senators have come here in order to get the Government to manufacture a big kite with "White Australia" painted all over it, but when they come to fly their kite before their admiring constituents, they will find that they have not got the kite but have only got the tail—the right to keep black men off these boats. We know that by the educational test black men will be allowed freely to come into the Commonwealth, and as a matter of fact, the result of this amendment will be that, while we shall prevent these black men serving on the mail boats, they will be enabled to pass their examination of 50 words in English, and then to promptly take up their residence on our shores. That is what is going to be secured by keeping them out of the boats. They will be turned on to our shores and then these honorable senators can go with pride before their constituents and say to them, "See what we have done in the interests of a 'white Australia.'"

Senator O'CONNOR.—This is a party move that is a little too previous.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I do not intend to give a silent vote upon such an important amendment as that now before the committee. The reason is that, as Senator Clemons has put it, I have received instructions, or direct orders, and I intend to carry them out. I may say that the instructions or orders are from Australia. I do not presume to speak on behalf of Indian or lascar crews on the boats carrying mails to Australia. I do not presume to speak even on behalf of Downing-street, or of the British Empire. I presume only to speak on behalf of the working men of the ports of Fremantle, Geraldton, and Albany, in Western Australia, who feel very strongly on this matter, and who have a much greater interest in it than some honorable senators seem to think. Senator Clemons has said that even if coloured crews are done away with on these steamers, he does not think that any Australian white man will be found to take the place of these men. Perhaps there

may not be a great number; but I can assure the honorable and learned senator that at the present time there is a considerable portion of our population getting a living by working in the stoke-holes, and there is a much larger proportion getting a living by working at a very much hotter occupation than work in the stoke-hole of a vessel. We do not need to go very far to find that out. We do not need to go away from the State in which we are at the present time. If we go to the deep mines of Bendigo we will find men working there in a greater degree of heat than is to be found in the stoke-hole of a steamer.

Senator BARRETT.—Almost naked, too.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Naked they are. I know that in some of the deeper levels of these mines men have to work in a completely nude state. More than that, some of them have to work with jets of water turned upon them, and some have even to rub themselves with anti-friction grease before they start their work. This may be news to some honorable senators, and it is apparently amusing to Senator Clemons, but I can assure the honorable and learned senator that it is true, and it is very painful for those who have to do the work.

Senator PEARCE.—Yet white men can be got to do it.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Yes, we can get white men to do it. There has been a great deal of talk about the excessive heat of the stoke-holes of steamers going through the Red Sea. Now I know a little about this. I am rather an old hand at this sort of thing, and have done a little work at it myself. I have not been in a stoke-hole while in the Red Sea, but I have gone through the Red Sea. We must remember that in a passage of about 30 days there are only three or four days passed in the Red Sea, and even the Red Sea is not so intolerably hot, except at certain seasons of the year. I therefore take it that this cry about the heat of the Red Sea has been made too much of.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It is a red herring.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Yes; and it has been made a bogey of. I do not believe in it, and it is not founded on hard fact. I know that white men can work in places as hot as the Red Sea. I have seen them do so, and have done it myself. I am not by any means a physical giant, but I should

not hesitate at any time to go to work alongside the best of the black stokers in any of these boats, and there are many white men far superior physically to me. I could take honorable senators to mines in this State where white men are doing work which no coolie or Lascar in the whole of the great Indian Empire could do. With these things before us, I hold that all this talk about the difficulties of work in the stoke-holes in the Red Sea is only so much nonsense. I was very sorry to hear Senators Symon and Neild refer in the way they did to foreigners who, unfortunately in some respects, are taking the place of some of our own countrymen on board our steamers. I think it is better to see Europeans in these positions than lascars, for in many instances they become Australians, and good Australians, later on. We have heard Senator Symon and other senators saying that they would rather have black men on board these steamers than these foreigners. That is just the talk which places England in the position in which she is, of having no ally amongst the powers of Europe. I strongly oppose such sentiments. They are wrong, because they do injustice to a very large number of Europeans who have settled in Australia. Very many of these men, who have followed a seafaring life for years, have settled in Australia, and there are no better Australian citizens than some of them are. I therefore hope to hear no more about black men being preferable to foreigners in that respect. As to the arrogance referred to by Senator Clemons, I do not think there is any arrogance on the part of the labour corner because they are going to secure a victory on this occasion, for, even should we fail at this time to carry out our wishes, it would not be the last time the question would be heard of. It will be brought on again and again in this Senate, until it is carried, if it is not carried now. I think I can gauge public opinion sufficiently to say that we are on the right track, and have the flowing tide of public opinion with us. If the question is defeated on this occasion, it will be carried later on by this or by some other Government. There is therefore no arrogance on our part in pressing the matter forward this morning.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It will be carried by the British Government.

Senator DE LARGIE.—We certainly see indications in that direction, but if it is

defeated at the present time, it will be brought on again and again, until it is successful in this Senate.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania). — I shall not detain the committee much longer upon this question, because I feel that, no matter how long we may discuss it, very little can now be added to what has already been said on both sides during the discussion. But I feel it is due to myself to indicate my position in the matter, inasmuch as when the question came up for the consideration of the Senate before I was not present, and have not had an opportunity of giving my views upon it. On this occasion also I shall not have an opportunity of voting directly, inasmuch as, for his convenience, I have paired with an honorable senator whose business has called him away. I wish to say that my attitude now is the attitude I should have maintained had I been present on the previous occasion, and I am distinctly in favour of the amendment which has been carried in the House of Representatives. I think the question before us is not, as suggested by Senator Symon, a question of the power we have to legislate upon this matter—the power to legislate indirectly with regard to the territory of other people, regarding the ships of other people as a part of their territory. As to the power we have to legislate in this direction, there can be no doubt in the minds of any honorable senator. The whole question is as to the expediency involved in such legislation. Having regard to the fact that we have trading to Australia, not merely to one port, but to one port and thence round the whole coast of Australia, foreign-going vessels, and that so far as the coastal navigation of Australia is concerned they are in direct competition with the people of our own States—companies existing in our own States—we should, so far as possible, legislate to preserve in the competition around our coast, at least, equality of conditions. For that reason I am moved to support an amendment of this character. It would seem from the remarks of honorable senators who have opposed the amendment that it is an entirely novel departure, and something absolutely monstrous on the part of the Federal Legislature to attempt to legislate in this way, and yet we have the fact that for some years past the State of Queensland has had in operation a similar enactment.

Senator GLASSEY.—Since 1889.

Senator KEATING. — An enactment which arose out of the disaster in connexion with the *Quetta*.

Senator GLASSEY.—No ; it was prior to that.

Senator KEATING.—I understood that the disaster that occurred in connexion with the *Quetta* forced the members of the Queensland Parliament to take into consideration the question of the undesirableness of subsidizing steam-ships employing this class of labour.

Senator GLASSEY.—No ; the Queensland Parliament adopted this principle, by resolution, before that disaster took place.

Senator KEATING.—When the disaster to the *Quetta* occurred I know it confirmed the members of the Queensland Legislature in the idea that it was absolutely necessary that the State of Queensland should not subsidize any steam-ships for the carriage of mails that employed labour of such a character. We have further the fact that the Imperial Parliament has actually appointed a commission that has been taking evidence and making inquiries into the whole question as to whether it should any longer be a party to any contract or arrangement which will involve a subsidy to steam-ship companies which employ labour of this character. Senator Neild has told us of his experience in visiting one of the American war-ships lying in the harbor here. The honorable senator has told us the explanation given to him of the ingenious way in which they got over the difficulty they were in in having on board their vessels Chinese or other foreigners who are not supposed to come into American territory. He has told us that they left their Chinese at their last port of call when proceeding to American waters. We have been told, and I do not know how practicable it is, that if an amendment of the kind suggested by the House of Representatives is inserted in the Postal Act of the Commonwealth the P. and O. and Orient, and such other companies as may be subsidized by the Commonwealth for the carriage of mails, will avoid the difficulty in the way suggested to honorable senators by the incident to which Senator Neild refers. In other words that as soon as they get to their first port of call outside of Australian waters they will utilize lascars or other coloured labour, and before leaving their last port of departure to come to Australian waters they will exchange them for a white crew. If they choose to do that, and to run

round our coast employing only white labour, they will be complying at least with the letter of this enactment. I very much regret that Senator Dobson and one or two other honorable senators have, in discussing this matter, referred to men who have been employed in the past, men of our own blood and our own race, as inferior, not merely in physical capacity, but inferior in morals also, to the lascar. Senator Dobson has told us that employment of this character absolutely demoralizes white men ; that white stokers are given up to drunkenness, and constant desertion of duty ; and he asks us to consider the picture of a boat finding it extremely difficult to get away to time because of desertions by such men. It must be remembered that Senator Dobson and others who speak in that way are quite accustomed, in parading their loyalty, to refer to these self-same men as the men who are doing the work of the Empire in South Africa, who have done the difficult and arduous work of the Empire wherever it has had to be done.

Senator BARRETT.—They say then that they are the bone and sinew.

Senator KEATING.—Yes—

It's thin red line of heroes, when the guns begin to shoot.

But when it is a question of cheapness, Tommy can be regarded as a drunken, unreliable brute. We have heard a lot of talk as to the incapacity of white men to do this work—that it is work which no Australian, Britisher, or white man can do, and that you must employ men of greater physical capacity. Senator De Largie has pointed out that in Victoria in some of the deeper mines white men are employed on work imposing just as heavy a strain on their physical capacity as would the work in the stoke-hole. He need not have gone to this State for an illustration. In Tasmania, in some of our deeper mines, men are working in the lower levels with the smallest possible amount of clothing upon them, and they have to be treated as miners have to be treated in the deeper levels in this State. Senator O'Keefe can bear me out when I say that not merely below the surface, but on the surface, in Tasmania, one can see not dozens, but hundreds, of men doing work imposing a far greater strain on their physical capacity than would the work in the stoke-holes of vessels passing through the Red Sea—I refer to the work which is done day after day by hundreds of stokers

and others at the furnaces and smelters at Mount Lyell. Those men have to work in a temperature which is not exceeded by that of the stoke-holes in the Red Sea, and in an atmosphere charged with the fumes of sulphur and other noxious gases to which the stoker in the Red Sea is not subjected.

Senator DE LARGIE.—They are doing the same thing in the gold mines in the West.

Senator KEATING.—They are doing the same thing in many places. The whole position has been given away by Senator Symon. I think he put it very clearly that it is really a question of cheapness.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I distinctly deny that I put it as a question of cheapness. I never said so.

Senator KEATING.—The honorable and learned senator in his concluding remarks likened the agitation for a white Australia, extended to the mail ships, to the agitation which he said existed against the introduction of machinery, and he asked very forcibly whether, if he could get a machine to do the work "more cheaply" than a man, he should not be allowed to use it.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did not use the word "cheaper" at all, and never employed the argument in that way.

Senator KEATING.—The honorable and learned senator has probably seen the *Hansard* report of his speech, and I think he will find —

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I think, sir, the honorable and learned senator is bound to accept what I say. I have not seen the *Hansard* proof. I distinctly deny that I used the argument in the way in which he put it, or referred to the question as one of cheapness.

The CHAIRMAN.—Senator Keating is obliged to accept the denial of the honorable and learned senator.

Senator KEATING.—I am bound to accept the explanation. I am exceedingly glad to find that Senator Symon does not base his argument for the maintenance of black labour on its cheapness, though I certainly understood him to argue in the way I have just indicated. In his quotations from some high authorities, Senator Dobson cited the opinion which was distinctly given by one authority, that when steam-ship companies utilize the Lascar or other coloured labour for the purpose of coming through the Suez Canal and the

Red Sea, the motive of cheapness is underlying their action. I think that the real question at issue, so far as such companies are concerned, is whether or not they can get black labour more cheaply than white labour. I certainly do not think that the question bears on either the capacity of the white man to do the work, or his reliability. We have had a great deal of argument from the other side as to the awkward position in which the Commonwealth will be placed if an amendment of this character is carried. Senator Clemons addressed himself at some length to clause 67, which he said the Postmaster-General relies on as a last resort by which he can get the mails carried, even on vessels employing coloured labour. We have been told, since this question arose, that even allowing that the Minister will have that power, if he uses it he will actually be entering into an arrangement that is in violation of the spirit and the letter of this amendment. In my opinion, clause 67 makes no provision for arrangements or for contracts. It empowers the Postmaster-General to send the mails on vessels at the prescribed rates, and it imposes a statutory obligation on the master of a vessel to carry the mails at those rates. There is not the mutual assent which is absolutely necessary to the existence of a contract or an arrangement. But we are told that then we shall have nothing like the regularity and the frequency which we would have from a subsidized steam service; as if the boats ran to Australia simply for the purpose of carrying the mails! We have been told by two or three honorable senators that the subsidy is a mere trifle to the companies, that it is of no account in their financial operations. If that be so, then whether they get a subsidy or not, they will come here with their customary regularity for both passengers and goods. They would come here, too, at a fast rate of speed, because they would have that unlimited competition amongst them which our free-trade friends tell us always produces the best results for the people to be served. There would be a competition amongst the different lines, and the line that ran at the highest rate of speed, and with the greatest regularity and frequency, would necessarily get the most patronage by the public. Senator Pearce pointed out that, by requiring white crews in the mail steamers, and preferably British and

Australian crews, we were doing what was good work in connexion with the possible navy of the Commonwealth. The reply given to that argument was that unfortunately at present we have no Australian Navy, that we are contributing a mere flea-bite to the Imperial coffers for the purpose of maintaining the Australian auxiliary squadron, and that legislation in the direction indicated is a matter of British import, and not of Australian import. That is simply the outcome of what, I think, is characteristic of many honorable senators who have opposed the amendment—an inability or a reluctance to look beyond the immediate present. I think the argument of Senator Pearce was addressed, not to the immediate present, but to the possibility of Australia taking its part in its own and the Empire's naval defence in the future.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—It cannot take its own part.

Senator KEATING.—I admit that so far as naval defence is concerned we are not in a strong position, but I think Senator Zeal agrees with me and with Senator Pearce that we have not to legislate for the moment, but for to-morrow, for next year, and for the centuries to come. We are legislating at the commencement of the Commonwealth, and we must not be bounded by a consideration of the immediate present, but by a consideration of the future of Australia and the Empire. To my mind, the reply which was given to Senator Pearce's argument was very ineffective indeed. Then we have been told that this legislation is nothing more or less than persecution, that the Commonwealth is going out on a mission of persecution of a number of poor unfortunate coloured people. I could quite understand the argument if the term "boycott" had been used. Do we purpose boarding these ships to throw the lascars or coloured labourers off, or to put them to the knife? We simply say to the companies, "You can bring your boats here with your coloured labourers, be they lascars or any one else. The question of their landing and staying here will form the subject of other legislation, but if you employ them on your boats, understand that you can never enter into a contract with us for the carrying of our mails." Is that persecution? Have we not the right to say with whom we

shall enter into a contract? If we choose to say that we shall not enter into a contract with an individual, or a class of individuals, are we persecuting them? I fail to see that arguments of that character can be addressed with fairness to the issues before us.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—We are persecuting the Imperial Government, because we do not pay the whole subsidy.

Senator KEATING.—I have pointed out, and I think Senator Zeal heard me, that the Imperial Government has appointed a commission to inquire into and report on the question whether they should further subsidize steamers which carry coloured labour. I think we are not quite right in assuming that the opinion of Downing-street is against this Bill, as one honorable senator said. We have been told that if we exclude these men from the mailboats, we must follow a certain course of action or policy with regard to the excluding of aliens from Australia. It is not a question of excluding any one from any boat. It is simply a question of binding ourselves as to what particular classes we shall not contract with. Several honorable senators have endeavoured to drag in what very often proves a useful argument, the loyalty of those who vote one way or the other. An honorable senator who sits behind me was a little premature in bringing such a question as loyalty or disloyalty into a discussion of this character. I claim to be as loyal to Australia and to the Empire as any honorable senator, no matter how loud may be his protestations, but I think that loyalty consists not in constantly using grandiloquent phrases about the power, the glory, the extent, the resources, and the capacity of the Empire, but in doing the best within our sphere, having regard to the rest of the Empire. We have to do our duty within our own limits. We are not here to legislate for the whole of the Empire, but to legislate with a jealous care of the destinies of Australia. If we legislate in directions that we consider are in the best interests of the Commonwealth of Australia, we are doing our part in the Empire machine. We are doing our part within our own sphere to the best advantage, and leaving those who have other spheres allotted to them to do their best. In that way we are demonstrating, to the fullest extent, our loyalty to the Empire of which we are a part.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania). — One honorable senator, in addressing himself to this subject, in the course of a forcible and logical address, has said that senators belonging to a certain party have come here with orders upon certain subjects, willingly received and accepted. At the outset, I wish to say that, although I belong to the party indicated by the honorable senator, I did not come here with orders of any kind whatever except the order inherent within me to do what I thought right, according to my own convictions, for my fellow-men. The same honorable senator referred in rather a sarcastic strain to some honorable senators voting with the Government on this question, and he inferred that they were going to vote against their own convictions, simply to give the Government their support. I wish to say in that connexion that it does not matter to me what attitude the Government take up on this or any other question that may come before the Senate while I am a member of it; I am not here to give my vote for this or any other Government, but in favour of principles I believe in, and according to my own convictions, which I was sent here to support. One of the planks of the platform I placed before the electors of my State was that of a white Australia, as we all understand the term. I never wavered in my adherence to that principle; and although it is said that the employment of white or coloured people upon the steam-ships carrying our mails does not involve the question of a white Australia, I say that it certainly involves the question of a white man's policy. An honorable senator yesterday, in placing his views before us, appealed to our instincts of justice, and asked us not to put such an insult upon hundreds of millions of our fellow subjects. Altogether too much has been made of the point that these lascars are our fellow subjects. I refuse to accept them as what they are represented to be. Although they may be our fellow subjects, I refuse to accept them, in the sense that Senator Dobson does, as my fellow citizens. Great Britain has never conferred on them the same rights of free citizenship that the British Crown has conferred upon me, and, I believe, never will. Perhaps it will be interesting, in the light of the arguments so frequently used in in this and another place in regard to the millions of what are called our fellow subjects

in India, briefly to call the attention of honorable senators to the opinion of an eminent authority, who has lately issued a work on the Indian Empire. These opinions are valuable, and I should like to direct the attention of honorable senators to them, as they are quoted and commented upon in a review published in a well-known Melbourne journal last week. The writer of the book is Mr. Meredith Townsend. His work is entitled *Asia and Europe*. I direct attention to this review because the argument has been used here and in another place—it was emphasized with great force and eloquence by Senator Dobson yesterday—that we are going to do a great injustice to our fellow subjects in India. His argument was that the lascar seamen are more to be relied upon than many white sailors, and that in the future we might have to rely upon them in times of war. It is only with the object of refuting that argument that I am going to read two or three lines from this article. But, before doing so, let me assure my honorable and learned colleague, Senator Dobson, that I admire his magnificent loyalty to the Empire. In my opinion I am as loyal to that Empire as he is, but at the same time, I think I can still be loyal to that which is the chief part of the Empire so far as I am concerned—the continent of Australia. Being an Australian citizen, having Australian aspirations, and being loyal to Australia, is not at all inconsistent with loyalty to the Empire, even to the extent that my honorable and learned friend and colleague is loyal. Surely Senator Dobson will not refuse the right to any Australian native to hold the opinion that he is entitled to love Australia even more than he should love the British Empire. I am not using this argument in any personal way; but last night Senator Dobson happened to make use of a phrase which I took to myself, because I had previously used the words he referred to. He said that he had heard it remarked in this Chamber that we should put Australia first and Great Britain afterwards. I admit that I have said that I am an Australian first and an Imperialist afterwards; but I maintain that that does not take away from my loyalty to the Empire, and it would not prevent me or any Australian native from taking up arms in association with other subjects of the Empire in fighting for that Empire, if it were necessary to do so, in

Australia or anywhere else. In the article reviewing Mr. Meredith Townsend's book, to which I have alluded, it is said—

But the pregnant fact remains that the English are to-day as much aliens in India as they ever have been. They are inexorably divided from the people of the land. They are but sojourners, each one passing away from the scene in a few years, founding no homes or family in the country. The Indian Empire, as Mr. Townsend insists, is simply the 70,000 white troops and the small army of "politicals" and policemen who administer the King's justice and rigidly keep the peace within the widening borders. The absence of white settlement is generally attributed to the climate, but even in the salubrious region of "the hills" no one pitches camp permanently.

That is the opinion of a writer in a journal which, I suppose, is one of the most loyal journals in the British Empire—namely, the *Australasian*. Again, he says—

As the author puts it—"Englishmen live on the sultry plains of New South Wales; Americans, who are only Englishmen a little desiccated, are filling up the steaming plains of Florida; Spaniards have settled as a governing caste throughout the tropical sections of the two Americas; Dutchmen dwell on in Java—but the English, whatever the temptation, will not stay in India."

Once more the reviewer says—

Such reflections half persuade us that Mr. Townsend is in the right. The Empire, he maintains, "hangs in the air," supported by nothing but the minute white garrison and the unproved assumption that the people of India desire it to continue. Do they? The trend of his reasoning is that the loyalty on which we thus depend is really non-existent.

That is the trend of his reasoning. My honorable and learned friend, Senator Dobson, says that we can rely on the loyalty of the lascars in possible future wars between the British Empire and other nations, but I would call attention to what this writer says—

The Sepoys were the petted of the British rulers, yet they turned against us the most hungrily in 1857, slaying the very officers who would have guaranteed their fidelity in the teeth of all argument.

Does Senator Dobson guarantee their loyalty?

Because the English interfere so little with the social customs of the governed races their reign lasts. But the European no more merges himself in the Asiatic than the Asiatic in him. Only, when the *émeute* does come, Asia knows there is but one way to beat the Europeans—viz., to exterminate all within reach. Hence the massacres which accompany racial insurrections, whether in India or China. In the Mutiny our men asked no quarter, proposed no terms, but simply fought on with determination to die or to emerge once more as rulers.

I have quoted these extracts in refutation of the assumption that Great Britain can rely on the loyalty of these lascars in the future. It will be infinitely better for Great Britain to depend upon the loyalty of her white British subjects than on her subjects of the Indian Empire, who, although our fellow subjects, are not our fellow citizens.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator is giving them a reason for being disloyal if he supports this amendment.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator's interjection is certainly not made with his usual discrimination and good sense. The reviewer also says of the Asiatic—

For 3,000 years he has made no new conquest over nature, carried science no higher, developed no new and fructifying social idea, invented no new scheme of life. The Arab, the Indian, the Chinese is precisely what he was when the white men first became conscious of his existence.

I agree with these sentiments, and I am not going to accept our fellow subjects in India as my fellow citizens. I am not going to accept the argument that the Empire can depend on the loyalty of lascars in the future as well as she can depend upon the loyalty of her white subjects. It is said that we are going to make ourselves look ridiculous in the eyes of the world; but those honorable senators who use that argument seem to forget that a great nation like America has had similar laws in existence for many years.

Senator CLEMONS.—She has beautiful shipping arrangements.

Senator O'KEEFE.—She has, and I do not say so in the sense that Senator Clemons means. Her mail steamers have better arrangements for their crews than are to be found on many British ships. In addition to these shipping laws in America another law exists which provides that in all vessels subsidized to carry United States mails a certain proportion of the crew shall consist of American citizens. After all, it is a question of money.

Senator DAWSON.—And price.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is a question of money and price. If the Australian Commonwealth, in furtherance of this desire, is willing to pay for white crews being employed on ships carrying our mails, there will be no difficulty whatever in giving effect to our wishes. We do not know

what the increased cost will be, but I take it that the sentiments of Australia, as expressed so clearly at the Federal elections, have gone forth to the world; that it is known we shall be prepared to pay a little more, if necessary, in order to have a white Australia and a white man's policy connected with Australia. In addressing themselves to this very question, experienced members of the House of Representatives have pointed out that if British ships provided better accommodation for their crews there would not be so much difficulty in securing British sailors. That argument will not be contradicted by any honorable senator who knows the vast difference between the conditions prevailing in British and American vessels subsidized for the carriage of mails.

Senator DAWSON.—It is the high rates paid to American mail ships that enable them to provide better accommodation for their men.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is purely a question of accommodation and price. If these companies are willing to pay a decent wage and to provide decent accommodation for their crews they will have no difficulty in engaging British sailors at any time they require them. I think that every honorable senator is called upon to express his opinions upon this question. We know that the division is going to be very close, and every honorable senator is justified in giving the reasons which influence him in recording his vote. Just allow me to say, in conclusion, that the main argument used against this amendment has been what is described by Senator De Largie as the Red Sea argument. We have had the statement trotted out, both yesterday and to-day, that white stokers are not so well fitted as lascars to work in the stoke-holes of vessels going through the Red Sea. I must thank Senator Keating for reminding me of what I might have forgotten, and of what Senator Clemons—who is an ardent supporter of a white Australia, although he does not agree with this method of accomplishing it—is aware. As Senator Keating reminded us, we have white men doing work which, even in our own cool climate, is infinitely worse than that performed by lascars or other stokers on vessels going through the Red Sea. I have seen men standing over the mouths of the smelting furnaces at Mount Lyell for eight hours a day, and swallowing

the sulphurous fumes in an atmosphere as hot as that of any stoke-hole. I have seen them, day after day, going away at night and resuming the same work next morning. I do not say they do it without injuring their health, but they have to do it. They receive a decent wage for the work, and they keep to it for several years.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator is comparing two things by his knowledge of one.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I freely admit that I have not been through the Red Sea, but there are plenty of men who have seen both classes of work, and they assure me that the work at the Mount Lyell smelters is as arduous as that performed in the stoke-holes of the mail steamers.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why does not the honorable senator quote Senator McGregor? That honorable senator said he had worked in the stoke-holes of vessels going through the Red Sea.

Senator O'KEEFE.—But he has not seen the men working in the sulphurous fumes of the Mount Lyell smelters. I honestly believe that the men who do the work at these smelters, not only in Tasmania, but in many other parts of Australia, could also do the work of stoking on board mail steam-ships just as effectively as lascars do it, and I shall vote accordingly.

Progress reported.

EXCISE BILL.

The PRESIDENT.—I have to announce that I have received the following message from the House of Representatives:—

Mr. PRESIDENT.—The House of Representatives returns to the Senate the Bill intituled "An Act Relating to Excise," and acquaints the Senate that the House of Representatives has agreed to Nos. 1 and 3 to 26 of the amendments made by the Senate, and has agreed to amendment No. 2 with the amendment indicated by the annexed schedule, in which it desires the concurrence of the Senate.

F. W. HOLDER, Speaker.

Schedule—Clause 23A.—Excisable goods and goods liable to duties of Customs may in prescribed cases and subject to the prescribed conditions be delivered free of duty or subject to such* duty as may be prescribed for use in the manufacture of excisable goods.

*Amendment—After "such" insert "lower."

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).

—As this is an urgent measure, in accordance with the standing order applicable thereto, I move—

That the message be taken into consideration forthwith.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

In Committee:

Senator O'CONNOR.—It will be remembered that the Senate amended the Excise Bill, by inserting new clause 23A. That clause has been accepted by the House of Representatives, but an amendment has been made, inserting the word "lower" before the word "duty," in order to make it clear that the Minister may not prescribe a higher duty than that which is imposed by the Tariff Act. It seems to me to be right that that should be made perfectly clear. It is on the lines of a suggestion made by Senator Pulsford when the matter was before us previously. I think it is an amendment we ought to agree to. I move—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I think I am justified in asking Senator O'Connor to give us his assurance that this amendment is unimportant. The matter has been sprung upon us without the slightest notice, and while I do not wish to interpose any obstacle in the passing of this urgent Bill, I think the Vice-President of the Executive Council should assure us that the amendment is of no great importance. I am perfectly willing to accept his assurance that it is an amendment about which no discussion would have arisen if we had had full time to consider it. I am quite willing to place myself in that position, and take the word of the Vice-President of the Executive Council on the matter, but I think we ought to have it.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—The amendment appears to me to be of no importance one way or the other, because, as I read the clause, we provide for making a rebate, and that means that we are providing for some lower payment than has been prescribed in some Act of Parliament. Putting the word "lower" in only carries out the intention of the House in passing the clause. We could not put anything else in, because necessarily it must be a lower payment.

Senator O'CONNOR.—In answer to Senator Clemons, I may say that it is merely a verbal amendment. It has not to do with

rebate merely, as Senator Playford suggests, but to prevent duty being paid twice for Customs and Excise. There is power in the Minister to prescribe the duty to be paid under certain conditions, and this makes provision that in charging the duty it shall not be a higher duty than is required to be paid under the Customs Act. It is necessary to make that perfectly clear, and on that ground I think we should accept the amendment.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I accept what Senator O'Connor has said, but I am glad that Senator Playford has risen, because by his lightning diagnosis of the effect of the amendment which, according to Senator O'Connor, is incorrect, he has entirely justified.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution reported and adopted.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

In Committee (consideration of House of Representatives amendments resumed):

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL (Victoria).—Sharing the belief enunciated by Senator O'Keefe, that senators who propose to vote either one way or the other upon this question should express their opinions, I shall in a brief way place before the Senate the reasons why I am compelled to vote against this proposal of the Government.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator is wrong.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Perhaps I am wrong; but if I can show Senator McGregor that I am wrong through the same conscientious motive for which he supports the amendment, the honorable senator, with his love of fair play, will admit that I am as much entitled to my opinion as he is to his. I bring this question before the committee on the broadest grounds, and I appeal to honorable senators not to do injustice to their fellow men, and rather to support those principles which from day to day they are constantly enunciating—the upraising of the masses and benefiting of the poorer classes, not only of this, but of every community. Is it for the benefit of the masses that this vote will be taken to prevent men, whether black or white, from earning their livelihood under the same flag which we all serve under and honour? How can honorable senators, who are members of the labour party, support this proposal, seeing that they are from day to day endeavouring to do their best to

raise up men, and give them a status they had not had in the past?

Senator HIGGS.—What about the unemployed?

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—On the grounds I have stated I claim the support of honorable senators who are members of the labour party. The question of the unemployed has not to be decided now, but there is a great probability that some of the unemployed do not want labour. I have met men in Melbourne amongst those who are called the unemployed, who have remained here from month to month, and the last thing they are wishing to get is employment. They desire simply to go round as permanent mendicants, and to live upon the charity of the people. Whether that be so or not, I say that on broad humanitarian grounds labour members should not support this proposal. What are we proposing to do? We in Australia contribute a small subsidy to companies for the carrying of our mails, and yet we are attempting to coerce the mother country, and make her observe conditions which are not for her benefit. Is that honesty or fair play, or is that the way in which labour members would themselves like to be treated?

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—What is the difference between the Australian and the British subsidy? There is very little.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—The Australian subsidy is supposed to be something like £60,000 or £70,000 or £80,000 a year. If we were paying the whole of the cost we would have a right to dictate terms, but when we provide only a small amount of the subsidy, we have no such right. Why should we not treat the British Government in this matter in the same way as we wish to be treated ourselves? I have heard some talk of what the great American nation would do under the circumstances. I am glad the remark has been made, because it enables me to tell senators sitting in the labour corner, that the American Government undertook one of the greatest wars ever known, to support and vindicate the rights of the masses of their fellow black citizens. It was to do away with slavery that that great war was entered upon. Will honorable senators tell me that it is repugnant to the spirit of the American Constitution that people, who are black, shall not be entitled to votes, and to the privileges of their laws in the same way as white men? America

spent £300,000,000 or £400,000,000 in putting an end to negro slavery, and yet honorable senators supporting this amendment ignore this fact and apparently wish to bring about a state of things which will tend to redevelop slavery, because they will not allow men having black skins, to work for a livelihood even under undesirable conditions, I am ashamed of those who profess to support the labour cause, and who take up so unworthy a position.

Senator HIGGS.—We are ashamed of the honorable senator.

Senator ZEAL.—So the honorable senator may be, but I state my opinions honestly, and I feel from the bottom of my heart that it is not a proper position for labouring men to take up, to oppress men, whether their skins be black or white. We have had a lot of talk about what Australia is going to be. It is going to dictate to the world, and deny fair representation to other peoples. Let the British Government take away the ships that are now riding in Sydney Harbor, and where will this great Australia be? Why a great portion of Queensland and of Western Australia would be taken in two years time by one of these coloured races.

Senator DAWSON.—Nonsense!

Senator ZEAL.—It is not nonsense. It is within the power of a nation like Japan to come here and starve out the whole of Australia, and we have no means whatever to resist her.

Senator HIGGS.—What about our sheep and cattle?

Senator ZEAL.—We cannot live on sheep and cattle. We sell our sheep and cattle to pay our debts. Some honorable senators now apparently want to do a gross injustice to men who are British subjects equally with ourselves. They want to deprive these poor, unfortunate men of the means of earning their bread. I am ashamed of Senator McGregor, the leader of the labour party, that he should take up such a position as will prevent a man from earning his living, simply because his skin happens to be black. Is that the principle which dominates the leaders of the working classes? If it is, I am not with them. I am with them, heart and soul, to do everything I can to bring about a white Australia, by legitimate and honest means, but not by resorting to a subterfuge, or by driving these unfortunate lascars out of their work. I would rather retire from public life than

be a party to such an injustice to my fellow men.

Senator MCGREGOR.—We are in great trouble about that.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator is in trouble. I know that his instincts are honest and fair, and if his judgment was not warped there would be no stronger supporter of the side I am advocating now—the side of the down-trodden and the oppressed.

Senator PEARCE.—We hope to see the honorable senator over in this corner yet.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—I shall certainly never come to that corner to support honorable senators in what seems to me such a manifest and gross injustice. With reference to the Imperial question, what has the old country done for us?

Senator DOBSON.—She has given us Australia.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—She has given us Australia, and she has given us protection which does not cost us a shilling, and when we have been in trouble the citizens of the old country have done their best to help us. Does Senator McGregor remember that 40 or 50 years ago a proposal was made to the British Government to parcel out Australia and hand over a very large portion of it to the French Government? What did Lord John Russell, the Premier of the day, say to that? When asked what part of Australia England claimed, he said that she claimed the whole of Australia, and Australia, being under the ægis of the British flag, has remained in peace and prosperity through the support of the grand old mother country. I was born and brought up for a time as a citizen of the old country, and my dearest wishes and aspirations are for her; second only is the interest I have in Australia, and rather than do an injustice to the old country, or what I consider to be a grievous wrong, I would retire from public life altogether and take no further part in its proceedings.

Senator BARRETT (Victoria).—Upon the last occasion on which this matter was considered by the Senate, I was one of those who voted against the Government, and for the principle of a white Australia, which we have been advocating yesterday and this morning. I do not know that anything I can say on the subject will affect any vote in the Senate, and until a few minutes ago I was almost inclined to allow the question to be put, believing that no

useful purpose could be served by prolonging the discussion. However, as we have been asked to express our opinions upon this important matter, which affects, not only every member of the Senate, but the great body of the people outside, I am prepared to express my opinion with regard to it. We have heard some extraordinary arguments during the course of the discussion. Some of the arguments that have been used have been very good, and to the point, but others have been very wide of the mark. The party in this Senate to which I have the honour to belong has been appealed to from various stand-points. We have been lectured this morning by an honorable senator who has practically told us that we have come here under certain orders, that we are voting under certain conditions, and that if it were otherwise probably our opinions would be differently expressed.

Senator CLEMONS.—If the honorable senator is referring to me, that is exactly the opposite to what I said. I said that honorable senators willingly obey their orders.

Senator BARRETT.—The honorable and learned senator went out of his way, I think, to lecture the members of the labour party. I resent such lectures at his hands. We should concede to one another that we are honest in the opinions which we represent. To hear honorable senators talk, one would think that this question had come before the Australian public only quite recently. We are told that this is simply a cry that has been got up by the labour party to deceive the electors of Australia, when honorable senators know full well that it has been before the public for a considerable number of years. It is a question on which the public have spoken out, and I believe the great bulk of public opinion is in favour of the action we are taking.

Senator DAWSON.—Queensland has made an answer anyhow.

Senator BARRETT.—Queensland has made an answer, and I think other States have made an answer. I agree very largely with Senator De Largie when he said that even though this principle may not be carried to-day, the rising tide of public opinion will force it upon this Parliament in such a way that it will have to give its assent. Like a good many more I was not uncertain on this question when I sought a seat in this Senate. I said plainly and unequivocally

that I was in favour of a white Australia. I declared also that I was in favour of the total exclusion of an alien population from Australia, and I am ready to-day and at all times to advocate that opinion, because I honestly believe it is the right policy. The question has been asked in this discussion, why do we palter and temporize? It is simply a matter of political expediency with a good many. There is a number of men not only in the Senate, but outside, who honestly believe that total exclusion is the right policy, but as a matter of political expediency they are not prepared to go so far. I believe that total exclusion is the best thing for Australia, and I am not going to be led away by any sentimental appeal. I believe Senator Zeal is sincere in the position he has taken up, but we have to remember that with us Australia is the first consideration in respect to this and every question. If we believe that it is right to take this course, I think we are bound to do so. To my mind we have heard a good deal of lip-sympathy. There are men who, when they seek the suffrages of the electors on public platforms, will declare that they are in favour of a white Australia, of keeping Australia for the Australians; but when you come down to details, all sorts of excuses are uttered why we should not carry out that policy.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—This has nothing to do with a white Australia.

Senator BARRETT.—I take the contrary view. It is an essential part of a great question, and I am arguing it from that stand-point. Yesterday we heard a good deal about the mercantile marine, and about the honour and glory of the British Empire. We heard a lot of hysterical utterances, especially from Senator Dobson. We have been accused, because we prefer to look to Australia as the first consideration and the rest of the Empire as the secondary one, of not being loyal. The reflection on our loyalty has been met and answered in very admirable speeches. The party to which I have the honour to belong is as loyal as any section in the Senate. We give place to none in respect to that sentiment. To parade loyalty is simply nauseating, but the accusation deserves at all times to have the denial given to it. We are told that we have not enough sailors to man the ships that sail under the British flag. The answer has

been given by Senator Glasssey, as well as by others, that it is simply a question of paying white men white wages. If you concede fair conditions, you will find plenty of men prepared to take to a seafaring life. Does not Senator Dobson know that every morning, at the docks in London, no fewer than 20,000 men are trying to obtain employment? Many of these men have been edged out of the seafaring life. Why? Simply because in the mercantile marine, in the majority of cases, they are prepared to give employment to all except Englishmen. Every morning, at the docks in London, no fewer than 20,000 men are edging against one another, and fighting their way to obtain a paltry pittance. Even if the argument which has been advanced were true, I believe that if the necessity arose, as it did lately in another direction, and England wanted men to man her fleets, all over the world you would find volunteers ready, in time of stress, to take the position which they should take. That argument has been met and answered all round. I had intended to speak at considerable length, but the arguments I wished to submit have been placed before the committee in a better way by others. I am prepared to vote for the amendment of the other House. The Government have been twitted because they have changed front. Why have they done so? Simply because they see that the great body of the members of the other House represent Australian sentiment, and therefore they are prepared to give effect to their wishes. I hope that the amendment will be agreed to.

Senator STYLES (Victoria).—I should not have risen but for the remarks made by Senator Clemons. I think he accused honorable senators of voting for the acceptance of this amendment because they wish to support the Government. That does not weigh with me a single jot. I came here to vote for the acceptance of that amendment because I know it is right, and not from any feeling of loyalty to the Government or otherwise.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is not exactly what I said.

Senator STYLES.—I was the first member of this Parliament to bring forward this question. In my speech on the address in reply last May I pointed out that the seven colonies had decided to do away with the employment of coloured labour on mail boats

if the Imperial Government would consent. At a conference in Tasmania five years ago, the seven colonies—for New Zealand was represented—unanimously decided that it would be a good thing for Australia if coloured labour were excluded from the mail boats. The conference consisted of the Postmaster-General of each colony, assisted and advised by the Deputy Postmaster-General of that colony; and, I repeat, they unanimously decided to ask the Imperial Government in its next contract to exclude coloured labour from the mail boats. They cabled home to the Imperial Government, which declined to do anything of the kind. The conference said in reply to the Imperial Government "We are compelled to do as you want because we are not able to pay the whole subsidy ourselves, but we do not think you are right for all that." If honorable senators will remember that fact—that the whole of the colonies now forming the federated States, together with New Zealand, unanimously decided upon this matter—they will recognise therein an additional reason for supporting the amendment. We should be warranted, if there were no other reasons than those given by the conference, in voting for the amendment made by the House of Representatives.

Senator CLEMONS.—And by so doing, on the honorable senator's own showing, risking the Bill.

Senator STYLES.—Senator Zeal has made an appeal to the labour party.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—I did not appeal to the honorable senator, at any rate.

Senator STYLES.—It would have been of no use if the honorable senator had done so. He spoke of the uprising of the lascars in Eastern India. "Blood is thicker than water," and the labour party in this State want to upraise their own countrymen.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Is that what the honorable senator wants?

Senator STYLES.—I shall have to point out to the honorable senator that interjections are highly disorderly, as I think I heard him say in this Chamber several times, when he had the honour of presiding, as he has not now, over a legislative body which met here. We are all on an equal footing while we are members of the Senate, and the fact of one honorable senator having occupied a greater position in days gone by does

not add to our dignity or to our intelligence.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—That is very witty!

Senator STYLES.—It is not very witty, but it is very true.

The CHAIRMAN.—I would ask the honorable senator to confine his remarks to the question.

Senator STYLES.—I cannot allow these pin pricks to pass without reply, and do not intend to do so.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I suppose honorable senators are afraid, after last night's little diversion, that I am about to read another poem by a certain great military officer, but that is not my intention. What I am anxious to bring under the notice of the committee a little more fully is the case of the *Quetta*, which was mentioned in the speeches of Senators Keating, Glassey, and others. Senator Dobson has asked what that has to do with the case under notice. But an attempt has been made to show the committee that lascars and Cingalese are more reliable than white men.

Senator DOBSON.—Nothing of the kind. All that is beside the mark.

Senator HIGGS.—It is not an unusual occurrence when the honorable senator makes use of remarks in one speech for him to come up the next day, and say that he never said anything of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN.—If Senator Dobson makes a denial of any statement, the honorable senator must accept his denial.

Senator DOBSON.—I was speaking at the time about the stokers, and comparing white men with lascars in that capacity. I quoted a remark by the chairman of the P. and O. Company with reference to stokers, and also what Mr. Marshall of the Orient Company told me about their condition. Simply because I have spoken of the stokers, who are only a handful of men—

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable and learned senator has no right to enter into an argument.

Senator DOBSON.—Because I spoke of the stokers, every honorable senator who has replied to me has said that I believe black men to be superior to white. Is not that an unfair comment?

Senator HIGGS.—Senator Dobson has given the authority of some directors of shipping companies, but I want to quote from

the full report published in the *Brisbane Courier* of 3rd and 4th March, 1890, in which is described the wreck of a vessel called the *Quetta*. There was a perfectly calm sea at the time the ship was wrecked, but while 158 persons were saved 133 persons were drowned. I am prepared to show from that journal that if the lascars and other coloured persons were anything like what they have been reported in this chamber to be, many more persons, including women and children, would have been saved. The report shows that William Gregory, a passenger on board the *Quetta*, says that when the vessel struck, "the coloured men were unmanageable." H. Wrathall, from Townsville, stated that he was sitting on the front hatch with his wife and child when the vessel struck. He says—

Terrible confusion ensued, especially amongst the women. The coloured men were particularly unmanageable. One lifeboat was lowered to the water's edge, but it was rushed by the Javanese, causing it to swamp. My wife jumped off the ship into the sea, and I followed shortly after, with the child in my arms. I never saw my wife afterwards. When in the water I was held by a coloured man, and in the struggle lost my child, which was drowned.

Senator CLEMONS.—They were black passengers who caused the trouble.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable and learned senator says these were black passengers. Let us take the opinion of the *Brisbane Courier*, given in a leading article on Tuesday, 4th March.

Senator WALKER.—That is four days afterwards. They had not sufficient information then. I know more about the case than the honorable senator does.

Senator HIGGS.—I do not think the honorable senator knows more about it than the *Brisbane Courier*, which published a full account of the disaster. News of the wreck was received on the Saturday afternoon, two days before this account was published. It will be remembered that the vessel was wrecked not a great distance from Brisbane, near Torres Straits. The *Brisbane Courier* in its leading article says—

With regard to the boats no fault can be found with the launching of them. It was nobly and wonderfully done considering the space of time at the disposal of the crew. But the manner in which these boats were rushed by the Javanese passengers and lascars—

Senator CLEMONS.—Not rushed by the crew.

Senator HIGGS.—I do not wonder that the honorable and learned senator takes exception to the quotation of these extracts. He gave us no facts during his remarks, but only a lot of theory and fanciful statements about the danger the Empire would be in if we refused to subsidize these companies. The writer goes on to say—

But the manner in which these boats were rushed by the Javanese passengers and the lascars, who are said even to have kept out others who strove to find a place, reminds us that under the existing mail contract, European crews only are to be employed on the mail boats. Presumably, this was intended to be the last trip of the lascar crew of the *Quetta*, and some of the incidents of the wreck serve to show the wisdom of having insisted upon the change. It is a relief to read of the noble conduct of one of these coloured men, who saved the infant child of the ill-fated Mrs. Copeland, stripping himself to cover it, and caring for it like a mother. All honour to the black man with so white a heart. But there can be no question that, whether from natural temperament or creed, these natives of India are far inferior to the white man in moments of peril.

Let us contrast the conduct of some of these lascars and Indian coolies with the action of the British seamen. The men we should like to see fill all the positions on mail vessels did not rush the boats. The engineers did not crowd out women and children in their over anxiety; they died at the post of duty.

Senator WALKER.—Every engineer was drowned. I know a good deal about the case.

Senator HIGGS.—Yes; but the honorable senator is under a wrong impression when he thinks that the passenger named Miss Lacy was attacked by white men on the raft.

Senator WALKER.—I am under the impression that she was attacked by Cingalese on the raft.

Senator HIGGS.—I understood that it was the honorable senator who complained that I was raising a question which it would not be wise to go into—that Miss Lacy had been attacked on a raft by white men.

Senator WALKER.—I am not referring to Miss Lacy, but to somebody else.

Senator HIGGS.—Miss Lacy, as the honorable senator admits, was attacked by Cingalese on the raft.

Senator WALKER.—She saw signs that she had better get away.

Senator HIGGS.—Their conduct was so suggestive that she preferred to risk death in the sea to remaining on the raft with

these gentlemen who have so many defenders in this Chamber. Under the heading, "Died at the post of duty," a gentleman deemed it only fair to write to the newspapers a letter drawing attention to the gallant conduct of the engineers. He says:—

It is too late now to deal with those who are already beyond the power of praise or calumny, but it will be a satisfaction to the bereaved relatives of the heroes who have nobly died to be assured that, wherever the British language is spoken, or a brother engineer exists, the heroes of that awful three minutes in the engine-room will go down to posterity as a bright and honored example, and be an incentive in ages yet to come to marine engineers of all nationalities to preserve in times of peril and danger the fair fame of their less fortunate brothers. From a lengthened experience as a ship-engineer, I am aware that, when any serious danger happens on board a steamer, the first impulse of the engineers off duty is to rush below and stand by, and no doubt this was so when the *Quetta* first struck. We can therefore picture the more vividly the awful position of the poor fellows practically buried in the bowels of the ship, and with little or no idea of what was taking place on deck until suddenly awakened to a sense of the dreadful emergency when the waters rushed in on them in torrents. Then, indeed, like rats in a hole, without ever a chance to struggle for life with a seething and maddened mass of humanity shouting for help that was not at hand over head, these martyrs to duty died game at their posts, unflinching and unappalled.

I ask honorable senators who are so anxious to preserve the employment of lascars on boats, if they can produce any case like that in the history of the lascars.

Senator CLEMONS.—Yes.

Senator HIGGS.—I ask if they can produce a single instance of that kind; and bear in mind that it was not a Cingalese or lascar, but a Javanese who saved the life of the child Copeland.

Senator WALKER.—It was one of the crew who saved the child, and the crew were lascars. I happen to know the fact.

Senator HIGGS.—I ask honorable senators to produce any instance in the record of coloured men that will compare with the one I have cited.

Senator DOBSON.—What has this to do with it?

Senator HIGGS.—The whole of Senator Dobson's speech last evening was in the direction of proving that lascars and Cingalese stokers are more reliable than white stokers, who from the nature of their occupation feel it necessary to go ashore and get drunk whenever they can.

Senator DOBSON.—What I gave was the evidence of the two leading companies of the world.

Senator HIGGS.—These companies do not employ lascars out of a feeling of patriotism and of glorification of the Empire, but simply because they are cheaper. We object to them because they are cheaper than white men. We object to them because of race caste if you like. We consider our own people superior to them in every way.

Senator FRASER.—So do I.

Senator HIGGS.—I am glad to hear that Senator Fraser disagrees with Senator Dobson on that matter; but when honorable senators talk about our disloyalty to the Empire in wishing to keep out these blacks, let us remind them that the time is not very far distant when the British people, after they have secured a suffrage such as we have, will put into power a Cabinet who will advise the King to agree to legislation of this kind.

Senator DOBSON.—And dismiss the black servants at the Palace?

Senator HIGGS.—The black servants should never have been in the Palace, and it is a disgrace to white people to have them there.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).

—Very much of what Senator Higgs has said is outside the question. I object to this amendment, on free-trade principles among others. I am delighted to be able to corroborate what Senator Higgs said of the engineers on the *Quetta*—every man stuck to his post. I do not for a moment think that the British race are not superior to the lascars in the case of emergency, but for certain work, such as Senator Dobson referred to, in the Red Sea, I fail to see that because a man has a white face he is a bit better than a man who has a black face. It is only fair to say that the little child of Mrs. Copeland was saved by one of the lascar crew, and not by a Javanese. Mr. Corser, a solicitor from Maryborough, distinctly states, in his account of the wreck, that had it not been for the Javanese rushing the boats many more might have been saved. It was the Javanese deck passengers who rushed to the boats.

Senator HIGGS.—It was both.

Senator WALKER.—I am quoting Mr. Henry Corser, who was a passenger on the *Quetta*. I am glad to say that Senator Higgs is right in regard to the raft incident,

but Miss Lacy in private life has, in addition, given a very similar account of the treatment she received from persons not black. The honorable senator is not so well informed on that subject as I am. A marine engineer, who has been in China seas and elsewhere, has told me that he never found in rough weather his Chinamen in the stoke-hole were less reliable than Europeans. I do not wish to introduce any personal element into the discussion. The Javanese on the *Quetta* were returning from their employment on a Queensland plantation to Batavia, where they came from. There were so many of them on board that they rushed the boats. Let it be borne in mind that the whole thing did not last three minutes. Is it fair, in a case of emergency, to animadvert on a nationality because of a single incident? Who was it that rushed the boats the other day off Alaska? It cannot be said that it was the darkies. I do not think it is fair to draw these invidious comparisons between black and white, when probably if the black had the choice they would prefer to be white. I consider that the labour party ought to be christened the Australian Democratic Tories, because they are tories as well as democrats, and it is well that the fact should be known.

Motion (by Senator Dawson) proposed—

That the committee do now divide.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am obliged to put the motion, but I think I ought to acquaint the committee that two honorable senators have indicated their intention to move amendments prior to that before the Chair. Senator Neild proposes to insert in the new clause the words "to agreements limited for single voyages nor," but Senator Macfarlane has indicated his desire to strike out the words "or arrangements," and Senator Dobson has expressed his intention to move an amendment.

Question—That the committee do now divide—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 13 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 15 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 2 |

AYES.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| Dawson, A. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| De Largie, H. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Drake, J. G. | Styles, J. |
| Glasse, T. | Zeal, Sir W. A. |
| Higgs, W. G. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| McGregor, G. | Keating, J. H. |

NOES.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Baker, Sir R. C. | Neild, Lt.-Col. J. C. |
| Best, R. W. | Playford, T. |
| Cameron, Col. | Pulsford, E. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Dobson, H. | Symon, Sir J. H. |
| Ferguson, J. | Walker, J. T. |
| Fraser, S. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Macfarlane, J. | Clemons, J. S. |

Question so resolved in the negative.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—I regret that the Government saw fit to join in the attempt to stop discussion on this matter.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question immediately before the committee is the amendment, and I must ask the honorable senator to confine himself to it.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I shall obey the Chair, but I confess that the ruling appears to be more strict than we have been accustomed to. The honorable senator who referred just now to the wreck of the *Quetta* was somewhat unfortunate. It is a great pity that that case has been brought into the discussion, because, although what the honorable senator has read was written within a few days of the event, and is no doubt true, it absolutely proves nothing. It simply means that on that occasion some men, whether white or black, did not act as we think they ought to have acted. On the other hand it has also clearly proved that some men of dark colour did act heroically. If we desired to meet that reference surely the honorable senator must know that we should have no difficulty in quoting even recent cases where unfortunately white crews have behaved themselves in a most disgraceful manner. Are not honorable senators aware of the case to which reference was made in the papers only recently, in which the white crew of an American vessel took possession of the boats, would not allow women and children to enter them, and even used their knives freely upon them? I would not have made any mention of it, had not some senators tried to make so much of this case of the *Quetta*.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Was that boat subsidized by Australian money?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—What has money to do with this matter? I am really ashamed of the honorable senator that he should speak of money in connexion with such a matter.

Senator HIGGS.—What was the name of the vessel?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—The *Mohic*, or some such name.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator is not very sure of his facts.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—If the honorable senator doubts it he has only to look at the papers published within the last four months. This kind of instance proves nothing, because we all know perfectly well that in cases of panic, men, whatever their colour may be, lose their heads, and act in a manner of which they are afterwards ashamed.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Who are the more likely to lose their heads, men of white or men of black race?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Well, if we go back to cases even of drilled and disciplined troops, those who have given some little attention to the subject will know that in some cases, under panic, drilled troops have done disgraceful things. But that argument amounts to nothing. It simply means after all that whether whites or blacks we are all human. To come more particularly to the question, one is very much tempted to refer to the unfortunate position in which Ministers in this Chamber are placed by the extraordinary action of their colleagues in another place. I need not say anything more about it than that I deeply regret it and that they have my sympathy in their unfortunate position.

Senator DRAKE.—We share that with the blacks.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It has been rightly said that we have to pass such laws as are necessary for the existence of the Commonwealth. I take it for granted that we can all heartily approve of that, and we shall take care to do our duty in that respect. It has also been said that there is no wish on the part of Imperial Ministers to do anything contrary to the wishes and interests of the Commonwealth. That is also a satisfactory statement. But the very fact of anxiety on the part of the Imperial Government not to run counter to the wishes of the Commonwealth surely carries with it some duty for us? To my mind that duty appears to be that we should not do anything we can avoid which would prejudice Imperial interests. In this case we are taking a very unusual course, to say the least of it, a

course distinctly antagonistic to the known wishes of the Imperial Government, and one which must, to a certain extent, adversely affect Imperial interests. Because this is a distinct declaration by one part of the British Empire, the new Commonwealth of Australia, to have nothing whatever to do with our fellow subjects of a different colour, whether they be in India or anywhere else. We intend by this legislation absolutely to taboo them, and to prevent them from earning their livelihood on British ships coming to these States. To that extent we are not reciprocating the handsome manner in which the British Government seeks to act towards the Commonwealth. What is the reason for this action by a certain section of the community? Might I say that it is a section of the community which does not represent the whole of the Commonwealth? I grant that the labour representatives do honestly represent a very large section of the people of the Commonwealth, but they do not represent a majority of the people. Still they are seeking, as they have a perfect right to do in Parliament, to force the views of this particular section upon the whole of the Commonwealth.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Many others have held the same views, and have expressed them in both Houses.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.

—I am not finding fault with the honorable senator, but I think the honorable senator, and those who act with him, are too much in the habit of saying "we are the people of the Commonwealth." I have heard that over and over again. What is to be obtained by this amendment? The result, immediately at all events, will be that perhaps 200 or 300 persons of colour now employed on these ships will be sent to the right about, and that white persons will be taken in their place to perform some of the most unhealthy and unsatisfactory work that can possibly be conceived. The fact undoubtedly will be that these 200 or 300 vacancies will be filled, not by British seamen—very few British seamen, and I venture to say fewer still of inhabitants of Australia, who know better than to take such work, would offer, but will be filled very largely by aliens. Those who have talked of the increase to the strength of the Empire which will follow from the adoption of such a course as this cannot have thought

the thing out. It cannot be to the interests of the Empire that positions of such importance as those of stokers should be filled by aliens who, in the event of war, would have to be neutral, and would consequently have to leave their posts. I go so far as to say that if it were possible, I should like to have the whole of the British Navy and the mercantile marine of Great Britain manned by none but British seamen; but we know that that is absolutely impossible. Figures have been quoted, some of which were not correct, as to the number of seamen available now. It may not be known to some honorable senators that the proportion of the population of Great Britain in the commercial navy is considerably less than it was 25 years ago. There is not the same inclination on the part of the population of Great Britain to embark in naval employment that there used to be in the olden days. This is one of the points which must be remembered in considering the grave danger which may be involved in a proposal like this, so far as the commercial marine of Great Britain is concerned. I think it was Senator Higgs who said that the ship-owners are ready to give employment to all except British seamen, and that it is a matter of wages. It is perfectly true that, to a certain extent, it is a matter of wages, but the reason why it is a matter of wages is on account of the competition of foreign ships. These foreign ships, manned by foreign sailors at a low rate of pay, cut into the British trade, and the British ship-owners have to do one of two things. They have either to engage these foreign seamen at a rate of wages which British seamen will not accept, because they can be better employed apparently, or they must go out of the trade altogether. That is the position exactly, and, as a consequence, there are 36,000 foreigners now in the British commercial marine, and about 36,000 coloured men, most of whom are subjects of the Empire. When we consider 36,000 in a total of about 240,000, it is not a very large proportion; but I am sorry to say that, in consequence of the competition to which I have referred, the percentage of the aliens employed in British ships is steadily increasing. I should like to see the proposal suggested in the old country carried out, namely, that every ship should be compelled to have on board a certain number of apprentices, so that we should gradually educate a class of British seaman whom we

should all like to see upon our vessels. I want to say a word as to what we are to obtain or not to obtain under this proposal. We certainly shall be able to secure the discharge of 200 or 300 men, most of whom are subjects of the Empire. That is not a very large gain surely? But let me put the other side. Against that we shall have seriously to inconvenience all the passengers who come out by these steamers through the Suez Canal, because it has been clearly proved beyond a doubt that the white stokers cannot and do not keep up the necessary speed in coming through the Red Sea.

Senator DAWSON.—All moonshine.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Has the honorable Senator had any experience of it?

Senator DAWSON.—Rather!

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Then all I can say is that his experience is absolutely against the experience of all with whom I have met, and against my own experience, and I have made the voyage a good many times. There is no doubt that one effect of this amendment will be to lengthen the voyage in the way I have suggested, and it will tend to lengthen the voyage in another way. The P. and O. and Orient Companies have the larger portion of their trade with India and China, and they will no doubt continue to use coloured crews on board their vessels, and in consequence, will not be able to bring our mails any further than Colombo. What are we to do with the mails when we get them to Colombo? We must either start a Commonwealth line of steamers to run to Colombo to bring mails and passengers from there, or we must allow them to be brought by the existing French, German, and American lines of steamers, in all of which, more or less, coloured men are employed. We know perfectly well what would happen if a Commonwealth line of steamers was formed to run between the Commonwealth and Colombo. It would not alter matters very much. It is true that the mails might be brought on by such a line of steamers as a matter of compulsion under the contracts, but passengers would not put up with the inconvenience. We cannot possibly run large steamers such as those employed by the French, German, and American companies, and as the passengers would have to change, they, without the slightest

doubt, would change, not into the Commonwealth boats, but into these foreign boats. So far, therefore, as the passengers are concerned, we should absolutely gain nothing, for they would come by foreign boats manned by coloured crews. All this, too, means delay, and we shall in consequence lose, in addition, a very large amount in interest, inasmuch as the voyages will be increased by from five to seven days, and there will be a loss of interest on the whole of the remittances, the whole of the gold, and a large portion of the produce going home. This, in the aggregate for the whole Commonwealth, will be found to be no small item of absolute loss. I have dealt with the effect of the amendment, in connexion with naval defence, and there can be no doubt whatever that if we adopt the system proposed, so far from increasing the reserve for manning our Royal Navy in time of war, we shall absolutely decrease it by the large number of aliens who will be employed upon these boats, and who will suddenly have to leave their employment; instead of our having, as we might continue to have under the existing system, an equal number of reliable citizens of the Empire, although not of the same colour as ourselves. For certain work in connexion with ships these coloured men are just as good as white men, and in some respects they are even better, because they can stand the heat a good deal better. I must confess I sometimes feel ashamed of the irrational antipathy displayed to the coloured races. We all have more or less of it, and we all feel a certain pride of race, which I trust we shall always have, but these views, to my mind, can be carried too far, and our honorable friends connected with the labour party do carry these views to an absurd length. They seem to fancy that nothing good can come from a coloured race. They even impugn the courage of the race, and appear to ignore the fact that the building up of the British Empire has been largely due to the assistance given by our coloured soldiers.

Senator GLASSEY.—Not a bit of it.

Senator Lt.-Col. CAMERON.—What about the Indian Empire?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Was India won entirely by white soldiers? Has Senator Glassey read history at all? Does he not know that the Empire is largely maintained at the present time, not merely in India but also on the West

Coast of Africa, by coloured troops, because they can stand the climate? Surely the honorable senator must recollect the Indian Mutiny? Was it solely crushed by white soldiers? Did we not have to rely, and did not we safely rely upon the Sikhs and Ghoorkhas? Was it white men alone who defended Cawnpore? Did not the white men in that instance rely safely upon the assistance of our native troops? Was it white bayonets alone that took Delhi? Did we not have to rely very largely, and did not we rely with safety upon the Sikh troops at the siege of Delhi? Has the honorable senator ever read "Forty-one Years in India," by Lord Roberts? I could go on to remind the honorable senator of events more recent. Take the recent Terah campaign. There were very few white troops engaged in that. There were 60,000 troops engaged, of whom the larger proportion were native troops. Need I remind honorable senators of the defence of Chitral? It was not carried out solely by white troops. There were very few white troops engaged. Need I remind honorable senators of what occurred recently in China? Who were the first into the compound in Peking? Eight of our Sikh soldiers. In the face of all these things are we to think that the Native troops of the Empire are not worthy of our consideration? Has it not become a boast on their behalf that those troops are "always true to their salt?" On many and many an occasion they have shown themselves thoroughly worthy to fight alongside their brothers-in-arms the white troops. There is only one other matter that I need touch upon, and that is the statement of Senator Higgs, that the crews on board the P. and O. boats are subjected to great cruelty. I have travelled several times on those boats, and I unhesitatingly give the statement an absolute denial.

Senator DOBSON.—It is grossly untrue and inaccurate, and it ought to be withdrawn.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It should be stated that the crews on board the P. and O. boats, when they go home to their villages, are looked after there by the company, who from time to time re-engage them. If the men were treated badly or cruelly, depend upon it they would not go back to the work again. The same families have continued in the work from generation to generation, until they

have come to regard themselves as part and parcel of the P. and O. Company. It must be remembered, too, that the company employs a greater number of these coloured men on their boats than they would employ if they had white crews, and there are sometimes three generations on board a boat. I have looked into the matter, and I am quite convinced that it is not on account of economy that these men are used, because the larger number employed more than compensates for the comparatively small wages paid to them. I suppose that every honorable senator has fully made up his mind as to the way in which he intends to vote, but I shall deeply regret it if this amendment is carried. I shall consider it a distinct blot upon our first legislation, and it will augur very ill to my mind for the future of the Commonwealth.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—Yesterday I spoke only a few words, hoping that this discussion would not be prolonged. I do not intend to repeat anything I said before, but I should like, with the concurrence of Senator Neild, who has an amendment before the Chair, to move another amendment for the omission of the words "or arrangement." That would enable the Postmaster-General to arrange with black men who have to do with horses in Queensland, and would enable him to put mails on ships carrying black men when no contract is made. I hold that under the proposed new clause the Postmaster-General cannot put any mail on a vessel without some arrangement.

Senator DRAKE.—Yes, we can.

Senator MACFARLANE.—There is an arrangement made if the Government give the company owning the vessel some consideration for carrying the mails, and I cannot see what objection there can be to having these words eliminated. I do not think the clause as it stands is workable in the interests of the Commonwealth, and I shall vote for its omission altogether; but the amendment I propose will effect an improvement.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment (by Senator MACFARLANE) proposed—

That the words "or arrangement" be omitted.

Senator DRAKE.—The only effect of this amendment would be that the provision it is proposed to put in the Bill would not apply to clause 14. That is to

say, the amendment would not prevent the Postmaster-General from making an arrangement with the Postmaster-General of the United Kingdom or the authorities of any British possession or foreign country for the conveyance of mails, and from taking advantage of contracts made by the British Postmaster-General for the same purpose. In fact, the amendment strikes at the whole clause we have been discussing. It is simply a question whether vessels carrying our oversea mails, shall carry white or coloured crews. The striking out of the words "or arrangement" would be directly contrary to the views expressed by a great number of honorable senators with regard to the desirability of having our mails carried by steamers with white crews.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia).—Of course, Senator Macfarlane's amendment involves the question we have been debating, and therefore I do not propose to deal with the whole matter again after expressing the views I did yesterday. But I wish to say that I intend to support the amendment, not only on the large ground—which, of course, we shall deal with in deciding whether or not we shall have the clause at all—but also on the narrower ground that it will undermine the mischief the clause is calculated to do, and will untie the hands of the Postmaster-General and the department to a certain extent in administering the measure with regard to entering into postal arrangements.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It will nullify the clause.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I should be glad if it did, but I am afraid it will not. It will leave intact what has been called the cast-iron rule laid down in the measure, prohibiting the Postmaster-General from entering into any contract with any ship-owner for the carriage of mails if the ship-owner employs coloured labour for the purposes of the traffic. On the general grounds of the desirability of doing what both Ministers have strongly advocated—leaving them a free hand in dealing with this question in the interests of the community—I shall support the amendment.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I should like to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has sufficiently considered the amendment proposed by Senator Macfarlane with regard to clause 67? I was rather struck

with the plain manner in which the honorable and learned senator stated that what was done under clause 67 would not be a contract, and would not be an arrangement, but would simply be compelling certain steam-ships to carry our mails at prescribed rates. It appears to me that clause 67 to a very great extent is *ultra vires*; that there is no power for the Commonwealth or the High Court or any other court to give effect to it; and that no mails can be carried under it unless there is a kind of arrangement or contract. There will have to be bargaining and if the P. and O., or the Orient Company, or any other company say, "We are not going to carry your mails for this prescribed rate, and we will see you further first," what will happen?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—If the mails are put on board, what obligation is there on the company to deliver them?

Senator DOBSON.—As I understand, when the ships get outside the 3-mile limit, they can drop all our love letters and drafts to the bottom of the ocean, and I do not see what our Postmaster-General can do. It has been stated before that this clause would be quite inoperative, and would make us a laughing stock. It behoves the Minister to explain to the Senate more explicitly than he has hitherto done what would be the effect of the Bill if the amendment were agreed to. I believe most firmly that clause 67 has not the effect which the honorable and learned senator has told us it has. I believe there must be an arrangement made before we can compel the companies to carry our mails; otherwise I do not think we can compel them to carry our mails at all. I should also like to ask the Postmaster-General to explain the meaning of the words "only white labour shall be employed in such carriage." Do they mean that only white labour shall be employed in stoking or working the ship, and that the vessel cannot have a black cook, or scullery man, or steward?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—It means that they cannot even blacklead the galleys.

Senator DOBSON.—Suppose the Union Steam-ship Company have a dozen or a score of more or less coloured men who are stewards, or suppose they have Maories on board, will this clause stop the Commonwealth from entering into contracts with that company for the carriage of our mails?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It will vitiate a contract if entered into.

Senator DOBSON.—If a contract cannot be entered into on account of one unfortunate blackfellow being employed on any ship, the Auditor-General would have the right to call the attention of Parliament to the fact if a mail subsidy was paid to a company employing such a man. At present the mails between Tasmania and New Zealand and the Commonwealth are carried by the Union Company.

Senator WALKER.—That is a New Zealand company.

Senator DOBSON.—It is a most important question for the Postmaster-General to answer, whether he can and will under this measure in future, if the amendment is carried, renew contracts or enter into new ones with a company that has half-a-dozen or a dozen black men in its employ? I should also like to ask another question—will it make any difference if these men are naturalized British subjects? Will it make any difference if they are Maories. I take it that this clause, in order to shut out, cruelly as I think, the lascars who are our own fellow British subjects, will also shut out the Maories, who would absolutely have been citizens of the Commonwealth if New Zealand had decided to join us. It is simply a question of colour, and whether a black man belongs to New Zealand or to India, we are proposing to decline to pay money to a ship carrying our mails so long as a coloured person is employed upon it. It is due to the committee that the Postmaster-General and the Vice-President of the Executive Council should most clearly explain these points.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—I should like to ask a question. New Caledonia belongs to France, and the mails to that island are carried by the boats of the Messageries line, which employs coloured labour. Is the Postmaster-General going to put the mails of the Commonwealth on board those vessels? If so, he must make some arrangement with them.

Senator DRAKE.—Senator Dobson has asked me to give him my opinion with regard to the operation of this amendment if it is accepted, and put into the Bill. I have already spoken two or three times on the subject, and I think it is rather unreasonable at this late stage of the debate to expect me to go over the ground again. I suppose that Senator Dobson does not require to

have a statement of my opinion before he makes up his mind which way he intends to vote?

Senator BARRETT. — The Postmaster-General answered the questions in the first discussion.

Senator DRAKE. — I am going to put the matter in the briefest possible form. I entirely disagree with Senator Dobson in thinking that clause 67 is *ultra vires*. If it were, it would be a very strange thing that the point has never been raised before, because there is a similar provision in the Acts of other countries. The practice of putting mails on board steamers not under contract has been pursued for a great number of years. I take it that all ships within our ports are subject to our laws, and they cannot, when this is the law of the country, refuse to take a mail on board at the prescribed rate of pay without making themselves liable to a penalty of £50 for breaking the law. If they go outside the 3-mile limit, and throw our mails overboard, and never come back again, there is a possibility that we might never be able to get at them. But seeing that such a thing has never happened yet, and is not at all likely to happen, I think we are wasting valuable time in discussing it. I have already answered the question about the interpretation of the proposal that every contract will contain a condition that a ship will be worked by white labour. I have expressed the opinion that if a contract is made under those conditions it would mean that the persons employed in carrying the mails should be white men. I do not think it would go to the extent of preventing aboriginals being used to run up horses in connexion with our inland mails, but if a contract were made under these conditions it would be on the understanding that the persons engaged on board ship in carrying it out should be white men. As to the statement that the Union Steamship Company have only perhaps a dozen coloured men in their ships, I reply that if that is a fact it will be a very easy thing for the company, if they wish to obtain our contracts, to get rid of their dozen men.

Senator DONSON. — What about the naturalization question?

Senator DRAKE. — I am not called upon to define here what is a white man. I think I have already answered Senator Macfarlane's question. The Messageries steamers constantly carry our mails between

Australia and New Caledonia, and between here and Europe. They already carry them under a clause similar to clause 67. There is no contract with them to carry them, but hardly one of them leaves our ports without having our mails on board.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON. — The Postmaster-General will not be able to avail himself of that any longer.

Senator DRAKE. — I have given my opinion over and over again that the word "arrangement" refers to an arrangement under clause 14, which enables the Postmaster-General to take advantage of contracts made by Great Britain and other countries, and does not refer to clause 67. Under clause 67 there is no arrangement in that sense of the word. When a vessel leaves our shores it is compelled by law, if we require it to do so, to carry our mails at the prescribed rate, and there is no question of arrangement at all.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania). — I have risen to ask the Postmaster-General how he will get over the aboriginal question, about which he has said so much? Is he going to paint the aboriginals white? Because he says he is going to use them.

Senator DRAKE. — In my opinion, if an aboriginal is used to run up horses he is not engaged in carrying the mails or in carrying out a contract.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales). — The splendid inconclusiveness of the Postmaster-General is my excuse for taking up a little of the time of the committee. Last night when I was speaking Senator Drake withdrew some observations as to clause 67, and, therefore, in my extreme innocence, I was induced to refrain from discussing a point which the honorable and learned senator, as soon as I had concluded, proceeded to discuss. I should not like to throw out any suspicion of an idea that the honorable and learned senator was trying to get the better of me in the matter, but certainly that was rather the outcome of what he did.

Senator HIGGS. — The honorable senator himself withdrew when the poem was read.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD. — I do not want any "Higgs-asperating" interjections. I can quite understand that the gentlemen coming from Queensland may have very excellent reasons for quarrelling with me because I had, in the strongest terms that

verse permits, denounced the iniquity of the Queensland slave trade. I suppose by way of rejoinder I would be in order if I quoted a few hundred lines of a jingle from which a few extracts were delivered last night in a serio-comic manner. I desire as far as possible to avoid falling into the error, which some honorable senators seem disposed to do, of regarding the Senate as a circus. I wish to address myself seriously to the kind of topsy-turvy argument of the Postmaster-General. He told us last night, in the plainest language, that under clause 67 he is empowered to order the P. and O. Company maugre their black crews to carry his mails, and he said that it would not constitute an agreement or an arrangement to do so.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—If so, it neutralizes this clause altogether.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Exactly, and I think I shall have to vote with the Government to perpetrate this absurdity. I would point out to the Minister that he cannot read clause 67 apart from clause 68. The former fixes the obligation, the latter provides the payment. Will he as a lawyer, not as a politician, give me his opinion on a transaction which, under clause 67, involves the taking charge of mail matter, giving a written receipt for it, and under clause 68, requires payment? His leader told us yesterday that he had, under certain stress of political weather, to jump Jim Crow, to come up the other side and be as eloquent in opposition to himself as he had been in opposition to Senator Glassey a few weeks ago. I ask Senator Drake, not as a politician, but as a lawyer, to tell me if the undertaking to carry, under written receipt, mails from Melbourne to Timbuctoo, or to some other place, and payment made and received, would not constitute a contract.

Senator DRAKE.—The clause only applies to vessels that are not under contract for the carriage of mails.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I should like to have a definition from a lawyer, rather than a politician—not on a play of words, but on an actual fact. The Minister says that the two clauses do not refer to the carriage of mails by vessels under contract.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—He does not say so.

Senator DOBSON.—Read the first paragraph of clause 68.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—It says—

But nothing herein contained shall entitle the master of any vessel under contract for the carriage of mails to receive any such payment.

I do not see how that affects it at all, but even if it did, my argument is that the written agreement under clause 67, and the payment under clause 68, constitute a contract.

Senator DRAKE.—There is not a written agreement; it is only a receipt.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If my honorable and learned friend can order his letters to be taken on board any ship with any kind of crew, and can pay for the delivery of them, having a written undertaking that they are to be delivered at a certain place—

Senator DRAKE.—No.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The Minister says he is not to have an agreement for their delivery at a certain place.

Senator DOBSON.—The clause says he can require them to do something.

Senator DRAKE.—To give a receipt.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—What paltering with words! What is the receipt to be? Is the record of the transaction with the Post-office to be "Received 10 bags of mails"? Is it the intention of the Minister to throw the letters about the ships of the world in that manner, to place them on a vessel of any ownership, and with any coloured crew, and simply to take a receipt "Received so many bags of mails"? The receipt, he knows perfectly well, must contain a clause for their delivery at some place. Whoever heard such nonsense uttered! Really it makes one angry that time should be wasted in discussing a question which is being dealt with in so uncertain and so unsatisfactory a manner. But if he can do this, why is he, by the clause he asks us to adopt, trying to cut the throat of his own argument under clauses 67 and 68? The lawyer says it is an arrangement. The Member of Parliament says it is not a contract. It is an arrangement, he says, to put mails on board a steamer and take a receipt for them and pay for their carriage.

Senator DRAKE.—I did not say anything of the sort.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I wish the Minister was blessed with a better memory. While he says he can do that with any ship or crew under the sun, he is fighting for a clause which says that he shall not do it.

Senator DRAKE.—I did not say it.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—What are the Government doing? We are driven to the conclusion that they are doing exactly what they did before. They came to one conclusion; they are throwing it over, and are starting exactly on the opposite track. It is a novel proceeding, and perhaps it is a novel Government. I have told both Senator Macfarlane and Senator Dobson that I am quite willing to give way to them. For the moment my amendment is out of the way, but I feel that the statement of Senator Drake as to these clauses conflicts so absolutely with the intentions of the amendment of the other House that I hardly know, not so much where we are, as where we are asked to follow.

Question—That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the clause—put.

The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 15 |
| Noes | ... | ... | 13 |
| | | | — |
| Majority | ... | ... | 2 |

AYES.

Barrett, J. G.
 Charleston, D. M.
 Dawson, A.
 Drake, J. G.
 Glassey, T.
 Higgs, W. G.
 Keating, J. H.
 McGregor, G.

O'Connor, R. E.
 O'Keefe, D. J.
 Pearce, G. F.
 Playford, T.
 Smith, M. S. C.
 Styles, J.
Teller.
 De Largie, H.

NOES.

Baker, Sir R. C.
 Cameron, Col.
 Clemons, J. S.
 Ferguson, J.
 Fraser, S.
 Macfarlane, J.
 Neild, J. C.

Pulsford, E.
 Sargood, Sir F. T.
 Symon, Sir J. H.
 Walker, J. T.
 Zeal, Sir W. A.
Teller.
 Dobson, H.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Amendment negatived.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania). — move—

That the amendment be amended by the insertion after the word "that," line 4, of the words "except as regards the employment of stokers on vessels."

When my honorable friends affirmed that I preferred a black sailor to a white sailor, and when they affirmed that I asserted that a black sailor is superior to a white sailor, they misquoted me. The whole of my remarks referred to work in the stoke-hole. I prefaced them by saying that I did not think that in warm climates and in the tropics stoking was a desirable business for white people, and that experience went to show that it so demoralized them that they

gave way to drink. I quoted the opinion of Mr. Marshall, secretary of the Orient Company—not my own. His opinion, founded on many years' experience, was that as these men were being dragged by the police to the vessel waiting to perform its contracts, they looked more like animals than men. And the experience of the chairman at home was that one-half of a white crew could not be relied on when they were wanted—that always about one-half were either deserting from the vessel or were not in a fit state to perform their duties. I know nothing about these men, I simply quoted what I was told, as I believe, by reliable authorities. I think it is a little ungenerous for members of the labour party, who know what these crews are, who know that elections are dominated by a foolish, stupid cry sometimes, to misquote me. I am sure they did it unintentionally, but some of them seemed to desire to repeat the thing, again, I believe, quite unintentionally. I regret that some of them did not take my word at once, as to what I did mean. As sure as I submit myself to another election I shall be asked in some part of my constituency, "Did you not say that you preferred a black sailor to a white sailor?" I shall have to say that I said nothing of the kind, but if we give these inaccurate statements half an hour's start we can never catch them up again, and they damage a man. I repeat the words of my honorable friend, Senator Zeal, that if I cannot justify my position in voting against what I believe to be unstatesmanlike, unjust, cruel, and harsh, before any constituency in the Commonwealth, I shall be content to remain out of public life. Some honorable senators have complained, and perhaps rightly complained, that I did not sufficiently connect some of my remarks in stating that we might damage the Empire in what we are doing. I have here a leading paper from Tasmania, which puts in one or two terse sentences exactly what I mean. It says—

For the plain fact is that the mother country has a very large number of Asiatic and African subjects, to some of whom she has been indebted for help in the time of need, and to whom she may some day have to look, should the long threatened European combination against her ever become an active reality. There are Indian Princes whose assistance might, in certain quite conceivable circumstances, be of priceless value, for they might help greatly to save the Empire, and in doing so perhaps shield the Commonwealth of

Australasia from deadly peril.

It seems, therefore, imperative that the Empire should be held firmly together as one complete whole, and that nothing should be done to wound the feelings of any of its peoples, or awaken their indignation, at being regarded as unfit even to land on the same soil which the working men of Australasia propose to consecrate to themselves.

I think that must be perfectly apparent to anybody who regards the Empire as a whole, and I have always understood that we have been congratulating ourselves that one great effect of the South African war, whatever may be its cost in blood and men, is that it has consolidated, united, and consecrated the Empire. In dealing with a matter of this sort, we should, as the *Mercury* contends, treat the Empire as one and undivided, and we should do nothing which will show to 280,000,000 of our fellow subjects of the King that we do not think them good enough to work on board steamers whose head-quarters are 12,000 miles away, and which, once a week, touch at the shores of the Commonwealth of Australia. I am afraid it is useless to speak further on the amendment now before the committee, but I appeal to honorable senators to listen to what the evidence is, and it is absolutely proved beyond a doubt that this stoking business, more than any other employment my honorable friends could name, is degrading to the working man, because it makes him even more intemperate than he would otherwise be inclined to be.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That statement is untrue.

Senator DOBSON.—It is degrading to working men mentally and physically, and I ask my honorable friends if they have any consideration for their white brothers, if they desire to talk of the dignity of labour, if they desire to raise their white fellow men in the standard of civilization and in mental and moral calibre, to vote for my amendment, and raise no objection to the employment of the few coloured stokers who may be found absolutely necessary to work our steamers when a vessel is going through the tropics if white men are not forthcoming. That is all I ask. In the spirit of fair play, in the spirit of justice, in the interests of the white men, and in the interests of the dignity of labour, I ask my honorable friends to vote for my amendment.

Senator DRAKE.—I think this debate has worked out pretty thin, and it is

certainly very late for the honorable and learned senator to propose this amendment. We have discussed the whole subject of the employment of coloured labour both in the stoke-holes and in other parts of the vessel, and I think every honorable senator must have made up his mind on the subject. I notice that a number of honorable senators have been very much exercised in their minds as to what is going to happen under one of these contracts if an aboriginal happens to round up some horses, or a coloured cook is found in the whole of the Union Steamship Company's fleet. Yet they are now plainly asked to accept an amendment which would mean that all the steamers under contract with the Commonwealth may have any work they require done by coloured labour. If honorable senators are going to accept the principle of the amendment at all, they should accept it entirely.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I desire to ask the Postmaster-General whether he will tell us when the existing contracts with the P. and O. and Orient Companies will expire, so that members of the Senate may be in a position to hazard a guess as to what Government may or may not be embarrassed by the amendment?

Senator DRAKE.—In 1905. I am not able to inform the honorable and learned senator as to what Government will be in power at the time.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—I desire to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council whether we have the right to legislate in such a manner that any native of Australasia, whether white or black, shall be debarred from being employed on board any ship that does business with us?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Yes.

Question—that the words proposed to be inserted be so inserted—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 13 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 3 |

AYES.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Baker, Sir R. C. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Cameron, C. St. C. | Symon, Sir J. H. |
| Clemons, J. S. | Walker, J. T. |
| Ferguson, J. | Zeal, Sir W. A. |
| Fraser, S. | |
| Macfarlane, J. | |
| Neild, Lt.-Col. J. C. | |
| Pulsford, E. | |

Teller.

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Dobson, H.

NOES.

Barrett, J. G.
Best, R. W.
Charleston, D. M.
Dawson, A.
De Largie, H.
Drake, J. G.
Glassey, T.
Higgs, W. G.
Keating, J. H.

McGregor, G.
O'Connor, R. E.
O'Keefe, D. J.
Playford, T.
Smith, M. S.
Styles, J.

Teller.

Pearce, G. F.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Amendment negatived.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I move—

That the words "to agreements limited to single voyages nor" be inserted after the word "apply," line 6.

The object of the amendment is to exempt from the operation of the clause agreements or arrangements that may be made in respect to the carriage of mails for a single voyage. It in no shape or way affects the question of a contract for a term, but it makes it absolutely clear that the Postmaster-General shall be in a position legally to make use, for the convenience of the people of the Commonwealth, of any vessel that may be available for the carriage of mails. The committee has evidently decided that there shall be no contract for a period except within the meaning of the clause, but I think there is no desire that a single voyage arrangement should not be accepted. There may be delay in carrying out an annual contract or a contract for a longer term as contemplated, and surely we want to be in a position to have our mails carried by a single voyage arrangement in order that communication may be kept up between the Commonwealth and other parts of the world? Wherever possible the Postmaster-General will, of course, enter into contracts for terms of years, but I do urge upon the committee that it is desirable there should be no misunderstanding as to the right of the Commonwealth to make use of any vessels for the carriage of mails for a single voyage when that may be for the convenience of the people.

Senator DRAKE.—I must oppose this amendment. I think it would be a very dangerous amendment, for it would leave an opening for the evasion of the law. Under it we could go on continually making contracts for single voyages.

Senator FRASER.—Why not?

Senator DRAKE.—I perfectly understand that that is what some honorable

senators want, but I cannot agree to it. If we are going to accept this principle, we must apply it in the case of every contract. I have before stated that we have already plenty of power, under the 67th clause, without any contract to put mails on board any steamer leaving our ports.

Question—That the words proposed to be inserted be so inserted—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 13 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| — | | | |
| Majority | ... | ... | 3 |

AYES.

Baker, Sir R. C.
Cameron, C. St. C.
Clemons, J. S.
Ferguson, J.
Fraser, S.
Macfarlane, J.
Neild, J. C.

Pulsford, E.
Sargood, Sir F. T.
Symon, Sir J. H.
Walker, J. T.
Zeal, Sir W. A.
Teller.
Dobson, H.

NOES.

Barrett, J. G.
Best, R. W.
Charleston, M.
Dawson, A.
De Largie, H.
Drake, J. G.
Glassey, T.
Higgs, W. G.
Keating, J. H.

McGregor, G.
O'Connor, R. E.
Pearce, G. F.
Playford, T.
Smith, M. S.
Styles, J.
Teller.
O'Keefe, D. J.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Amendment negatived.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I have by one or two speeches, and three or four votes, done my best to get this proposition into what I consider would be a more workable condition than that in which it is submitted to us. We have apparently exhausted amendments, and we come now to the main question. I shall vote in a manner that perhaps may seem a little unexpected, but I will give my reasons for the vote I am about to give. The Government have a majority in both Houses, and they propose to take a certain course. I do not see why they should not have the full benefit of the responsibility they assume. I consider that the proposition submitted is one that can never be effected. It is merely a doctrinaire proposal. Whatever advantage it may have to those who submit it, I cannot conceive that it will ever be of any public usefulness; but as the Government like to run their heads

into what appears to me to be a kind of legislative *cul-de-sac*, I propose on this occasion simply to help them in a course that I do not believe in. I think the proposal is an absolute nullity and piece of folly, but I will vote for it merely to help the Government to do an act of folly.

Question—That the committee agree to the amendments of the House of Representatives—put. The committee divided.

Ayes ... 16

Noes ... 12

Majority ... 4

AYES.

Best, R.
Charleston, D. M.
Dawson, A.
De Largie, H.
Drake, J. G.
Glasse, T.
Higgs, W. G.
McGregor, G.
Neild, J. C.

O'Connor, R. E.
O'Keefe, D. J.
Pearce, G. F.
Playford, T.
Smith, M. S.
Styles, J.

Teller.

Barrett, J. G.

NOES.

Baker, Sir R. C.
Clemons, J. S.
Dobson, H.
Ferguson, J.
Fraser, Hon. S.
Macfarlane, J.
Pulsford, E.

Sargood, Sir F. T.
Symon, Sir J. H.
Walker, J. T.
Zeal, Hon. Sir W. A.

Teller.

Cameron, Colonel

PAIRS.

Keating, J. H.
Stewart, J. C.

Gould, J. A.
Downer, Sir J. W.

Question resolved in the affirmative.
Progress reported.

ADJOURNMENT.

ELECTION RETURN.

Motion (by Senator O'CONNOR) proposed—

That the Senate do now adjourn.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I beg to draw the attention of the Senate to a return prepared by one of the departments in respect of the federal elections. It is utterly wrong—wrong by tens of thousands. The return ought to be corrected. I have a copy in my hand with a corrected statement attached to it.

Senator O'CONNOR.—If the honorable senator will show me the errors I will look into the matter.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 3.48 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 4 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

THE FEDERAL CAPITAL.

Mr. WILKS.—I should like to ask the Minister for Home Affairs whether he has made any definite arrangements with a view to the selection of the Federal Capital site, and the erection of temporary buildings in time to permit of the Federal Parliament holding its second session in the Federal Capital?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have made no definite arrangements, but I hope that it will be possible before the end of the session for members to visit some of the principal sites that are to be submitted for our consideration by the State of New South Wales.

THE ELECTORAL BILL.

Mr. PAGE.—I should like to know from the Minister for Home Affairs when we shall get a peep at the Electoral Bill?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am pushing the matter on, and I know the Attorney-General is also doing so. I had an interview with the draftsman yesterday, and another one this morning, and I hope that the Bill will be in type next week.

Mr. PAGE.—Is it the intention of the Government to push the Bill through this session?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That will depend entirely upon the state of public business, but as far as I can push it through I intend to do so.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL.

Mr. WATSON.—I desire to ask the Attorney-General whether he has seen the statement, appearing in the *Age* this morning in the form of a telegram from Brisbane—evidently on the strength of a communication from Melbourne to Brisbane, giving as the author the name of Mr. Paget, the member for Mackay, in the Queensland Legislative Assembly—that some of the labour members consider the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill too drastic. I can say distinctly that so far from that being the case,

any feeling about the Bill amongst the labour members of this House is rather in the contrary direction.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I have observed the statement, but I am not aware that there is any foundation for it. I do not think that there could be a better authority on that point than the honorable member himself.

RAILWAY PASSES FOR RIFLEMEN.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I desire to ask the Minister for Defence if the Government have determined to refuse to issue any free passes to the members of rifle clubs?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Ministry have decided not to pay the State Governments for passes issued to members of rifle associations.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is to say that if the State Governments will not grant free passes there will be none issued?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; that is the natural inference. I have tried, both officially and personally, to induce the State Governments on this occasion at any rate—there are only two States, Victoria and New South Wales, where rifle matches are pending—to do as they have hitherto done, hoping that before the next matches the whole question may be considered and put upon some satisfactory basis. However, the Premiers of both New South Wales and Victoria refused. I then submitted the matter to the Government, and we have come to the conclusion that if the State Governments will not grant passes to their own people, we are not justified in doing so, seeing that Parliament has not considered the matter, and that there are no funds available for the purpose.

EXCISE BILL.

In Committee (consideration of Senate's amendments resumed from 3rd October, *vide* page 5599):

Clause 66—

The manufacturer shall mark upon every package of manufactured tobacco cigars cigarettes or snuff his name and address a consecutive number the gross weight of the package and the net weight of the contents before it is removed from the factory. Penalty: £20.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the Senate's amendment, omitting the words "cigars cigarettes," line 2.

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia, Minister for Trade and Customs).—I have made further inquiry into this matter, and I have come to the conclusion that we ought not to oppose the amendment. I find that it was made in the other House at the instance of the Government, on a report obtained from the chief officer in control of the Excise department, Mr. Ferguson, who gives reasons for the advice which he tenders. This report is dated 27th September, and is as follows:—

It has been pointed out that the provisions of clause 66 could not be carried out without serious inconvenience to the cigar and cigarette manufacturers, and without injuriously affecting those who sold in limited quantities.

I think if the words "cigars cigarettes," were omitted the wishes of the trade would be met.

Another reason advanced for amendment is that the weight of cigars vary to such an extent that the weight in every single box could not, without incurring delay and trouble, be correctly determined, and that cigars and cigarettes are sold by the hundred or thousand, not by weight.

For the same reasons the same words in clause 65 are asked to be struck out.

This, of course, will require the reconsideration of our previous decision upon the amendment of clause 65. The report proceeds:—

But another clause to the following effect must be added:—

"The manufacturer shall, before removal from his factory, mark, brand, or stamp upon every package containing cigars or cigarettes the number of his factory, a number representing the State in which the cigars or cigarettes were manufactured, and the words 'made in the Commonwealth of Australia.' Penalty: £20."

This we have done. Mr. Ferguson advises that the words "made in the Commonwealth" should be inserted, but I do not think them necessary. He goes on to say:—

Another clause following the above must be added.

"The collector shall forward to each manufacturer the number of his factory, and a number representing the State."

Manufacturers in a small way say they have good sale for their cigars to wholesale houses, but their own names being on the boxes would prejudice such sale. Large houses sell cigars, but they do not wish their customers to know by whom they were made.

Manufacturers seem to think that if the name of the State were to be branded on each package there would arise on the part of the public a jealousy, and thus be the means of one State's production carrying no sale in the other States. Jealousy will arise when intercolonial trade is free, and at the commencement of the Commonwealth manufacturers think it is better to give each State a number, as is done in America and Canada.

It appears, therefore, that the amendments we find here are really fully warranted by the suggestions of the officer. It may be that there ought to be stricter legislation with reference to trade marks, but I think we should deal with that question in a broad and comprehensive way at an early date, and not pass specially disabling legislation with regard to particular trades. The matter is one of the greatest importance, and the sooner we deal with it the better. I can assure honorable members that it is the policy of the Government to take it in hand at the earliest possible date.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—What is the objection to putting the name of the State on the package?

MR. KINGSTON.—If we require that, it will cause some trouble, although perhaps to a lesser degree. I do not mind saying that the Government are considerably influenced in dealing with this matter at this particular moment, by the necessity for getting the Bill passed and in working order in time for such action as may be necessary under the proposals to be submitted to the House in the forthcoming week. The Government propose to accept the amendment, and trust they will have the support of the committee.

MR. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—Since last evening I have been communicated with by a number of the journeymen interested in the cigar industry, and I am exceedingly sorry that the distributing trade is in such a condition that there is a considerable degree of force in their contention that if the distributors knew where the cigars were made imported cigars would take the place of the local article. In view of what the Minister has stated as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the introduction of trade-mark legislation, and also having regard to the more telling fact that the passing of the Bill is a matter of urgency, perhaps the honorable member for Bland will take my view, that under the circumstances, matters should be allowed to stand as they are.

MR. WATSON (Bland).—I hold as strongly as ever the view I expressed last evening as to the desirability of encouraging our local manufacturers generally, and the necessity of having trade marks properly regulated, but there is some force in the statement of the Minister that we should not

deal piecemeal with a matter of such undoubtedly large importance. Perhaps, therefore, it would be wiser to wait for the introduction of a measure dealing with the whole question of imported goods as well as those of local manufacture. It would certainly be hardly fair to subject cigar makers to conditions different from those under which other local producers are allowed to work. The whole question of labels and trade marks ought to engage the early attention of Parliament, because the present want of regulation is a prolific source of fraud upon the public. But I am impressed with the argument that we have no justification for singling out any particular industry, and I will, therefore, let the matter go for the present.

MR. TUDOR (Yarra).—I am pleased that the Minister has agreed to the amendment. When I spoke last night I was anxious to see that no injustice was done to our local manufacturers. I believe that the question of trade marks and labels should be dealt with by this Parliament at an early date, in order to protect fair-dealing manufacturers against those who are using trade marks which they know to be false. I hope that the Senate's amendment will be agreed to.

Amendment agreed to.

MR. KINGSTON.—As it would be almost consequential that we should reconsider our disagreement with the similar amendment made by the Senate in clause 65, I ask that that clause may be reconsidered with a view to our agreeing with it.

Senate's amendment reconsidered and agreed to.

Remaining amendments agreed to.

Reported that the committee had amended the proposed new clause to follow clause 23, and had agreed to the remaining amendments of the Senate.

Report adopted.

PROPERTY ACQUISITION BILL.

In Committee (consideration resumed from 3rd October, *vide* page 5607):

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume—Minister for Home Affairs)—I move—

That the following new clause be inserted to follow clause 16:—

(1) Where the valuation of the land, or of the estate or interest of the claimant therein, together with the valuation of the damage, if any, in respect of which a claim is made, does not exceed

Two hundred and fifty pounds, the compensation shall, if the claimant so desires, be settled by arbitration.

(2) Unless the claimant and the Minister concur in the appointment of a single arbitrator, who shall be either a District or County Court Judge, or a Police, Stipendiary, or Special Magistrate, the compensation shall be settled by two arbitrators, one to be appointed by the claimant and one by the Minister.

(3) For the purpose of carrying this section into effect, the laws relating to arbitration in force in the State in which the land is situated shall be applied as nearly as practicable.

(4) The costs of and incident to the arbitration as settled by the arbitrators shall be borne by the Minister, unless the sum awarded by the arbitrators is the same or a less sum than was offered by the Minister, in which case each party shall bear his own costs incidental to the arbitration, and the costs of the arbitrators shall be borne by the parties in equal proportions; but if the sum awarded is one-third less than the amount claimed, the whole costs of and incidental to the arbitration and award shall be borne by the claimant.

This clause has been introduced to meet as far as possible the views expressed by certain honorable members when the measure was under consideration the night before last. The honorable member for Gippsland and the honorable member for Flinders upon that occasion raised the question of whether some power ought not to be provided for the appointment of arbitrators before any case in which a dispute was involved concerning land which the Commonwealth had compulsorily resumed came before a Judge of the High Court. It was suggested at that time that there should be a limit placed upon the value of land which might form the subject of arbitration, and the new clause fixes that limit at £250.

Mr. A. McLEAN (Gippsland).—I hope that the Minister for Home Affairs will see his way clear to strike out this limit. When we talked about a limit the other evening it was not in connexion with the question of arbitration, but in connexion with the question of whether a property of small value—if its value was to be settled by a court at all—should be determined by the High Court, where the expense involved would necessarily be out of all proportion to its value, or should be settled by a lower tribunal such as the Police Court or the County Court. With regard to the principle of arbitration no limit should be imposed. Our contention was, that the claimant whose property was taken from him compulsorily should have the option either of taking his

case to the court, or of referring it to arbitration. That, I think, is a fair principle to lay down. This question is a very serious one. In my opinion it is utterly impossible for a Judge who has never seen the particular land in dispute, and who cannot reasonably be expected to know its worth, to accurately appraise its value. In such a case any number of people could be secured to swear that in their opinion the land was worth so much. But the opinion of one practical conscientious man would be worth the testimony of a gross of such witnesses. It is not necessary that an arbitrator should be a professional valuer. Probably the claimant might know some person in the neighbourhood who was qualified to act, and whose decision he would be prepared to abide by. Very often a person is picked as an arbitrator, because he is a thorough judge of the matter in dispute. Probably he would give his services for nothing, as is frequently done in such cases. On the other hand, the Government would appoint their expert, and I am sure that if two men were secured who were thorough judges of land, and they visited the property in dispute, and assessed its value carefully, there would not be much difference in their respective estimates. If they were both judges of the value of land their estimates would almost certainly be within a very narrow margin of each other.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is a great mistake. I have seen experts of the highest character differing tremendously.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I may tell my honorable and learned friend that I have had a great deal to do with the subdivision of large estates, and with putting a value upon each block, and I have rarely been more than a few shillings out in the price per acre. Possibly, in the case of land worth £25 an acre, I might be £1 an acre out. But I have always found that any expert in valuing land, who is acquainted with the district in which the land is situated, is rarely out more than a very small sum. I admit that in city or town properties the case is different, because one cannot then estimate the value of the land upon its income-earning capacity—as is the case with country land—and what it will bring is therefore a matter of opinion. But in country districts it is very easy for an expert in valuing land to know what he can make of the land, and, of course, the true value is the capitalization of its income. All values based upon the income-earning

capacity of the land, if accurately assessed, are sure to be close to its true worth. It would be folly to bring such cases before a Judge who has never seen the land in dispute, and who cannot reasonably be expected to pronounce an expert's opinion upon the value of such property, because he has not devoted his life to the business. In Victoria, I am aware that there are one or two County Court Judges who are experts in the value of land, and to whom I should be perfectly prepared to trust the valuation of any property of mine. But to trust to a Judge who was compelled to be guided solely by the evidence which comes before him would be a mistake. Why not give the parties interested the option of having their disputes settled either by arbitration or by the court? When the Commonwealth, for public purposes, takes away from a man the piece of land by which he lives, thereby depriving him of his means of livelihood, surely it is reasonable to allow him to have the value of that land assessed in the way in which he believes to be best. If he is willing to allow the matter to go to the Court by all means let it go there. But if he distrusts—as I would—the valuation likely to be placed upon his land by the court, why not allow him to have the matter decided by experts? I thoroughly approve of the manner in which the Minister has drafted the Bill. Where two parties are content to agree to one arbitrator, I think that the arbitrator ought to be either a County Court Judge or a Police Magistrate, because it is possible to select men in that capacity who are experts, and who would be willing to visit the land in dispute. But I should not like to see the value of the property of any person left to the decision of a Judge who had never seen it, and who was guided by the irresponsible statements of persons who were prepared to say that in their opinion it was worth so much. I hope that the Minister will see his way clear to give the person whose land is compulsorily resumed, the option of having its value assessed by arbitration, or by a Supreme Court Judge. That is a fair and reasonable thing to do. I hope that the Government will be prepared to concede this principle to the citizens of the Commonwealth, and thus avoid litigation. We do not live by litigation. I have never heard of a nation that was made prosperous by litigation. Why then should we force it upon people in every

possible direction? I am perfectly sure that the Minister for Trade and Customs in his inner mind agrees with what I say. I am certain that he does not allow his professional views to bias his judgment. Many of my best friends belong to the legal profession. But if the Minister wanted a wet-nurse he would not send for a Judge. There are many things which require to be done, and which a Judge is not the best person to do. There are some Judges, I admit, who are exceptions. For example, there is Judge Chomley. I should be perfectly prepared to allow that gentleman to assess the value of any land of mine. This is a very important matter, because when we take away a man's property which perhaps forms his sole means of living, it is very hard to create heart-burning by compelling him to go to a tribunal in which he has no confidence. I hope that the Minister will reconsider this matter, and strike out the limit imposed. He admits that that principle is right in the case of small properties, and if so, surely it is also right in regard to large properties. The question which the committee have to decide is—"Which is the way in which we are most likely to get an accurate value of the land?" I say that we ought to leave it to the judgment of the applicant himself. Let us give him the option of having any dispute which may arise settled either by arbitration or by the court. If there is any Government which should be careful not to err in the direction indicated, it is the present Government, which is composed chiefly of lawyers. If every Bill which we pass is calculated to provoke litigation, public attention will soon be directed to the fact. If the Government wish to do what is fair and just to every citizen of the community, let them give some evidence of it by showing that they do not wish to force people into the law courts whether they desire to go there or not.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I have to express my sympathy with the honorable member in his views. But I wish to point out that he is mistaken as to the effect of this clause. The Crown and the person whose land is resumed may agree upon arbitration, if they think fit. If the Crown resumes certain land, and cannot agree with the owner as to its value, the parties need not go to law. It is quite open to them to allow some person whose judgment is

mutually acceptable to decide its value. People are sure to do that in small cases. It is perfectly competent for a claimant to say—"I will take the decision of so and so." But the whole meaning of this clause is to give to the claimant the right to go to arbitration against the wish of the Crown. The question for the committee to determine is whether it is advisable to enable the claimant to force the Crown to arbitration. I think that the dread of arbitration, and ignorance as to how long proceedings will occupy, are enough to make a Government hesitate, because we all recognise that the Government usually come out worst. I agree with the honorable member for Gippsland as to the inexpediency of going to law if we can possibly help it, but people can always arrange amongst themselves as to whose opinion they will accept in order to arrive at an agreement. It is open to them to say—"We will take the opinion of so and so." In nine cases out of ten it will be found that the claimant is willing to accept some person's opinion. If the land in dispute is a small piece, he will be sure to adopt that course. The question raised under the first sub-clause is, whether the Crown ought to be forced to go to arbitration if an agreement cannot be come to with the person from whom the land is taken. It happens sometimes that a claim for £1,000 is made for land which is really worth only £50, and there ought to be first an attempt to arrive at an agreement by leaving the matter to some impartial person. I do not want the Crown to be forced to go to arbitration in those unreasonable cases, because no one can tell how long an arbitration will last, and, while Judges are paid by the State, the parties have to pay the arbitrators.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Not always.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Ordinarily the parties have to pay the arbitrators. I have known cases, in which the arbitrators have been weak or unskilled, spun out for weeks over the question of a small piece of land. The Crown, knowing that, submits to be fleeced rather than go to arbitration. I am speaking from a good deal of experience, and if it is thought that it is in the least in my interest to refer thus to settlement by arbitration, I shall say no more. I want people to get a fair price for their land, but I do not desire to see the Crown fleeced simply because it is possible to

force the Crown into a corner. The proposal of the Minister goes too far in forcing arbitration.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Going to law is the living of lawyers.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member, in talking in that way, is doing an injustice to me, and to all the lawyers in the House. Outside the House he may use such arguments as much as he likes, but in the House I think it is recognised that lawyers are quite as anxious as is the honorable member himself to do what is just.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I know that; but lawyers are accustomed to litigation, and advocate it as a means of settlement.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I have intimated that I am anxious to help the honorable member for Gippsland to get optional arbitration, because there are cases in which that is the better course. The best way, in disputes of this kind, is to choose a fair man, by whose opinion the parties will be bound. If an agreement cannot be arrived at, there is still the option of appointing arbitrators; and if, even then, there is not an agreement, there are cases in which it would be best to have the assistance of a skilled Judge. It is only in cases where experts differ that the assistance of the court will be called in—cases where experts on oath differ widely as to values. I have known experts say, on the one side, that land is worth £500, and experts on the other side say that it is worth only £50; and it is only in cases where there are such egregious differences that it is advisable to call in the assistance of the court. The only value of expert evidence in regard to land is where the witnesses or some of them cannot be believed, and the advantage of having the assistance of a Judge is that from long experience of witnesses he is able to differentiate between evidence that is of use and evidence that is of no use, and to come to a conclusion. No doubt the best mode is for the assessors to look at the land for themselves; but the honorable member for Gippsland must have known cases in which the arbitrators were in Melbourne or some other town where expert evidence is called from the whole countryside at a huge expense.

Mr. DEAKIN.—And every expert contradicts the other.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That is so in town cases; but it does not apply to country cases.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am speaking of country cases. The ideal way of assessing the value is to leave the matter to some men who are experts, and be bound by their decision; but arbitration is not necessarily leaving the matter to experts in that way. Arbitration very often means calling a long list of witnesses, and then estimating the value of their evidence. If the Crown has to be forced to arbitration, it is reasonable to have the limit of £250. I would not, however, go so far as the Minister has gone, but would say that after the writ is issued, or after a claim is made, a Judge may have discretion to select assessors whose decision should bind the parties, and those assessors may go and look at the land, or do whatever they think fit.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—We all know that there are processes in law which are very long and harassing. We know the terror which a court, and the delays of a court, possess for some people. At the same time, as the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has pointed out, arbitration is very often a much longer process than proceedings in the court, though it must be remembered that the arbitration suggested in the clause is not on a very complicated question. It is a matter of arriving at the value up to £250, and the arbitration ought to be confined to matters of this kind. I have known cases in the resumption of land where small people have been practically ruined by the delays of the court.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Why fix the limit at £250? The matter is more serious in big cases.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It may be more serious in big cases, but a man in such cases is supposed to have something behind him and to be able to stand delay a little better than a small man. The owner of land of small value may not be able to come to terms with the Minister—we know that Ministers are very arbitrary in some cases—and it would be a good thing to allow arbitration, which ought not to last more than a day; the moment the arbitration is completed the claimant ought to be able to get his money. Although not perhaps quite relevant to the question under discussion, I may express the hope that in the resumption of land by the Commonwealth prompt payment will be made.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Payment must be within a month, or interest paid.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It would be a good thing to limit the fee to be paid to the arbitrator.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The fee always depends on the character of the case and the amount involved; and in a matter of only £250 a very big fee cannot be allowed. It would be better to adopt the clause as it stands, because it gives a right and meets the sentiment of some people, who are absolutely in terror of going to the High Court, owing to the expense, which may be very great indeed.

Mr. A. C. GROOM (Flinders).—There should be no limit to the amount. As to the cost of arbitration, and the statement that the amount is generally given against the Government, I would like to quote from this morning's *Age* the results of six or seven cases in connexion with the Lilydale and Warburton railway line. In one case, Messrs. C. W. and H. R. McLean claimed £364 11s., while the trust offered £95 16s. 3d., and the amount awarded by the arbitrators, for whom Judge Chomley was the umpire, was £50, or £40 less than the amount offered; Messrs. J. C. and T. C. Wildman claimed £2,500, while the Government in the face of the enormous amount claimed, declined to make an offer, and the arbitrators awarded £50; Messrs. M. A. and E. A. Vernon claimed £387 10s., while the trust offered £50, and the arbitrators awarded £90; F. A. Sargent claimed £665, while the trust offered £1 16s., and the arbitrators awarded £50; J. R. Meikle asked for £600, while the trust offered, and the arbitrators awarded, £75; Mr. W. J. Barnes claimed £463, while the trust offered, and the arbitrators awarded, £75; Mr. E. A. Janson claimed £3,000, while the trust offered £241 7s., and the arbitrators awarded £260. The total amount of the claims against the trust was £8,994 18s. 6d., while the trust offered £538 19s. 3d., and the arbitrators awarded £682. These cases clearly show that, by going to arbitration, the Government benefited in every way, and the costs were much smaller than if there had been process at law. There could not be better evidence in favour of arbitration, as in the interests not only of the Government, but of the public generally. We desire to limit the cost, but there ought to be no limit at all of the

amount in regard to which a person shall have the right of election between arbitration and the courts. In ordinary cases, tried every day, a person has the right to say whether he will have the cause tried by a judge or by a jury, and in this case we merely ask that he shall have the right to say whether the question shall be tried by a court or by arbitration.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I see a few difficulties in the application of the clause to which I will direct the attention of the Minister. This is a valuation not of land only, but also of the estate or interest of the claimant therein. In some cases it may be merely the valuation of land, where there is only one person interested and only one person claiming; but the scheme of the Bill also recognises separate interests in land, if they exist, so that there may be a claim by a life tenant or a tenant in remainder. That is clearly set forth in sub-clause (3) of clause 12; in fact, it is recognised in the first line of the new clause by the distinction between the "valuation of the land, or of the estate, or interest of the claimant therein." That appears in the new clause, in clause 12, and in several subsequent clauses. Is it safe to hand over to the special magistrate the valuation not of the land, but of the life interest, or interest in remainder? The latter is an interest, not of the person at present in possession, but an interest of a person who is to come into possession at the extinction of the life interest.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Can the magistrate not get evidence on the subject?

Mr. GLYNN.—It is a matter for actuarial calculation.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The magistrate can get that actuarial calculation.

Mr. GLYNN.—If honorable members think the provision is safe, well and good; but in relation to succession, it is difficult to ascertain what is the value of each interest when succession duty has to be paid. That is a matter of actuarial calculation.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Would an arbitrator not do exactly what a Judge would do, namely, get an actuarial calculation?

Mr. GLYNN.—A Judge, of course, is a much bigger man than a magistrate.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—But he could not get a better actuarial calculation.

Mr. GLYNN.—He would have to call evidence.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is a question whether a Judge is a much bigger man than a police magistrate in dealing with the value of land.

Mr. GLYNN.—What I have pointed out shows the difficulty of the whole matter; and the difficulty will be much greater if we hand over the actuarial assessment, not to a Supreme Court Judge, but to special magistrates, whose jurisdiction in New South Wales is limited in many cases to £200. In South Australia these magistrates have a jurisdiction up to £495. At all events, I say that it is not safe, putting New South Wales aside, to leave this matter to special magistrates in some of the States. It is not obligatory in some States to have lawyers as District Court Judges.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Does the honorable and learned member say that in some of the States laymen are made District Court Judges?

Mr. GLYNN.—That is so in South Australia, where the District Court Judge is sometimes a lawyer and sometimes a layman, and has jurisdiction up to £495. The question whether it is advisable to hand over to a special magistrate, who is a layman, and who may live perhaps 250 miles from Adelaide, the calculation of the value of interests in land which it would require an actuary to explain to the bench, is one which ought to receive a little consideration. In sub-clause (4) there is a provision as to costs, to the effect that they shall be borne by the Minister if the sum awarded is the same or a less sum than was offered by the Minister, in which case each party shall bear his own costs. I think that where the amount awarded is the same as was offered by the Minister, each party should bear his own costs, but where the amount is less, but not less by one-third than the amount claimed, it should be left to the discretion of the Court to award costs. Supposing for instance there is a claim for £9,000, and the Minister offers £8,000, and the award is given at £7,500. That would not be less by one-third than the total amount claimed. That is a case in which the Judge ought to have the right to say whether one party ought to bear the whole of the costs. A provision of this sort, leaving it to the discretion of the Court to award costs, would prevent a good many bogus claims from being presented.

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—I think that the experience of the honorable member for Gippsland, with regard to arbitration, has been of a very favorable character, because most people have not found it a cheap and satisfactory method of settling disputes. Therefore I am not inclined to extend the power of resorting to arbitration in the way that he has urged. I wish to direct attention to the wording of sub-clause (2), which states that when the claimant and the Minister concur in the appointment of a single arbitrator, the compensation shall be settled by two arbitrators, one to be appointed by the claimant and one by the Minister. In most laws relating to arbitration, it is provided that the compensation shall be settled by two arbitrators, or by an umpire appointed by only two out of three arbitrators; and therefore I think that it should be provided that, unless the claimant and the Minister concur in the appointment of a single arbitrator, reference shall be made to two arbitrators. I think that will bring the wording into accord with the form in which similar provisions exist in the State laws, and that it will probably obviate difficulty when these matters have to be dealt with. I move—

That the words "the compensation shall be settled by two arbitrators," in sub-clause (2), be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words, "reference shall be made to two arbitrators."

Mr. A. McLEAN (Gippsland).—I quite agree with the honorable member for Tasmania, and I think there must have been an oversight in the wording of this clause.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The intention was the same, but the proposal of the honorable member for Tasmania more clearly expresses it.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I may explain, that when I stated that two persons who were judges of land would very rarely differ to any material extent regarding values, my statement did not apply to the damage done by severance. That is very difficult to assess, and in some cases there may be a very considerable discrepancy in the views of two persons. It is here that the greatest discrepancy appears between the amounts offered, and the amounts asked. It is quite possible that the owner of the land may think that the damage done by severance is a great deal more than it is considered to be by the person who

takes the land; in fact, according to my experience, there is just as much disposition on the part of persons taking land, to underestimate the damage done by severance, as there is on the part of those who suffer the damage to over-estimate it; and I contend that it is only by submitting the matter to independent judges that these questions can be decided. I know of a case where a property was square in shape, and cut up into a large number of small paddocks, in order that it might be worked to the very best advantage. A railway was constructed through this property, coming in at one corner, running diagonally through the property, and going out at another corner. In that case, the damage done by severance was very great, because the shape of every paddock was changed, and it was a very difficult matter to plough the land without leaving a great deal of it lying waste, and going to great expense for extra labour. In that case the amount offered by the Railway Commissioners was considerably less than one-half the amount asked by the owners, and the question—although an intricate and difficult one—was settled in one day by arbitrators, without any expense at all to the owners, and only the expenses of one arbitrator for one day so far as the Railway Commissioners were concerned. I have seen many cases where, in connexion with the railways, the Railway Commissioners and the owners of the land could not agree, and the matter was left to arbitration. Every one of the cases that have come under my notice was, with one exception, settled without reference to an umpire. The umpire accompanied the arbitrators over the land, and discussed the question of damages with each of them, and thoroughly acquainted himself with the circumstances, but there was no necessity for reference to him, except in one case. In most of these instances some experienced farmer in the locality would act for the owner of the land, and probably without any fee. I admit that where land is taken in a city, the circumstances are different, because it is very difficult to arrive at the true value in such a case. There it is just a matter of opinion, guided by considerations as to the revenue-producing character of the property. Even there, however, it is better to get two men who have devoted their lives to the property business, or who have passed the greater portion of their lives in the

particular locality, to act as judges or arbitrators. I move—

That all the words down to and inclusive of the word "pounds," sub-clause (1), be omitted.

The effect of that will be to remove the limit that is now imposed, and to give the claimant the option of having his case dealt with by arbitration.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Why not raise the limit?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Because a question of justice cannot be circumscribed by an arbitrary limit. If the mode of settlement were better—if I believed the courts to afford a better mode of settlement—I should be inclined to keep the limit very low. But the experience of a life-time in matters connected with the land has shown me that reference to the courts is a very faulty method of settling disputes. I believe it is unfair to the man whose property is taken from him, and I am sorry that there should have been any opposition to giving him the option of having his case settled before arbitrators. The honorable member for Flinders has cited a large number of cases which have been settled during the last three weeks, and in which the decision of the arbitrators has been invariably given in favour of the Government.

Mr. KINGSTON.—As a rule, whatever form the arbitration may take, the Government pays 30s. for £1.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I do not think that is so. In one case, which came within my knowledge, I thought that the award of between £40 and £50 per acre for some land was excessive, because I knew its intrinsic worth to be only about £4 or £5 per acre, but when I saw the way in which it was cut up, and the way in which the paddocks were cut off from the water, I came to the conclusion that the compensation given was not too much. By considering only the intrinsic value of the soil, people are often misled to the conclusion that the compensation awarded is excessive, forgetting the damage that often results from severance. In many cases persons from whom land is taken would infinitely prefer that the land should be left alone. My own district is a very fertile one, and when the Government proposed to run a railway through the heart of it, a petition was unanimously signed by the farmers in the district asking that the line might be taken down the opposite side of

the river, in order to avoid the cutting up of their farms. They knew that they would have received compensation, but they thought they would be better off with the land intact. The Government acceded to their request, and the farmers have now to cart their grain for distances of from 1 to 3 miles, because they preferred not to have their farms cut up. I saw a case the other day on the very line that has been mentioned, where the damage done was almost inconceivable, because the railway ran along the high-water mark, and cut off the high land from the low land. The intrinsic value of the land in that case was a mere bagatelle, but the damage done by severance was very great indeed. I do not often move amendments, because I always prefer to accept the proposals of the Government, unless I have very strong reasons to the contrary; but I wish the Government would show some disposition to meet proposals made by honorable members, when they know that they are brought forward in the best interests of their Bills and of the public.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has no doubt put forward a very strong and fair case, but the arguments used by the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne raise the question as to whether this new clause is required at all. As Minister in control of the Works department of New South Wales, perhaps I have had as great an experience as any one in dealing with land resumptions, and I invariably agreed to arbitration unless there was something difficult and knotty about the case, or unless the amount involved was very large. Sometimes as much as £50,000 was involved in one resumption.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It is in such cases that care has to be exercised to get a sound decision.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member must not forget that he proposes to take away a very considerable right from the Crown.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I propose to provide for the usual way of settling these matters. It is quite an innovation to compel people to go to a court.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think the honorable member will find in most of our State laws there was a discretionary power reposed in the Minister with reference to submitting matters to arbitration.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Does not the New South Wales law make provision for arbitration?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It does; but it does not compel the Government to resort to arbitration. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has pointed out that if this clause were not inserted, there would still be power to resort to arbitration.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The only provision in the Bill is for settlements before the law courts, and we wish people to have the option of going to arbitration.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think the honorable member will find that if this clause is not passed, the power to refer to arbitration will still exist.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Then this clause will do no harm.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Only in so far as it will compel the Government to go to arbitration.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—But it is proposed to give the option to the people who are principally concerned—whose living may be affected by the action of the Commonwealth.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—But surely the taxpayers of the Commonwealth are concerned and have a right to be studied? And it is not fair that the Government should be compelled to resort to arbitration.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Why should the option remain with the Minister? Surely the people have some rights, and yet those rights are ignored.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—But the Minister has some rights also. The aspect placed upon this matter by the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has, I confess, somewhat changed my opinion. As I am not a lawyer, I did not know the exact legal position. If the honorable and learned member is correct, I do not think there is any necessity to pass this clause at all. But whether we pass it with a £250 limit or with £1,000 limit—and I am quite agreeable to adopt the latter course—claimants can compel the Government to go to arbitration first.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Will the Minister agree that up to the limit of £1,000 the claimant should have the option?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes. But I wish to point out that unless in the future the Commonwealth has something to do with railway construction, it is hardly likely

that any resumptions of land by the Commonwealth will exceed £1,000 in value. I suggest, therefore, that the wishes of the honorable member for Gippsland will be met if we increase the limit to that amount. Beyond that, if the parties agree, they can go to arbitration as a matter of course. I, therefore, move—

That the words “two hundred and fifty,” line 5, be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words “one thousand.”

Mr. O'MALLEY (Tasmania).—I wish to put a supposititious case. Let us assume that an amount of £50,000 is involved. Will the owner of the property, the value of which is in dispute, have the same right to arbitration as the man whose land is valued only at £1,000?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—He would have the power, with the concurrence of the Government, but not the right.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is just possible that he might not wish to go to law, because he might feel that it would be better for the Government to confiscate his property than to allow the lawyers to absorb the whole of it in costs. I have known of cases in America in which litigants have had to pay money to the lawyers after the latter had swallowed up the whole of their estates in legal expenses. The position in Australia is very little different. If one gets the real screecher—the big eagle lawyer of this country—he can chew up as much costs as can any lawyer in America. Are we going to protect the big man? I am the champion of the rich man upon this occasion. We must retain the rich man in order to pay the taxes to keep the Government going. I ask the Minister whether, in case of a dispute arising, the big man will under this provision have the right to go to arbitration equally with the man whose property is valued at under £1,000?

Mr. DEAKIN.—The man whose property is worth less than £1,000 can force the Government to arbitration whether they like it or not.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Perhaps we ought not to interfere with the lawyers on this question.

Amendment agreed to.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I move—

That the word “compensation” line 5, paragraph 1, be omitted with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word “reference;” also that the words “settled by” be omitted with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words “made to.”

Mr. A. McLEAN (Gippsland).—Will this Minister have another look at the Bill and satisfy himself that if the amount involved is above £1,000 and both parties are agreed, they can refer the matter in the first instance to arbitration?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The clause will be printed, and it will be ten days or a fortnight before it is finally dealt with. Before that time expires I will consult the Attorney-General on the matter, and if the clause is not absolutely clear, I will recommit the Bill and insert what I have promised the honorable member.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia).—I wish to point out that clause 16, when read in conjunction with this amendment, makes it compulsory, where amounts over £1,000 are involved, that the parties to the dispute shall go to the High Court. I think that the provision in question will have to be altered.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—But clause 16 is a postponed clause.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Progress reported.

DISTILLATION BILL.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from the Senate informing the House that the Senate insisted upon amendments Nos. 8, 19, and 20 of the Distillation Bill with which the House of Representatives had disagreed.

Resolved (on motion by Mr. KINGSTON).—

That the message of the Senate be considered forthwith.

In Committee:

Clause 58—

No Australian wine shall be fortified under this Act so as to contain more than 35 per centum of proof spirit. Penalty: £20.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, inserting after the word "spirit," the words "of a strength of at least 30 degrees above proof."

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trade and Customs).—This is our old friend the 30 per cent. business, which it is proposed to add as the qualification of wine spirit. We fought this matter out pretty well I think, and the time has now arrived when we must reach finality. Expedition is requisite and I do not propose, therefore, to further resist the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Regulation 59—

Every case must have branded or painted thereon the name of the distiller, or the name of the distillery, and the place where the spirits were distilled, and any number or letter which the collector shall direct, and, if so prescribed, the materials of which the spirits have been made.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree with the amendment of the Senate in the third schedule, regulation No. 59, omitting after the word "direct," the remainder of the regulation.

Mr. KINGSTON.—This amendment has reference to specifying the materials of which the liquors are composed. The Government originally resisted this requirement. It was, however, carried by the committee, though it was afterwards modified by a declaration that it was not to come into force unless so prescribed. The Senate has decided to strike out the whole of that provision, leaving the matter to be dealt with by a more general Act. Though I should have preferred to see the clause retained in its original form, I do not think there is sufficient ground for further delaying the passage of the Bill, which it is highly necessary should not be impeded.

Sir JOHN QUICK (Bendigo).—This is a matter of considerable importance, and a number of honorable members who took an active interest in it are now absent. I think it would be a mistake to allow the Bill to go through at the present moment. Yesterday we insisted upon the regulation being retained in the form in which it left this House, and now the Minister proposes to give away what was decided upon after long and exhaustive debate. It seems to me that we are caving in to the Senate on most important amendments.

Mr. KINGSTON.—As to the point upon which this House has given way, I merely desire to mention that the honorable and learned member was very distinctly in favour of the course which we now propose to assent to. We insisted upon our position last night, but finality must be reached, and to-day.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment No. 20 agreed to.

Reported that the committee had agreed to the amendments of the Senate.

Report adopted.

EXCISE ON BEER BILL.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from the Senate informing the

House that the Senate insisted upon amendment No. 15, to which the House of Representatives had disagreed.

Resolved (on motion by Mr. KINGSTON)—

That the message be considered forthwith.

In Committee:

Clause 46 (Access to brewery and books).

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the Senate, omitting the words “and the making of beer.”

Mr. KINGSTON.—This is a provision as to the powers of officers with reference to the inspection of what is going on in a brewery. The Senate objected to the insertion of the words “the making of beer.” Last night we insisted upon their retention. The disagreement continues, and though I should have preferred to have the clause in the form we proposed, I do not think that the matter is of sufficient importance to justify the delay of the measure under the special circumstances which exist.

Amendment agreed to.

Reported that the committee had agreed to the amendment insisted upon by the Senate.

Report adopted.

PROPERTY ACQUISITION BILL.

In Committee:

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I move—

That the following new clause be inserted to follow clause 58:—“Until the establishment of the High Court, all proceedings authorized by this Act to be taken in the High Court may be taken in the Supreme Court of a State, and all powers vested by this Act in the High Court or a Justice thereof shall be deemed to be vested in the Supreme Courts of the several States and the Judges thereof, and references in this Act to the High Court or a Justice or officer thereof shall be deemed to be references to such Supreme Courts and the Judges and officers thereof.”

This clause has been drafted to meet the case suggested by the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, who desired that the State Courts should have the power to deal with cases until the establishment of the High Court.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—I wish that the Minister would again consider the question of whether we should not allow the Supreme Court of a State to have jurisdiction even after the High Court is established. To destroy the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of a State in matters of valuation is

a very big matter. In some of the States there are six Judges on the bench, and in all of them there is a minimum of three. Apparently the Minister thinks that the Supreme Court Judges of the States will be so biased in favour of a claimant that he will not allow them to have jurisdiction in determining valuations under this Bill. I should have divided the House upon this matter the other night, if I had thought there was a sufficient number of honorable members present to carry an amendment; but unfortunately they were not here. I now venture, even at this late stage, to protest against the attempt, on the creation of the High Court, to deny to the State courts jurisdiction which legitimately ought to belong to them, and which they are quite as capable of honestly discharging as any High Court we like to establish. I do not want to impugn the High Court of the Commonwealth when it is established, for I have no doubt that tip-top men will be appointed to the bench. At the same time, we have quite as honest material in the Supreme Courts of the States, in connexion with which there is as little fear of prejudice in favour of individuals as we are likely to have in the High Court. I cannot see on what grounds the Minister seeks to take away from the State courts matters which ought to be decided locally. A sum of only £2,000 may be involved, and yet the case has to be shifted to some place in the centre of New South Wales for adjudication.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Can this question not be dealt with when the Judiciary Bill is before us?

Mr. GLYNN.—I prefer to deal with these matters as we go along; if we allow this to be done now the chances are the same course will be subsequently followed. There seems to be an attempt, whether deliberately or not I do not say, to centre all jurisdiction in the High Court, and apparently to create a statutory necessity which otherwise would not exist for its establishment. In order to settle the matter I move—

That the words “until the establishment of the High Court,” be omitted.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am surprised at the honorable and learned member taking this step at this stage, because we discussed the matter, and a division was taken the other night.

Mr. GLYNN.—No; there was not.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—At any rate there was an agreement, and, as an amendment has been inserted in a previous clause to the same effect, we ought to deal with the question exactly in the same way in the clause under discussion. I make the proposal only with a view of preventing the alteration of a large number of clauses, and I regard it as merely a consequential alteration. I would rather drop the clause than accept the amendment proposed.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The Minister will recommit the Bill?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Certainly. The honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, seems to forget that the High Court should be the High Court of Australia actually as well as in name. I do not for a moment desire to say one word against the Judges of the State Courts. I know and highly respect nearly all the Judges, but in a matter of principle like this, it is proper to have a High Court to deal with cases, which concern the whole of Australia. When land is resumed in one particular State, the whole of Australia has to pay for it, and the proposal of the honorable and learned member is to place in the hands of the State Court that which will affect the whole Commonwealth.

Mr. GLYNN.—Why should we not?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Because I regard that as an absurd position.

Mr. GLYNN.—The State is affected the other way.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The State is not affected any more, indeed, not so much, as the whole of Australia. The amendment will give one State the power to say, over the head of the High Court, how matters shall be dealt with which affect the pockets of every taxpayer in the Commonwealth. I shall strenuously oppose the amendment; in fact, I think it is a matter so serious and of such importance that I shall drop the clause rather than accept the proposal. The honorable and learned member may, if he desires, bring the matter up on recommendation.

Mr. GLYNN.—I am quite willing, if the Minister will allow the question to be tested in a full House.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not promise that I will recommit the Bill; but the honorable and learned member will have an opportunity to submit his proposal on a motion to recommit.

Mr. E. SOLOMON (Fremantle).—The contention of the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, is a very fair one, as will be seen when we consider, for instance, the isolated position of Western Australia.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think the honorable member for Fremantle was told, when he previously referred to this point the other night, that in the Bill which will be passed before the High Court is established, there will be a special provision in regard to Western Australia.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—All I want is that isolated places such as Western Australia shall be protected.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—As I do not wish a catch vote to be taken, I ask leave to withdraw my amendment for the present.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause agreed to.

Postponed clause 16 (Costs).

Mr. LYNE.—A very strong argument was used by the honorable and learned member for Parkes the other night in reference to the payment of costs. That honorable and learned member quoted some of the State Acts, which provide that unless a verdict is obtained amounting to five-sixths of the claim, the costs are to be paid by the claimant. There is no such provision in this Bill, and I move—

That the following new sub-clause be inserted after sub-clause 1:—"If the judgment or award is for a sum one-third less than the amount of the valuation, the claimant shall pay the costs of the action."

This amendment will carry out an object which had escaped my notice, and will afford protection to the taxpayer. I have had experience of cases where the claim has been for ten times the amount of the subsequent verdict, the object of such claims being to get something to which the claimant is not entitled.

Amendment agreed to.

Progress reported.

INTER-STATE COMMISSION BILL.

SECOND READING.

Debate resumed from 17th July (*vide* page 2690), on motion by Sir WILLIAM LYNE—

That this Bill be now read a second time.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—I should like to be allowed

to say that it is scarcely fair to bring on the discussion of this Bill at this stage. We have had a very hard week's work, and though I do not often propose any relaxation, but attend the House as well as most members, I think it would be well to adjourn now. This is one of the most important Bills that we shall have to consider, and it is not fair to ask honorable members, at the fag end of this week, to make second-reading speeches. Certainly I am not prepared to go on with the debate.

Mr. GLYNN.—To go on with the debate now is not fair to the speakers.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — To resume the debate now is only forcing honorable members to speak who do not desire to do so. One cannot, on the second reading of a Bill of this kind, be prepared with notes when half-a-dozen other Bills have had to be gone through carefully in committee. There is only a very short time left at our disposal to-day, and as we have had a pretty heavy week, and everything has been done to facilitate business in regard to Bills requiring the closest possible attention, I think it unreasonable to press on this matter now. It would be a fair thing to adjourn for the day.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE—(Hume—Minister for Home Affairs).—I am sorry I cannot agree with the honorable member for Wentworth. This Bill has been in abeyance for a very considerable time, owing to force of circumstances, and I am very anxious that the debate should be continued. Up to the present there has been only the introductory speech, and I know that one or two honorable members are prepared to speak this afternoon. There is no desire whatever to snatch a division on the second reading, and it would be hardly fair after the measure has been delayed so long, owing to so much other business, not to take the opportunity of proceeding with the debate.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That means that if nobody is willing to go on a division will not be forced.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat — Attorney-General).—I might add that it is absolutely necessary we should not rise now, because more business has to be received from another place, and will require attention. (*House counted.*)

Sir JOHN QUICK (Bendigo).—I received only very short notice of the

intention of the Government to resume the second-reading debate on this very important Bill. But I have always taken a very great interest in the development of this branch of our Constitution, and I readily respond to the demand to resume the second-reading debate. I presume that now we are on the eve and very threshold of free-trade between the various States of Australia, we may accept the determination of the Government to resume the second-reading debate on this Bill as an evidence of a resolution on their part to leave no stone unturned, and to neglect no constitutional power available that may be necessary for the execution and maintenance of the principle of Inter-State free-trade. I must admit, however, that the best friends of this Bill will feel some degree of regret at the isolated and detached manner in which it has been advanced in this House. It was certainly worthy of more continuous discussion, involving, as it does, many complicated considerations, and many very serious arguments that may be advanced both one way and another. First we had the opening of the debate many months ago by the Minister in charge, who gave a very clear and comprehensive exposition of the measure. Then came a long interval which was broken by a speech delivered by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition; and since then there has been no discussion of the Bill whatever. In the meantime, the unfortunate measure has been pelted and assailed and misrepresented throughout Australia, and has even been misrepresented, I believe, to the Imperial authorities.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Hear, hear!

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I do not remember any Bill in this Parliament that has received such uncerecermonious treatment, and, I may say, to a certain extent, unfair treatment on the part of many of its critics. A great deal of the misrepresentation indulged in, and the unfair treatment which it has received, might have been prevented if the debate on the Bill had been permitted by the exigences of parliamentary business to proceed continuously from beginning to end. Had that been the case I venture to say that a thorough discussion and a development of the principles of this Bill in this House would have resulted in an elucidation and in a vindication which would render the measure acceptable to the people of this country. We have had a large number of petitions presented to the House, conveying

the views of very important interests, such as the shipping interests of Australia and the shipping interests of other parts of the Empire. I have no doubt that those petitions and the representations therein will receive the fairest consideration at the hands of this House. There is not the slightest danger of any important interests, either Australian or Imperial, being unfairly treated in the Federal Parliament of Australia, and, therefore, I for one regret the attitude of some of the opponents of this Bill, who have not been content to protest and to petition within the Commonwealth, but have thought fit to go to the Imperial authorities.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No Australians have done that.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I believe, at any rate, that the action has been instigated by people in Australia.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No, it has not; the mail companies have acted of their own volition.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Then I think that if the mail companies have seen fit to apply to the Imperial authorities regarding Australian legislation, they certainly have not shown much confidence in or respect for the Australian Parliament.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I do not think many people have confidence in it.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—That is an insult to this Parliament that I did not expect from the honorable member. Before I proceed to speak of some of the principles of this Bill, I should like to refer to two sections of our Constitution, which deal with this matter, and which certainly justify and warrant the establishment of an Inter-State commission, if they do not demand it. Section 92 contains one of the basic principles relating to commerce contained in our Constitution. It enacts that upon the imposition of uniform duties of customs and excise, trade, commerce, and intercourse between the States, whether by means of internal carriage or ocean navigation, shall be absolutely free. I invite the attention of honorable members to that mandate of the Constitution, because it is, as I take it, mainly for the purpose of giving effect to that mandate that the Inter-State Commission is proposed to be constituted, and the framers of the Constitution, when they went further than the bald declaration in favour of Australian free-trade, on the occurrence of a

certain event, considered the whole of the surroundings of these Australian States. They considered the antecedent history and conditions of each of the States, and found it necessary not merely to put in a declaration to the effect of section 92, but to go further and provide the necessary machinery for giving effect to that declaration.

Mr. GLYNN.—It is a question as to what is necessary.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Looking into the future the framers of the Constitution saw that probably there would be attempts on the part of some of the States to resort to the tricks and artifices that have been resorted to in the past, with a view to the prevention of freedom of trade and equality between the various States. The framers of the Constitution saw that trade and commerce and intercourse between the various States was carried on, not only by means of internal carriage, that is, by railways or any other means of land carriage, but by means of ocean navigation, and it was conceived that if it were possible for obstacles to the complete establishment of Inter-State free-trade to exist in connexion with internal carriage, it would also be possible, though not perhaps probable, to resort to artifices and expedients in connexion with ocean navigation by which the equality of Inter-State free-trade might be interfered with. That is the reason why these words were put into the Constitution, contemplating the establishment of Inter-State free-trade not merely by internal carriage, but by ocean navigation, and, looking forward to the possibilities of the future, power was taken to interfere in case necessity might arise, or in case resort might be had to unfair expedients in connexion with ocean navigation. Of course, it was never contemplated that there should be any unnecessary interference; that there should be unjustifiable tinkering or tampering with ocean navigation, or that there should be any prying into the conditions of ocean navigation unless the occasion should arise, and I think that if a number of the petitioners who have addressed this House, as well as those who have complained elsewhere, had understood that it was not intended to interfere with the processes or conditions of ocean navigation unless ocean navigators interfered with Inter-State free-trade, we should not have had the great

outcry that has been raised throughout Australia.

Mr. GLYNN.—We can judge only by the provisions of the Bill.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Consequently the framers of the Constitution provide by section 101 that there shall be an Inter-State commission with such powers of adjudication and administration as the Parliament deems necessary for the execution and maintenance within the Commonwealth of the provisions of the Constitution relating to trade and commerce, and all laws made thereunder. I invite attention to the words of section 101—

There shall be an Inter-State Commission charged with the execution and maintenance within the Commonwealth—

not beyond the Commonwealth.

of the provisions of this Constitution relating to trade and commerce—

There we find a mandatory requirement within the Constitution, not that there may be but that there shall be an Inter-State commission, for the purpose of executing and maintaining the law of the Constitution, and the laws thereunder relating to trade and commerce, and the intercourse by railways and navigation, so far as these matters relate to Inter-State and foreign trade. Now, I think that special regard ought to be paid to the introductory words of section 101 of the Constitution. We have heard it contended, by gentlemen whose opinions are certainly entitled to every respect, that it is entirely optional on the part of the Federal Government to organize the proposed Inter-State Commission—that the commission is not a necessary adjunct to the Constitution. In reply to that, I would like to point out and emphasize strongly the words providing that “there shall be” an Inter-State Commission, and in the face of these words the question may be well raised as to whether there is any other means or any other machinery known to the Constitution, besides the Inter-State Commission, which could discharge the important duty of executing and maintaining the provisions of the Constitution relating to trade and commerce including, of course, Inter-State free-trade. It has been suggested, and I do not say without force of argument, that the provisions of the Constitution might be enforced by a private individual, supposing he were harassed or obstructed by any railway rate or State law antagonistic to the principle of

Inter-State free-trade. Whilst there may be argument in support of this suggestion, on the other hand we cannot disregard the mandate of the Constitution. Supposing any private individual could be found in Australia having sufficient courage and means to fight one of the States on a great constitutional question, he might find himself confronted in the High Court with the contention that the provisions of the Constitution relating to trade and commerce, and particularly Inter-State free-trade, could be enforced, executed, and maintained only by the authority contemplated by the Constitution.

Mr. GLYNN.—Is not that only as far as Parliament may legislate under section 102?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I say that is an argument—not that it is right. I merely put it as a possible contention that might be sustained—because on these constitutional questions it would be a very great mistake on the part of any one to assume any dogmatic attitude, the possibilities of constitutional argument being so open.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I notice that the honorable and learned member carefully abstained from giving it as his opinion.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Why should I be called upon to pronounce an opinion at this stage? It might be regarded as premature for any lawyer to take up any distinct attitude as to the possibilities of legal developments in connexion with the Constitution. I am directing attention to what would probably be argued, if we could find a citizen with sufficient temerity to rush into a great constitutional conflict with a State. Therefore, this Parliament, in the face of the mandate of the Constitution, cannot lightly disregard its requirements, and ought not to lightly set them aside. Now that we are on the eve of the attainment of Inter-State free-trade, according to the declaration of the Constitution, it is advisable that the Federal Government should take every step contemplated by the Constitution for the removal of all the artificial obstructions and impediments which have grown up during many years past, and which will, unless removed absolutely, interfere with the accomplishment of that Inter-State free-trade to which we all aspire. What is the use of closing the border Custom-houses and ceasing to collect duties of customs between the States if the conflict is to be removed to the railway stations? We shall have free-trade merely in name if

the obstacles that at present exist to prevent freedom of intercourse and trade between the various States are allowed to continue.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—No one objects to the provision regarding the railways.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I think it is necessary to say something on behalf of this Bill, because it has been pulled and kicked about and abused on every hand.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Very properly so, too.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I think I can fairly invite honorable members to disregard the misrepresentations of detractors of the Bill, and proceed to consider it from an Australian stand-point. I ask them to take a broad outlook over the whole of the Australian States, and to consider whether such a Bill should not be passed into law. I think this discussion can be carried on without any irritation or any unpleasantness on the part of the representatives of any of the States, or on the part of those who may be particularly interested in certain objections that have been taken. This Bill may be regarded rather as a healing measure than as one calculated to promote any antagonism between the States. It aims at the establishment of a great arbitration tribunal for the settlement of disputes which undoubtedly will require to be adjusted, unless they are previously settled amicably—a great friendly tribunal of arbitration which will regard the interests and the views and the arguments of all the States. This Bill cannot, I submit, be properly understood unless we take into consideration some of the antecedents of these Australian States, because the necessity for the Bill arises from the relationship which has arisen between the various States mainly in consequence of their territorial positions and the distribution of the territory in our early history. At the back of this Bill there lies the long history of intercolonial controversy and conflict which it is now determined to settle.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is a pity it ever started.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—If we look at the map of Australia it will be observed that nature has carved out indelibly the main outlines of the States of Australia. We see, at any rate, the capital sites indicated by great gateways which have been scooped out by the agencies of nature in times

past—Port Jackson, Port Phillip, Moreton Bay, Port Adelaide, and Perth. There we see that nature herself determined the sites of the capitals. Nature indicated the future lines of development of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia. There we have physical conditions determining the centres of the future States, but it was geographical conditions that determined the course of separation, and if, when the time for the separation of these States arrived, the leaders of the Government in New South Wales had had the foresight to lay down fair boundary lines for some of them, and particularly for the State of Victoria, a large number of the conflicts between them, that have been a source of irritation and antagonism for 40 or 50 years past, would not have arisen. I do not wish, in saying that, to reflect on any particular State, or upon the public men of the States. I am merely drawing attention to some of the mistakes which were made in times past—mistakes which have led to the necessity for a Bill such as this. In 1840 when the first land regulations were brought into operation in Port Phillip, the boundary of the district of Port Phillip was fixed as being from the 141st meridian along the course of the Murray, up the Murrumbidgee, and thence along the southern boundaries of the counties of Murray and Vincent to the sea. That was the original boundary of Port Phillip, the future colony of Victoria. If that boundary had been maintained it would undoubtedly have given Victoria a fair slice of Australian territory and a fair share in the distribution of many of the natural features of this continent. But the time came a few years later when the rulers of New South Wales complained that the Port Phillip district had received too much river country, and it was therefore decided to alter the boundary from the Murrumbidgee to a line drawn from Cape Howe to the nearest source of the Murray, thence along that river to the South Australian border. At the time when the boundaries of Port Phillip extended to the Murrumbidgee, the district was an important centre of colonization and enterprise. From Melbourne bands of pioneers were sent forth into Riverina, which was then recognised as the legitimate hinterland of Port Phillip. The district was settled and peopled from Melbourne, because it was nearest in point of distance to

that centre, and this city became the natural port and outlet for the trade and commerce of its hinterland. When the boundary was reduced southward to the Murray, although the alteration was made in point of constitutional law, the settlers of the Riverina maintained their connexion and their business relationship with the port of Melbourne, from which they had migrated. I mention this fact to show that the Riverina country, which is now a part of New South Wales by constitutional law, was for upwards of 30 or 40 years, on account of its historical relationship to Melbourne and Victoria considered almost a part of Victorian territory. Trade and commerce were allowed to proceed for many years regardless of the alteration of the boundary. So identified were the people of Victoria with the Riverina district that in 1862 that State proceeded to establish lines of railways from Melbourne to tap the Murray at various points for the purpose of facilitating and retaining the trade and commerce which its people naturally regarded as belonging to their own territory. Those railways were found to be a very great advantage and convenience to the people of Riverina. They eagerly availed themselves of the advantage. The first line was constructed to Echuca in 1862. I well remember that railway being pushed along through Bendigo, and I know with what celerity, energy, and determination the Victorian Government prosecuted its construction for the purpose of tapping the Murray, and giving facilities for trade and commerce to the people of Riverina. That line was followed by the establishment of other railways tapping the Murray at Wodonga, Swan Hill, Yarrowonga, and Wahgunyah. Eventually upwards of six railways were established along the Murray, giving the people of Riverina convenient communication with the great port of Melbourne. Up to 1880 the Government of New South Wales—although the Riverina district was a part of that great and important colony—took no action whatever for the establishment of railway communication with it, apparently acquiescing in the action of the Victorian Government in providing all these facilities. It was not till 1880 that action was taken by the New South Wales Government for the establishment of railway communication even between Sydney and Melbourne. About 1881 or

1882 the railway was extended to Albury. This was followed by a request on the part of the enterprising Victorian settlers in Riverina, that the railway should be extended from Junee to Hay. These settlers thought it would be conducive to their own interests to have two strings to their bow in the shape of two systems of railway communication, one leading to Sydney and the other keeping them in regular touch with Melbourne. It may have been somewhat selfish on the part of these settlers to ask for two systems of communication, but they did so, and the Government of New South Wales in the exercise of its undoubted legal and constitutional right, constructed a railway from Junee and Narrandera to Hay. That was about the year 1882. I wish to draw attention to the fact that up to 1882 the Government of Victoria, through their railways, had a monopoly of the Riverina trade. They conducted that trade and carried the goods to and fro at ordinary rates. There were no discriminating rates up till that period. The Victorian Government charged the people of Riverina the fair ordinary rates, and it was not till 1882, when the line from Junee to Hay was constructed, that the deadly system of cut-throat railway rates commenced. I find that the railway was extended on the New South Wales side to Albury in 1881, to Narrandera in the same year, to Hay in 1882, and to Jerilderie in 1884. Prior to that, of course there were the numerous lines on the Victorian side, to which I have already referred. The importance of fixing these dates is to show that it was only when the railway was built to Hay, and got into touch with the Riverina territory, that the fight for traffic began. Before 1882, only ordinary rates were charged on the Victorian railways. I make this statement on the authority of the Victorian Railways Commissioners, that there were no conflicting rates prior to 1882. In that year, however, the New South Wales railway authorities, so soon as the line was open to Hay, offered to carry traffic at differential rates. The consequence was that Victoria was forced to resort to preferential rates in order to retain her trade. She could only retain that trade, that is the trade which she had succeeded in developing, and which she considered a part of her territorial rights, by offering to carry goods at special rates. The New

South Wales railway authorities at once said—"You should carry at ordinary local rates between Echuca and Melbourne. You have no right to this business, because it originates in our territory." They emphasized the fact that New South Wales had incurred serious financial responsibility in the building of this railway through the representations of the settlers of Riverina, and they contended, therefore, that the Victorian authorities, though first in the field with railway communication, had no right whatever to resort to the same means of retaining business as the New South Wales authorities had resorted to in order to gain new business. At this stage it is necessary to draw attention to another and a powerful factor which was operating in reference to railway communication and to the interests and policy of the people of Victoria. The question involved was not whether Victoria should make a rate in order to encounter the competition of New South Wales alone. It became a question then as to whether Victoria was to hold her position in competition with the natural highway—namely, the River Murray. Here, as a matter of historical interest and importance, I should mention the fact that the Darling River trade was in the main originally developed from the State of South Australia. It was the pioneers of South Australia who worked their way up the Murray, and then up the Darling, and who facilitated the navigation of those rivers by establishing trade and intercourse between the outlying districts and Adelaide. It was not till 1870 that Victoria came into competition with the Government of South Australia for the Darling trade. Justice and candour alike demand that I should state that in the year mentioned the Government of Victoria, through its railway policy, determined to make a strong bid for the Darling River trade. It did so by offering a bonus of 6d. per bale on every 10,000 bales of wool introduced into the colony of Victoria *via* the Darling River. The consequence was that carrying firms and steam-ship firms sprang up in order to earn this bonus, and Victoria made a deep cut into the South Australian trade. When Victoria came into conflict with the New South Wales railway authorities, the question at issue was not merely as to whether the former should retain her trade with Riverina, but whether that State should maintain its position in competition with

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the traffic on the Rivers Murray and Darling, which was going towards South Australia. The river, as the natural highway, is undoubtedly one of the greatest and most important factors in connexion with this question of trade and commerce between the States. Each of the three States of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia may be said to have a special claim in favour of her own position. Victoria claims predominance on account of her geographical position. Melbourne claims to be the natural centre and outlet of the Riverina trade. From Hay, which is the pivot town of Riverina, to Melbourne, there is a distance of only about 270 miles by land. On the other hand, from Hay to Sydney is a distance of 455 miles by land. From Hay to Adelaide, partly by river and partly by railway, the distance ranges from 1,000 miles to 1,100 miles. So far as the geographical position is concerned, Melbourne has the predominant advantage. Therefore, Victoria claims that she ought to have a fair share of the Riverina trade. Of course, New South Wales has the advantage of the territorial right—the constitutional, and the legal right. That is her strong position. Then, again, South Australia has the great advantage of having a natural highway in the Rivers Darling and Murray, which allows commerce and trade to gravitate from the competing area, so to speak, towards Adelaide. I take it that the object of the proposed Inter-State Commission is to endeavour to reconcile and harmonize all these various competing forces—the legal and constitutional right of New South Wales, the geographical position of Victoria, and the undoubted advantage of South Australia as represented by the river trade. Of these three forces probably the river is the strongest. The river undoubtedly represents a natural law which it would be very difficult indeed to interfere with, or to modify in any way.

MR. GLYNN.—A continental advantage.

Sir JOHN QUICK. — Undoubtedly it is a continental advantage, and the river traffic and the navigability of the river have to a large extent assisted in regulating and modifying, if not in absolutely determining, the railway rates which have had to be imposed by Victoria in order to retain her trade. I mention that to show that the conflict has not altogether been one between New South Wales and Victoria alone. There is this

further powerful factor, the river traffic, which has been to a large extent influencing and determining the railway rates, so far as Victoria is concerned. We cannot fail to recognise the existence of this conflict which has been going on for the last 30 or 40 years between these three States. It is in existence at the present time, and will undoubtedly continue unless the Federal Parliament makes some provision for the settlement of these disputes. As an illustration, I may remind honorable members of the various forms in which these railway conflicts have been pursued. First, we have the special rates charged on the Victorian railways from the Murray to Melbourne for the carriage of Riverina wool. It must be admitted that special rates, lower than the local rates, have been so imposed as part of this all-round system of cut-throat competition. From Melbourne to the Murray special rates have been charged on merchandise destined for Riverina stations and known as "back-loading." Much lower rates have been charged for merchandise intended for the Riverina than for that destined for the Victorian side of the river. Special rates have been charged for the carriage of Riverina wool along the South Australian Railways, from Morgan to Adelaide, and from the Murray Bridge to Adelaide. Then, dealing with freights from Adelaide to the Murray, we find that special rates, of a differential character, have been charged for merchandise destined to the river stations—back-loading, as it is called—on the same lines as those which have been imposed within Victoria. Between Serviceton and Dimboola the Victorian Government have imposed what is known as the blocking rate in order to prevent or minimize the introduction of merchandise from South Australia into Victoria as part of the same system. Turning to the rates from Riverina to Sydney we find that special differential or preferential charges have been imposed on the New South Wales railways from Hay and Jerilderie, and the New South Wales border towns, for the carriage of wool and grain to Sydney, in order to attract to the capital of the mother State that wool and grain which, if left alone, would, with other trade and commerce flow, in the natural order of events, towards the port of Melbourne. Wool to Albury—a blocking rate, almost equal to 50 per cent. of the ordinary rate, has

been put on between stations such as Junee and Wagga to prevent the flow of wool from New South Wales towards the Victorian border. This has been imposed just as the rate between Serviceton and Dimboola has been put on. It has been done under the same short-sighted policy which we are now bound to take into consideration, and we must decide once and for all whether this wretched miserable policy is to continue any longer. Another example of these differential rates is the charge for the carriage of merchandise from Albury into the interior of New South Wales. A blocking rate has been imposed in regard to this traffic similar to that charged on lines from the Victorian border. I need not go into the figures which are somewhat confusing, but the specification of these varying forms of differential or preferential rates will be a sufficient illustration of the contention I am now submitting to the consideration of the House. This conflict has not been confined solely to the three States which I have mentioned. It has existed also—at times in an acute form—between New South Wales and the great State of Queensland. So acute did the struggle for border trade become between these two neighbouring States that in 1893 the Parliament of Queensland was called upon to pass an Act known as the Railway Border Tax Act. That Act was assented to on the 21st July, 1893. The preamble contains an interesting summary of the grievances suffered by the Government and the people of Queensland on account of what they contended was the unfair competition of the railway system of New South Wales, in its desire to grasp the border trade which should have been allowed to flow towards Brisbane. The preamble to the Act recites that large sums of money have been expended by the Queensland Government in extending and maintaining railway communication with the southern and western districts of the State, for the purpose of promoting agricultural and pastoral settlement in those districts. It further recites that large sums of money have at various times been expended by the Government in harbour and river improvements for the purpose of increasing the shipping facilities of the State; that a large sum of money has been and is being annually paid by the Government in subsidizing direct steam communication with Europe, primarily with the object of facilitating the speeding and direct shipment of goods and produce therefrom and thereto.

Then it goes on to formulate a very formidable indictment against the railway authorities of New South Wales by asserting—

And whereas it has been ascertained that differential rates on the railway lines of the neighbouring colonies have been promulgated and otherwise arranged for which have had, and are continuing to have, the effect of diverting the traffic, which ought legitimately to be conveyed over the railway lines of this colony, thereby entailing a considerable loss in railway revenue: And whereas it is considered desirable to prevent as far as practicable this diversion of traffic.

It goes on to enact this law by which a tax is imposed upon the transportation of goods, wares, and merchandise across the border from Queensland into New South Wales contrary to the intention of the Act. This measure is a particularly interesting and useful illustration of the nature of the conflict, a conflict that has been extended all over the four colonies for so many years past. It is a conflict which I venture to say became so acute that it furnished one of the strongest arguments in favour of Australian federation, that under a federal system of Government, the Federal Parliament would have the authority, and would have imposed upon it the duty, to take steps to put an end to this ruinous warfare between the various States. That is why we find special provision made in the Constitution for the creation of an Inter-State commission for the purpose of executing and maintaining the laws of the Commonwealth, with reference to trade and commerce. I think that the enumeration of these various grievances, furnishes the very strongest possible ground that could be urged in support of the acceptance of the leading features of this Bill by the House.

Mr. GLYNN.—The honorable and learned member is only proving the existence of the evil; not the adequacy of the remedy.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—In times past, efforts have been made by various Governments to suppress this evil. The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, knows that conferences have been held from time to time by the representatives of the Government, and by the railway authorities, at which strenuous efforts have been made to arrive at a *modus vivendi* in reference to this question.

Mr. POYNTON.—But they have failed.

Mr. GLYNN.—Only by the non-adoption of the agreement of 1895.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—It is to be regretted that disastrous failure has attended these efforts, because it is not for want of endeavour on the part of the Railway Commissioners that these efforts have not been successful. I find that in May, 1895, a draft agreement was entered into between the Railway Commissioners of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, as the result of a conference at which the leading officers of the various departments met and endeavoured to arrive at a solution of these difficulties. The provisional agreement arrived at was of a very important character, and I have made a short analysis of it. First, they agreed to abolish preferential rates for the carriage of wool from the Murray to Adelaide, from the Murray to Port Victor, and from the Murray to Melbourne. It was recognised at the same time that tribute or compensation should be given by Victoria and South Australia to New South Wales on all wool carried by railways to Adelaide or Melbourne from Hay, and east of Hay, equal to 40 per cent. of the difference between the old rates and the increased rates. Another item of the agreement was a pooling arrangement between South Australia and Victoria, whereby the gross proceeds of the railway traffic in Darling wool and merchandise was to be divided into five parts, three-fifths going to South Australia and two-fifths to Victoria, after deducting 25 per cent. of the working expenses in each case. It was also decided to recommend that the differential rates on the carriage of wool from the interior of New South Wales to Albury *en route* to Melbourne should be abolished; and that the differential block rate on the carriage of merchandise from Albury towards the interior of New South Wales should be also abolished. It was further recommended that the differential block rates on the carriage of merchandise from Serviceton to Dimboola should be done away with, but that the Victorian local classification rates on the carriage of goods destined to border stations except Echuca and Swan Hill should be adhered to. The tendency of this agreement was generally to equalize rates, and to remove a number of anomalies which had been the subject of complaint in the various colonies for many years. That agreement, however, was not ratified by the respective Governments.

Mr. GLYNN.—The Victorian Government was the only one which stood out.

Sir JOHN QUICK. — The Victorian Government, I believe, were led to form the opinion that this agreement was prejudicial to the interests of Victoria; in other words, that Victoria gave more than she received as a consideration.

Mr. GLYNN.—The real reason was that the South Australian commissioner did not mention the Broken Hill rate; he suppressed it really.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I do not know that that was the real reason.

Mr. GLYNN.—I heard that it was.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I have heard that one of the primary factors in connexion with the rejection of this agreement was that the proprietors of the Murray River steam-boats felt that if the agreement were adopted their interests would be prejudiced, and that they would lose the rebates which they had been in the habit of receiving under the old agreement of 1870. Whether that be true or not, I am not quite sure, but I have no reason to doubt that the Government of Victoria had sound and tangible reasons for not acquiescing in this agreement. I mention this as illustrating, not only the manner in which efforts have been made in times past to settle these conflicts and antagonisms, but as illustrating also the failure of those efforts, and further, and most important of all, as illustrating how it is possible for experts meeting together on common ground to arrive at an approximation of an agreement which will be acceptable to the whole of the States. If these railway experts, meeting together in May, 1895, were able to make such an important advance in the direction of an agreement, how much more likely is it than an Inter-State Commission, composed of independent men, and equipped with constitutional authority, would be able to discover some *modus vivendi* that would reconcile and harmonize the various conflicting and antagonistic interests of the States. Before I go into the details of the Bill, I would like at this stage to mention the contention which has been raised that it was never intended that this Inter-State Commission should have any power or jurisdiction over commerce borne from one State to another by ocean navigation. I have already drawn attention to the section in the Constitution which clearly and specifically contemplates control over Inter-State

navigation, or over commerce which is carried from one State to another by means of ocean navigation. It is also said that there is no reason whatever why the federal authority should vest any power or jurisdiction in the Inter-State Commission over this class of carriage. With reference to that point, I had the opportunity of a conversation with Mr. John Mathieson, late Railways Commissioner of Victoria, a few days prior to his departure from this State. I think honorable members will recognise in that officer a very able, reliable, and valuable man, whose opinion is entitled to respect. Mr. Mathieson, in discussing with me the functions of an Inter-State Commission, made this observation, which I took down at the time—

Among other matters it might report on are the sugar trade, the emigration of aliens, and the rates charged by steamers between coastal ports. The rate charged by steamers for the conveyance of goods from Sydney to Townsville is cheaper than the rate from Brisbane to Townsville. Brisbane is suffering from this undue advantage given to Sydney. I know as a fact that cargoes have been left on the wharves of Brisbane weeks and weeks whilst cargoes have been sent direct from Sydney to the northern ports.

That was the first piece of information I received on the subject which led me to make further inquiries as to whether it was necessary or desirable to give the Inter-State Commission any jurisdiction over coastal steamers. I mentioned the matter to the honorable member for Oxley, and asked him whether he could give me any information on the subject. The honorable member very kindly undertook to send a telegram to one of the leading merchants in Brisbane, as follows—

Is it true that steamers give preference in loading from Sydney to northern Queensland ports, charging cheaper rates, and giving better facilities than are given at Brisbane?

The reply received was—

Yes; steamers give preference 5s. ton as between Sydney and Brisbane; prohibitive for heavy goods.

That is a piece of information which tends to support the statement which Mr. Mathieson made to me.

Mr. BAMFORD.—There are more glaring cases than that.

Sir JOHN QUICK. — The honorable member says that there are more glaring cases than that which I have cited, and that tends to support the contention in favour of

some form of control over ocean navigation so far as it is utilized in Inter-State trade. I find in the *Brisbane Courier* of Monday, 15th July, this paragraph—

A prominent merchant of this city was also seen, and he stoutly maintained it was a fact that the three Inter-State shipping companies gave a preference to loading from Sydney to northern Queensland ports, and charged Sydney shippers 5s. per ton less than they levied on Brisbane shippers of goods for the north. This preference which he declared was shown to Sydney as a shipping port was the means of depriving Brisbane of a deal of the northern trade, and was, he considered, a decided blow at the commerce of this port.

These are facts which demand explanation, and which justify some limited jurisdiction being given to the Inter-State Commission to inquire into anomalies of the kind. I should say, in justice to the steam-ship companies, that the three Inter-State steam-ship lines doing business with Queensland ports have repudiated the correctness of the reply sent to the honorable member for Oxley; and that involves a question of fact which I cannot pursue any further. I merely point this out as evidence, showing the existence of these preferential rates on the part of some of the coastal steamers. There is another matter in which it may be deemed desirable that some control should be exercised over coastal shipping and navigation by the Inter-State Commission. I refer to the recent action of the New South Wales Government, through the Sydney Harbor Trust, in making Harbor Trust regulations, which was alluded to by the Minister for Home Affairs in introducing this Bill. The Minister mentioned that the New South Wales Government had instigated or had taken action through the Harbor Trust for the purpose of abolishing, or reducing, the wharfage rates upon trade and commerce between Sydney and the various coastal ports of New South Wales. I have before me the New South Wales *Gazette*, dated 18th June, 1901, in which the following announcement appears—

SYDNEY HARBOUR TRUST REGULATIONS.

The following regulations, made by the Sydney Harbour Trust Commissioners, under the provisions of the *Sydney Harbour Trust Act 1900*, having been approved by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor with the advice of the Executive Council, are published in accordance with the requirements of the above-cited Act.

Sir John Quick.

REGULATIONS UNDER SYDNEY HARBOUR TRUST ACT 1900.

WHARFAGE RATES.

1. No outward wharfage rates shall be charged on any goods shipped to any port in New South Wales to be used or consumed in that State.

2. No inward wharfage rates shall be charged on any of the goods mentioned in the schedule hereto, which are the produce of, or have been manufactured in, New South Wales.

Then there is a schedule showing goods on which wharfage rates have been abolished inwards.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—That is protection.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—It certainly looks like protection of a pronounced character. In support of my contention that the Inter-State Commission should have some control in this direction, I would point out how wharfage rates of this kind, preferential as regards steamers trading between Sydney and the various ports of New South Wales, might be utilized for the purpose of defeating and prejudicing to a large extent Inter-State free-trade. As the Minister in his speech pointed out, a steamer trading between Sydney and south of the Tweed Heads would be entitled to trade, carrying goods to and from Sydney, with immunity from the payment of wharfage rates, whereas a steamer trading from the Queensland border, or from Southport, a few miles further north, would be obliged, whenever it entered the port of Sydney, or whenever it cleared out for Southport, or other ports in Queensland, to pay wharfage rates. The competing steamer favoured by New South Wales would be free from this burden, and that undoubtedly would be a very serious interference with Inter-State free-trade. Such a thing as this Harbour Trust regulation ought not to be tolerated, as undoubtedly repugnant to the principle of Inter-State free-trade. If that be so—and I presume it will be generally conceded that such a regulation will interfere with Inter-State free-trade, and be undue favoritism to a certain class of steamers—does that not furnish another, and a very strong argument indeed, in favour of the Inter-State Commission being established for the purpose of dealing with difficulties and anomalies of this kind that are not supposed to be tolerated by the Constitution?

Mr. GLYNN.—Are these regulations not bad apart from the commission? Can they not be challenged in a court of justice?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—As I pointed out earlier, these laws may be bad and unconstitutional, but the question is, who is to set them aside? Who is to take the initiative in order to quash them? Does the honorable and learned member wish to impose on private citizens the initiative of fighting a big constitutional battle? Where is the private citizen who will undertake to fight the State of New South Wales on a big question such as this, or on other great questions somewhat similar? It is expecting too much from private citizens that they should rush into the arena and fight these battles. If a private citizen did so, he might be met with the contention that the Inter-State Commission is the guardian of Inter-State free-trade, and that the commission is the body charged by the Constitution with the duty as well as the right of executing and maintaining laws with reference to freedom of trade. Inasmuch as the Constitution contemplates an Inter-State Commission, I think the House will have to give effect to the meaning and intention of the Constitution in some form or other. I do not say that we ought to accept the Bill absolutely in the shape in which it has been presented; but I do say that we ought to accept the Bill in substance, and that it is advisable and necessary that the Inter-State Commission should be constituted by Act of Parliament to perform the duties contemplated by the Constitution. Even if we pass a Bill containing only the bald words of the Constitution, declaring that there shall be an Inter-State Commission to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth with reference to trade and commerce, it will be quite enough. As far as the control of the Inter-State Commission over railways is concerned it is practically embodied in clause 16 of this Bill. That clause is really the heart of this Bill, so far as it contains any definition or grant of power, and honorable members will see that it merely repeats almost word for word the terms of the Constitution itself. It says that there shall be an Inter-State Commission practically to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth. Now, what are the laws of the Commonwealth? If we look at section 102 of the Constitution we shall see what are the laws contemplated. By clause 16 it is provided that the Inter-State Commission shall have power to deal with the rates on the State railways,

and the provision practically takes the form of a prohibition. That is the constitutional form. The Constitution says that the Parliament may forbid preferences and discriminations to be given by the States, but until Parliament moves by passing a Bill that power is dormant. Section 102 will not come into operation until it is set in motion by this Parliament, and the object of clause 16 is practically to bring into operation the latent power of the Constitution. Yet we are told that there is no necessity for this Bill, or for the Inter-State Commission. Until this Parliament legislates, the prohibitions contained in section 102 of the Constitution are latent and have no force whatever, and the railway authorities of the three States, Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, may go on passing their preferential or differential rates in the same way as they have done for the last 40 years.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Yes; slaughtering Inter-State free-trade.

Mr. GLYNN.—I think the courts of justice could prevent that.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The powers conferred by section 102 of the Constitution cannot be exercised until they are brought into operation by this Parliament.

Mr. GLYNN.—I read it the other way.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—There may be other provisions of the Constitution which are open to argument, and about those I will express no formal opinion; but the power contemplated by section 102 will not be brought into operation until this Parliament takes action by passing this or some other corresponding Bill. Clause 16 brings this power into operation, because it forbids that which the Constitution contemplates as being forbidden. It provides that—

It shall not be lawful for any State or for any State railway authority to give or make upon any railway the property of the State, in respect of external or Inter-State commerce, or so as to affect such commerce, any preference or discrimination which is undue and unreasonable or unjust to any State.

Now, there is nothing in any other part of the Constitution which corresponds with these prohibitions. What is wanted is something to bring them into operation, and there is no other way than by passing a Bill of the Federal Parliament. I am aware that there is a declaration in the Constitution that on and after a certain date trade and intercourse between the States shall be

absolutely free; but supposing that proceedings were taken against some State railway authority on the ground that it was enforcing a differential rate or a discriminating rate contrary to the principles of Inter-State free-trade, do not honorable members perceive that, unless this clause were brought into operation by a Federal Act, the objector would be immediately met by the point that such action on the part of the State had not been prohibited by the Federal Parliament? How could this act of State, performed under the authority of State laws, be assailed until it had been forbidden by a Federal Act of Parliament? Until State railway authorities are forbidden to do so by an Act of the Federal Parliament, it may be quite lawful for them to charge differential rates, and very strong arguments would have to be brought forward to convince any court that, until we bring these powers into operation by placing an Act on our statute-book, we can in any way enforce them, in pursuance of the principles of Inter-State free-trade.

MR. GLYNN.—I think this was looked upon as an addition to the effects of the other sections, and not as a substitution for them.

SIR JOHN QUICK.—The honorable and learned member will find, on looking at the Constitution, that until the acts contemplated in the prohibitory provisions of the Constitution are forbidden by the Federal Parliament, the courts must be led to the conclusion that they are to be tolerated. Therefore, an Inter-State Commission Bill of some sort or other, even if it be limited to clauses 16 or 17, ought to be carried. I would direct attention to the fact that clauses 16 and 17, with two qualifications, relating to financial responsibilities and development rates, contain the sole provisions of the Constitution with reference to the rates to be charged on State railways. When we come to clause 18, we find that it deals with carriers and State authorities other than State railway authorities. The provisions of clauses 18, 19, 20 and 21 do not relate to the State railway authorities, and there is no doubt that it is quite open to argument whether this Bill would not be a workable measure, and meet all the requirements of the present situation, even if it were confined to clauses 16 and 17. I think it well worthy of the consideration of the Government, whether at this initial

stage in the history of our Commonwealth, in view of the various difficulties and problems connected with the launching of a great enterprise such as this, we might not fairly and reasonably restrict the operation of this Bill, at any rate at the beginning, to State railways alone.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN QUICK.—So far as clauses 18 and 19, having reference to common carriers, are concerned, no doubt the whole of the provisions are quite consistent with the Constitution. I do not wish it to be understood that I consider them to be irrelevant or inconsistent, because I hold that they merely give effect to the free-trade provisions of the Constitution with reference to carriers and State authorities other than State railway authorities, and the draftsman of this Bill no doubt drew it strictly upon the lines of the Constitution.

MR. GLYNN.—He followed the American and the English Acts too closely.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is a great pity that he knew so much.

SIR JOHN QUICK.—This Bill has been drawn according to the lines of the Constitution. It is quite true that the draftsman had in view legislation of a kindred character in England and America, and I think he was wise in being guided by the precedents established in those countries. They have been of the greatest value in the consideration of these transcendent problems. As to whether it is absolutely necessary that these provisions should be included in this Bill, I think the matter is quite open to debate, but there is nothing in them inconsistent with the Constitution, and they may be very useful indeed. At any rate, I see nothing in the provisions to justify the great outcry that has been made about our taking power to deal with common carriers, and to insure that the rates fixed by them shall be reasonable and just.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—If the honorable and learned member had been a ship-owner, he would probably have thought differently.

SIR JOHN QUICK.—These clauses, which really enact the provisions in the Constitution relating to common carriers, do not apply generally, but only to Inter-State trade, and there is nothing in them to justify the adverse criticisms to which they have been subjected. At any rate, even if these clauses were omitted the backbone of the Bill would still remain, in

the shape of the prohibitions against preferences and discriminations on the part of the railway authorities of the various States. The other clauses are no doubt intended to cover Inter-State navigation, and with regard to ocean navigation, the cases I have mentioned are quite sufficient to justify them. I admit, however, that they are not so urgent as the provisions giving us full control over the State railway authorities. Still, grievances do exist, and possibilities of evading and defeating the Constitution may arise, and be taken advantage of quietly and insidiously, so that it may be necessary to have some watchful guardian to look after these various carrying agents. I trust that, inasmuch as we are about to deal with the Tariff legislation, by which we hope to gain Inter-State free-trade, the debate on the second reading of this Bill will not be merely aimless, but that it will be transmuted into federal legislation, which, I believe, will be calculated to promote one of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and to largely assist in welding together the people of these Australian communities under one commercial bond that will make us a thoroughly united people.

Debate (on motion by Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN) adjourned.

EXCISE ON BEER BILL.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from the Senate informing the House that the Senate had agreed to the amendment made by the House of Representatives upon the Senate's amendment No. 2.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL.

Report adopted.

ADJOURNMENT.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL—ORDER OF BUSINESS—THE BUDGET SPEECH.

Motion (by Mr. DEAKIN) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I wish to ask the Attorney-General whether there is any likelihood of the Government insuring the distribution of the Prime Minister's speech upon the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill? I think it would be of interest to have that speech as widely circulated as possible. It contains a lot of

matter of an informative character, and, apart from any controversial aspect involved, it would be an advantage generally if it were distributed pretty widely. I should also like the Government to make some statement as to what business it is proposed to deal with next week. Some honorable members are under the impression that after the Treasurer has delivered his Budget, and after the probable adjournment of the debate upon the Tariff question proper, an adjournment might be made. I am not in favour of that course being adopted myself. But whatever is the intention of the Government I think it would be just as well if it were stated, so that honorable members may know what business will be dealt with next week upon the days following Tuesday.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—I hope that the Government will favorably consider the request put forward by the honorable member for Bland. It seems to me that the distribution of the Prime Minister's speech would be a fitting corollary to the literature already circulated. We have had a great amount of literature circulated in connexion with this all-important matter, and it is ably summed up in the admirable speech of the Prime Minister. Already I have had a large number of letters from various parts of the State of Victoria asking for copies of that speech. If it is interesting in Victoria it is infinitely more so in Queensland. I am sure that if the course suggested is adopted it will be very much appreciated.

Mr. O'MALLEY (Tasmania).—I coincide with the remarks of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—I should like to ask the Attorney-General if the Government are in possession of any further facts in connexion with the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill, and if so, whether they will cause the information to be distributed amongst honorable members as soon as possible?

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat — Attorney-General).—In reply to the last question, I am not aware that any further facts are available, but there is a digest of the Imperial law and the Queensland law relating to the introduction of Pacific Islanders, explaining in simple fashion what is the present nature of those laws, and showing how they have succeeded each other. I believe that the digest in question is now in type, and I will undertake to have it distributed. With

regard to the speech of the Prime Minister, I wish to say that such republications are not uncommon in certain of the States; but I suggest that perhaps we should do well to be cautious in introducing the practice in the sense of making it common. However, I realize that the occasion is exceptional, and that a great number of electors may reasonably be expected not to be informed of all the steps which have been taken in connexion with past legislation on this matter. As the Prime Minister's speech was largely historical and explanatory, and not a controversial or party deliverance, perhaps it would be wise in this case to make an exception. I will obtain from the Government Printer an estimate of the number of copies that can be issued, and perhaps honorable members might suggest to the department the number of copies they would like. That will give us some idea of the number that should be obtained.

Mr. WATSON.—If the digest which has been referred to is in print it might be attached to the end of the speech.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The digest of laws is intended for those who are studying the question. We should not be guilty of undue extravagance in republishing the speech of the Prime Minister, because I understand that we can get 50,000 copies for £25.

Mr. GLYNN.—Can the Government circulate the Treasurer's Budget speech on Wednesday? Can they not have it published early in the week, rather than at the end of the week?

Mr. WATSON.—That means an extra issue of *Hansard*.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That is a suggestion which I venture to commend to the consideration of Mr. Speaker. The only other matter which has been referred to is as to the order of business next week. Naturally the Budget will come first, and the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill will be dealt with. Then there is the final stage of the Immigration Restriction Bill. I think that these measures will constitute the programme for the week, but, at any rate, we have the Inter-State Commission Bill to fill up any interstices.

Mr. SPEAKER.—In reference to the matter mentioned by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, I may inform the House that I have already arranged that a special number of *Hansard* shall be published on Wednesday

including the debates of to-day and the proceedings of next Tuesday. I thought it was desirable that honorable members should be placed as soon as possible in possession of the official report. Being conscious that on Tuesday next there will be a great demand for seats in the galleries, I am arranging, as far as possible, to meet the convenience of members of the Federal Parliament and of others. I am therefore setting apart the gallery on my left hand for members of the Senate, and that on my right for members of the State Parliament, reserving the whole of the gallery above for persons who may have orders given to them by honorable members of this House. One ticket has been sent to each honorable member which will give admittance to the upper gallery. There is really not sufficient accommodation to enable us to give honorable members more than one ticket, otherwise two tickets would be sent.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat — Attorney-General).—I trust that my allusion to the Inter-State Commission Bill, which only related to the time available next week, will not be misunderstood. There will come a time when the opportunity will be offered and eagerly embraced by the Government for keeping that Bill before the House. I recognise, however, that there is not much prospect of doing that next week, and, therefore, made the jocular allusion.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 3.5 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 8 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITIONS.

Mr. CHANTER presented a petition from Philip Shore and other residents of the Commonwealth, praying that provision might be made for a federal scheme for improving the navigability, and conserving the water of the rivers Murray and Darling.

Petition received, and read.

Mr. CHANTER presented a similar petition from James Wilkinson and other residents of the Commonwealth.

Petition received.

BUDGET.

Mr. REID.—I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether the usual course in connexion with the approaching financial statement is to be adopted, that is, its delivery by the Treasurer, or whether it is intended that upon this occasion the duty shall be divided? If the duty is to be shared by the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs, will the two speeches be delivered in the same committee? Obviously it would be wrong to split the debate into two, and I am sure that is not contemplated by the Ministry.

Mr. BARTON.—There is no intention to split the debate into two, and honorable members will have the ordinary opportunity to discuss the whole statement. Obviously, with the work in hand, it would be a severe task for any one man to deliver both the Budget speech and the explanation of the Tariff, and it has been arranged between my right honorable friends the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs, with my entire approbation, that the Treasurer shall deliver the financial statement, and that, afterwards, the Tariff shall be explained by the Minister of Trade and Customs. These steps may not be taken in the same committee, but I will see that every ordinary opportunity is given for discussing matters of principle, either by continuing the debate in the Committee of Ways and Means, after the explanation of the Tariff, or by reverting, if necessary, to Committee of Supply.

Mr. REID.—I do not wish to say anything at this stage, but I hope the Prime Minister will take this into consideration, that if the financial speech is divided—practically divided—into two, unless the two speeches are delivered in the same committee, members referring to the explanation of the Tariff will have to refer to it in the committee in which that subject was introduced, and will not be able to speak of it in the committee in which the other matter was dealt with. Therefore, the discussion will practically have to be cut in two. Probably the most important part of the discussion will centre round the Tariff, but at the same time the Tariff and the financial statement are inseparable, and I hope the Prime Minister will realize the inconvenience of speaking in the committee in which the Tariff is explained regarding that matter, and speaking in another committee in reference to the financial statement.

The SPEAKER.—I would remind the right honorable and learned member that the matter cannot be debated.

Mr. BARTON.—As a matter of explanation—which I think my right honorable friend is justified in seeking—I might inform the committee that the difficulty which has presented itself to the mind of my right honorable friend will not arise. In the State from which both he and I come, it has been a not infrequent thing for the financial statement, including both the Budget and taxation proposals, to be delivered in Committee of Supply. A Tariff statement, of course, properly belongs to Committee of Ways and Means, but such a statement, including the resolution which has to be passed in Committee of Ways and Means, has, as often as not, been brought down in Committee of Supply, and the discussion has gone on on that basis. Although technically it may not be regular to do this, usage has sanctioned the irregularity, in so far as it relates to the discussion of questions connected with the financial statement.

Mr. REID.—Yes; but the whole statement relating to both the finances and the Tariff has been delivered in the one committee.

Mr. BARTON.—That may be so; and, without having had any consultation with the Speaker or the Chairman, I have not the slightest doubt that the same latitude will be allowed in this case. If the Chairman should give any ruling that might prevent the discussion proceeding with the utmost freedom, I will take the necessary steps to secure honorable members every opportunity for dealing with both statements.

Mr. SPEAKER.—In order to save time I may inform the House that in the British Parliament the practice is, on such occasions, for reference to be allowed in Committee of Supply to any parallel debate in Committee of Ways and Means, and *vice versa*.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS
BILL.

Mr. McDONALD.—I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether he has received any protest from the Queensland Government regarding the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill, and if so, if he has any objection to lay it on the table of the House?

Mr. BARTON.—Last week I received a protest by telegraph from the Premier of

Queensland, which was duly published, but I do not think that is what the honorable member is referring to. To-day I read in the newspapers that the Premier of Queensland has sent me a letter, a summary of which occupies something more than half a column of one of the daily newspapers. I beg to say that I have not received that letter, and that the honorable gentleman referred to appears to have given his letter to the press before it could reach its intended recipient. As I have been made the victim of complaints of discourtesy from this source—the source of the Queensland Government—I beg to express my admiration of the tolerant spirit of courtesy which enabled this gentleman to give his letter to the press before it could reach the recipient.

ALIENATION OF CROWN LANDS IN QUEENSLAND.

Mr. McDONALD (for Mr. PAGE) asked the Prime Minister, *upon notice*—

Whether in view of the possibility of the Commonwealth taking over at a comparatively early date, the whole railway systems of the several States, he will vigorously protest against the wholesale alienation of Crown lands along existing and proposed railway routes, in the States of Queensland, such alienation being, it is alleged, calculated to seriously interfere with the future revenues of the said railways?

Mr. BARTON.—I am sorry that I cannot undertake to make a protest of this character. It would seem too much like interfering with the business of another State, and interfering in a quarter from which we have had very strong protests against interfering with our own business.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Mr. O'MALLEY asked the Prime Minister, *upon notice*—

Whether he will set apart one day this week for the discussion of a motion with reference to the national system of old-age pensions?

Mr. BARTON.—I am unable to make any promise in regard to this matter in the present stage of public business.

FIFTH VICTORIAN CONTINGENT.

Mr. CROUCH asked the Minister for Defence, *upon notice*—

1. Whether his attention has been drawn to the statement in the *Age* newspaper on the 3rd October, that Major McKnight, of the Fifth Victorian Contingent, had cabled to the Victorian

Government asking it to demand an inquiry into the language and conduct of Colonel Beaton towards the Contingent?

2. Whether the Defence department knows of such cablegram, and has the Minister any objection to state its contents to the House?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The answers to the honorable member are as follow :—

1. Yes.

2. No such telegram has been received by either the Commonwealth or the State Government.

ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURE.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from His Excellency the Governor-General transmitting to the House of Representatives the accompanying Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ending 30th June, 1902, together with Estimates of Expenditure for arrears for the period ended 30th June, 1901, and recommending an appropriation of the Consolidated Revenue Fund accordingly.

SUPPLY.

Message received from His Excellency the Governor-General recommending that an appropriation be made out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund for defraying the services of the year ending 30th June, 1902.

Referred to Committee of Supply.

ASSENT TO BILLS.

Royal assent to the following Bills reported :—

Distillation Bill.
Excise on Beer Bill.
Excise Bill.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL.

THIRD READING.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I am quite sure that, considering the task which my right honorable friend, the Treasurer, has before him, honorable members will excuse me for bringing on the third reading of the Immigration Restriction Bill, which, I take it, is practically a formal matter. I accordingly move—

That Orders of the Day, Nos. 1 and 2, be postponed until after order No. 3.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Motion (by Mr. BARTON) proposed—
That this Bill be now read a third time.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I regret the Prime Minister has altered the arranged order of proceedings in regard to this important matter. There are several honorable members who are desirous of addressing themselves to this question. I myself intended to say a few words, because I had not the opportunity during the time the Bill was being discussed in committee of dealing with the measure in the way I thought desirable. I have only risen now, because I think it wrong that the Government should take this course of dealing with so important a matter, which has received a considerable amount of attention at the hands of honorable members, which has caused a considerable amount of debate, and which is a matter which I can assure the Prime Minister will take a considerable time before it is finally dealt with. I know of at least seven or eight members who are desirous of addressing themselves to the question. I have been struck with the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister with regard to this important matter. The right honorable gentleman, when before his constituents in New South Wales, expressed himself as strongly in favour of a white Australia. He then pointed out that, instead of having several colonies voting in distinct ways, we should vote with one united voice, and by that means we should be able to obtain all we required without resort to extreme measures. That was the voice of the Prime Minister to his constituents in New South Wales; but now, judging from the attitude of the Premier of Queensland to-day, we find the right honorable gentleman speaking in a different tone altogether—with a view, presumably, of securing support in Queensland. I think the Prime Minister has taken altogether a wrong attitude in regard to this question. He ought to have carried out what is really the wish of the people of Australia, namely, that we should have a white Australia. We should have assented to the amendment proposed by the honorable member for Bland for the purpose of excluding aliens altogether. That was the view I took of the amendment, and it was the view that was taken by a number of honorable members when speaking before their constituents. We said then that we were desirous of seeing a provision for the total exclusion

of aliens embodied in a Bill. I am sorry that I have not the exact words used by the Prime Minister in his speech in explanation of the measure—I did not think the matter was coming on to-day—but he pointed out that it was unnecessary to put the prohibition in plain language. He said in effect that he would be able to do by an act of the Government what could be done by the honorable member for Bland's amendment. But it is not desirable in the interests of Australia that the object should be attained in the way proposed by the Bill. We ought to embody in the first piece of important legislation passed by the Commonwealth Parliament, exactly what we mean and what is the view of United Australia. The Prime Minister stated that there would be no difficulty whatever in ascertaining the views of the Government and of the Australian people with regard to this important question, because all that people would have to do was to read *Hansard*. He said that *Hansard* was available to the consuls and the principal officials representing the various nations, and that from it they could easily ascertain what the views of Australia were upon this question. But I ask honorable members whether they could ascertain the view of United Australia upon this subject by reading the speeches delivered in this House? The honorable member for Melbourne Ports, who represents a democratic constituency, spoke loudly in favour of a white Australia a few months ago when before his constituents. He supported the action of the Federal Government in making that one of the main planks in their platform. When the honorable member for Wentworth made his very able speech upon the question we found the honorable member for Melbourne Ports applauding and challenging the honorable member for Wentworth to vote with him in favour of a white Australia. He also made a strong speech himself directly in favour of the amendment of the honorable member for Bland. But when the division was taken we found him voting on the other side. How can the consuls and other representatives of foreign nations tell what were the opinions of the people of Australia from reading *Hansard*, when they find an honorable member making a speech upon one side and voting on the other?

Mr. McDONALD.—He had consulted the *Age* in the meantime.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That shows that the views of the people of Australia were not represented upon this question when the division was taken, but the views of a certain number of persons who do not represent the people. Then again, I can refer to the honorable member for Bourke. He also made a strong speech in favour of a white Australia when he was before his constituents. But in the House we found him voting in the other direction. Then the honorable member for Corinella made a very able speech before his constituents in favour of a white Australia.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member should not pretend that he has read anything that I said before my constituents. I do not believe that he has done so.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have taken the trouble to read in the *Age* a report of a speech delivered by the honorable member. I find from that speech that he made a very strong deliverance in favour of a white Australia.

Mr. McCAY.—Hear, hear.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—But when the vote was taken, the honorable member voted for a whitey-black Australia. Then there is the honorable member for Moreton. He made a very strong speech, and even went so far as to say that at the risk of turning out the Government, he would vote against any piebald attempt to bring about the object in view. He was so far determined to vote in favour of a white Australia, that he declared he would prefer that the Government should be turned out, than that the Bill should not be made effectual. Yet we find that he voted the other way. Can honorable members, or the Prime Minister, therefore, say honestly, that by reading *Hansard*, or looking through the *Votes and Proceedings* of the House of Representatives, the consuls and other prominent officials representing other nations will be able to ascertain the view of Australia? I say "No." I say further, that we have not acted fairly to the people of Australia in dealing with this subject as we have dealt with it. I also read the very able speech delivered by the honorable member for Indi when before his constituents. It was probably more strongly in favour of the views we have expressed than was the speech of any other honorable member who has addressed himself to this question. Yet we find the

honorable member voting in favour of the proposals submitted by the Government and in opposition to the amendment of the honorable member for Bland. In view of the importance of this question, and in view of the strong feeling exhibited by the people of Australia in favour of the proposal submitted by the honorable member for Bland, I regret exceedingly that the Parliament which was elected to support a proposal of that kind should, at the dictation of the Government, have voted in a different way. The Prime Minister has said that Mr. Chamberlain had nothing whatever to do with his attitude in regard to this question, but if that is so, all the more discredit attaches to the Federal Government, because they told the people of Australia, when asking for their support, that we were going in future to have a white Australia—that we were going to keep out the alien, and were going to bring about legislation which would go further in that direction than would any legislation in force in the States. In New South Wales we have had an Act of Parliament in force for some time, which is exactly on the lines of that proposed by the Federal Government. The Prime Minister led the people of New South Wales and of Australia to believe that as soon as we had federation we should be able to speak with one voice—to speak with more power and effect, and that we should be able to go further than any of the legislation passed by the separate States. That was said when the right honorable gentleman was before his constituents, and I say that if he has now gone back upon his word without any correspondence with the Home Government to influence his attitude, it shows that he could not have been sincere in that declaration, and that he never had a desire to bring about the reform the people of Australia asked for. I regret that this matter has been so sprung upon honorable members, because I had certain extracts prepared which I should have liked an opportunity of reading to the House at a time when honorable members would be more inclined to give attention to such an important question. I can promise the Government that they will gain nothing by resorting to tricks of this kind. They led honorable members to believe that to-day we were going on with the financial statement, and honorable members came here prepared to deal with that subject.

Mr. BARTON.—Then why does not the honorable member sit down?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The right honorable gentleman knows very well that a number of members were desirous of speaking on this important question, and he has endeavoured to close their mouths by this subterfuge. I say it is unworthy of any Government or any party to resort to these tactics, and I promise the Government that they will gain nothing by them. I do not wish to run counter to the desires of honorable members to hear an important deliverance in regard to the finances of the Commonwealth, or I should occupy considerable time in referring to several other phases of this question, which I think ought to be referred to in the interests of Australia. In view, however, of the strong feeling and anxiety which I share with other honorable members to hear what the Treasurer has to say, I do not purpose discussing the matter any further. I again express my regret that the Government have resorted to such tactics in order to prevent the free exercise of the right of every honorable member to give expression to his views upon one of the most important questions that could engage the attention of the Federal Parliament.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—I trust the Prime Minister will now see the wisdom of adjourning this debate. He must have gathered that it is wise to do so from the feeling expressed in the House, from the remarks of the last speaker, and from the intimation that about 22 other honorable members wish to speak upon this third reading.

Mr. BARTON.—Is that all?

Mr. WILKS.—I know of only 22 at present.

Mr. BARTON.—Perhaps the honorable member will move the adjournment of the debate?

Mr. WILKS.—At the suggestion of the Prime Minister I move—

That the debate be now adjourned.

The SPEAKER.—It is not quite regular for an honorable member to move the adjournment of a debate after having commenced his speech, but under the circumstances probably the House will excuse the irregularity.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—In moving the third

reading of the Bill, I supposed honorable members would deal with the matter as one involving no prolonged debate after the long discussion that had already taken place upon it.

BUDGET.

In Committee of Ways and Means.

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava—Treasurer).—Mr. Chairman, I desire to thank honorable members for their kind, encouraging cheer. I can assure them that I feel to-day in a greater difficulty than, I think, any Treasurer has ever felt—certainly in a far greater difficulty than I have ever felt when introducing a Budget into the State Parliament. I feel that the work on which we shall be engaged for some little time is of the utmost importance to all the people of our Commonwealth—not alone to those who are here now, but to those who will be here when we have passed away. The difficulties surrounding the task which has had to be carried out by myself, so far as the financial portion of our proposals is concerned, have, indeed, been very great. When you are dealing with one State, you can obtain your information with some ease; but when you come to deal with six States, some of them far away from the seat of Government, it is very hard, indeed, to get the information you require to place financial proposals before a committee in such a form that they will be clearly understood, and the position of the Treasury, and also that of the State Treasurers fully disclosed. I have, unfortunately, suffered from the absence of my right hand man: my secretary has been laid up for the last five weeks; therefore a very large portion of the work which would have been done by him has fallen on my shoulders. I feel that in dealing with the finances we all fully realize the great responsibility which rests upon our shoulders, and I am certain that, whatever our opinions on the fiscal question may be, we shall give each other credit for being animated by but one desire—to do that which is best for Australia, and fair, just, and equitable to all the States, and to all classes and sections of our community. Another grave responsibility which rests upon us at this particular time is to take the utmost care that there shall be no extravagant expenditure. While we should spend all that is reasonably necessary for the purpose of defending and developing

our country we must see, at all events in the early stages of our career, that there is no extravagance, because the money we spend is money which comes from the States, and if we do anything which may put them into a difficult position they will feel inclined to curse rather than to bless federation. Under these circumstances—seeing that we have a large surplus to dispose of—we must be more than usually careful. When a Treasurer is in the position of not having money to spend, it is not very hard, although it is not popular, to say “No”; but when he has a large surplus to dispose of, there is always a temptation to be lavish, and to obtain *kudos* by expending money. But if we act in that way, we shall force the States into a position where they will have to either impose heavy direct taxation, or resort to drastic retrenchment. Those things are both very good in their way. If you mention direct taxation or retrenchment you will find people in favour of both, but when you try to put your policy into operation, it is a very different thing. The cry then is—“Tax the other man,” or “Retrench some one else.” I have had experience of not having much to spend, and therefore I assure honorable members that my sympathies are entirely with the State Treasurers, and anything I can do to relieve their necessities will undoubtedly be done. We have no revenue of our own to dispose of. Whatever money we spend has to come out of the State coffers, though apparently some of the States, and many of the public, think that the Commonwealth has a revenue of its own with which it can do just as it likes. Another grave responsibility resting upon us is with regard to the mode in which we frame our Tariff. We are bound to try to, as far as practicable, give back to each State about as much as it would have received if federation had not taken place, and in addition there is the responsibility of providing for the expenditure of the Commonwealth. Whatever Tariff we may in our wisdom pass may not realize our expectations, and therefore, whatever views we may hold, we must be extremely cautious and careful not to do anything to endanger the solvency of any of the States, because the solvency of the Commonwealth depends upon the solvency of the States. In the Customs duties we have taken from the States their most elastic and most important source of revenue, and therefore it

is our bounden duty to do everything we can to preserve their solvency, and prevent them from being placed in a dangerous position. To expound the financial proposals of a Government is not at any time an easy task, and, as honorable members will realize, although formerly Treasurers have had to deal with one State only, to-day it is my duty to deal with the affairs not of one, but of six States. It is necessary that we should place on record, for the information of the States, and also in order that the position we take up may be fairly challenged, some explanation of the Budget proposals, so that those who desire to know may have the fullest information given to them. Now, I intend to-day to make a plain, simple statement with regard to our financial position. I do not myself claim to be an accountant, and I want to see the accounts of the Treasury kept in such a simple manner that any honorable member requiring information may always be able to get it without difficulty. I will place in the hands of honorable members all the information within my knowledge, whether it be in favour of or against any proposal I may bring forward. We have had to get this information under very difficult circumstances; but, while there may be a few slight mistakes in some of the figures placed before honorable members, I believe that, on the whole, they are correct. There have been some questions with regard to the delay in bringing forward these proposals, but I desire to impress upon honorable members the fact that there has been no unnecessary delay. We have been anxious to get on with our Tariff proposals as quickly as possible. As soon as we came into office, we desired that certain statistical information should be obtained, and that occupied many months—any one who has anything to do with the statistics of the different States will very soon find out how immensely difficult it is to obtain any reliable information. The whole of the statistics appear to be kept according to different methods in the various States, and matters are so mixed up that even now some very important information that I had wished to place before honorable members I have not been able to bring forward, because I could not satisfy myself of its correctness. In April last, the Minister of Trade and Customs, and I started to deal with the draft Tariff, and we

obtained all the information and returns we could. That Tariff has been framed for some little time. The Minister of Trade and Customs and myself worked night and day upon it, and the Cabinet had to ask the House to allow us an extra day, in order that each item might be fully debated, and so that all members of the Cabinet might know exactly what the proposals were. Frequently, when alterations were made in the various items, or further information came to our hands, we had to alter our calculations. We had the difficult task of carrying out the pledge we had given, to frame a Tariff which would give us the necessary amount of revenue, and yet be protective to our existing industries. We have closely studied all the figures, and I cannot pass away from this portion of my speech, without giving every credit to the collectors of the different States, who have been working out this problem with us, and I also desire to mention the name of Mr. Smart, one of the chief officers in the Victorian Customs department. I am certain that my right honorable friend, the Minister of Trade and Customs, will freely indorse anything I may say with regard to the labours of these officers, because they have taken a deep interest in their work, and have done everything they possibly could to assist us in the difficult and arduous task we have had to perform. We have heard a great deal about the extravagance of the Commonwealth, and of the immense amount of money we were going to expend after taking it out of the pockets of the taxpayers. I desire to direct the attention of honorable members to a few facts in connexion with the expenditure of the past. In 1895-96 the Customs expenditure amounted to £246,579, in 1900-01 the expenditure was £260,972, and at the date of transfer £259,387. The proposals we bring forward provide for an expenditure of £259,763. Of course it is not fair to compare our estimates with the actual expenditure of last year, and I will give many reasons for that afterwards. All we are responsible for is the state of affairs that we found when we took possession. Therefore, in our comparisons we have taken the expenditure as at the date of transfer, and contrasted it with the amount we propose to spend. The expenditure at the date of transfer was arrived at by taking the salaries then paid, the allowances at the amount then being paid, and the contingencies

at the amount which was expended during that particular year. On these items honorable members will see that there had been increases up to the date of transfer of £12,808, but our increases as against those up to the date of transfer amount to £376. We, of course, have to add to that the new expenditure occasioned by the Minister's office, amounting to £3,15. That is a very small department, and the expenditure is not large, but in pointing this out I have an object in view, which honorable members will afterwards see. The Post-office expenditure in 1895-96—and I take that year because it is the year referred to in the papers which were dealt with at Adelaide—was £2,035,497; in 1901 it had increased to £2,305,000, and at the date of transfer it was at the rate of £2,331,939. We propose an expenditure of £2,342,423. Our proposal, therefore, is for an increase in the expenditure of that department of £11,000. The increase from 1895-96, to the time of transfer, amounted to no less than £306,926. The cost of the Minister's office is £4,690. But when we turn to the Defence department we find figures which, I think, will startle honorable members and many people outside of this House. The expenditure in that department in 1895-96 was £522,448; in 1901 it had reached £811,010, and at the date of transfer it was £895,434. Our proposals contemplate an expenditure of £884,429.

Mr. WATSON.—Is that independent of the cost of the contingents?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We have nothing to do with the contingents. We did not take them into consideration at all. We are, therefore, proposing a decrease in the expenditure of the Defence department of £11,005. The cost of the new offices amounts to £8,975. The increased cost incurred by the States, prior to the transfer of the department to the Commonwealth, amounted to £372,986. It may seem that a large increase is involved in the amount set down in our proposal as compared with the expenditure for 1901, but there are certain facts which explain that, and which I will place before honorable members in a minute or two. These great increases in the expenditure in connexion with the Defence department took place within the last couple of years. I find that in New South Wales the increase was £90,000, in Victoria it was £120,000, in Queensland

£90,000, in South Australia £36,000, in Western Australia £15,000, and in Tasmania £20,000.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Was not that occasioned to some extent by the contingents?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; in this comparison I have left out all consideration of the contingents absolutely, and I simply compare the like figures with the like figures. I may mention in regard to these particular figures that I have been trying for months to get possession of a return showing each year's increased expenditure. Up to the present, however, I have not been able to get one which is satisfactory, but I am determined to do so in order that honorable members may have the fullest opportunity of checking these quotations. Whilst, therefore, we have not made any very large savings in the Defence department, I think honorable members will admit that we have stopped the heavy expenditure which has been going on for some time. There are one or two very peculiar items of expenditure. The total number of rounds fired came to some 13,000,000, out of which Victoria had 7,300,000, leaving 5,700,000 for the rest of the States. This year we are providing £91,740 for ammunition. Last year the amount expended was £71,589, but the Minister for Defence fortunately ascertained where a considerable quantity of good ammunition could be obtained at a large discount, and that meant a saving to us of £16,550; otherwise the increase on last year would have been £36,701. The quality of this ammunition is quite as good, and the bargain is really a very advantageous one for the Commonwealth. The great expenditure in Victoria has been in connexion with rifle clubs. In 1899–1900 there was expended in that State £1,072, and in 1900–1901 £22,868, and this year we have to provide £35,638. Honorable members will, therefore, see that the expense in this particular department has gone up by leaps and bounds. While I freely admit that we ought to see that our armaments are of the best, and that our men have a fair amount of training and drilling, still I think the time has come when we have to seriously consider whether the Commonwealth can bear the great strain which has been put on us with regard to expenditure in the Defence department. I know that when I had to administer the Defence department in Victoria, I frequently received memoranda from the

military authorities insisting on certain expenditure; but we were in the position that we simply had not the money. If I had given way to the demands which were made by the military authorities, the new estimate would have been very much larger than that we have thought fit to propose to the House. The defence expenditure in Victoria is principally on rifle clubs, which have gone ahead a great deal during the last year or two. These clubs may or may not continue. They no doubt deserve encouragement, but, at the same time, we must take the whole circumstances of the department into consideration, and see whether savings cannot be made in some other direction, which will make up, or assist to make up, this very heavy extra expenditure. Of course, we can reduce the establishment and the number of our forces. We can have less drills, which will mean less pay; and we can supply less ammunition free, or at a cheap rate, or we can do something else. We can make very large savings in the item of allowances which are paid to the various military officers. I have had a return prepared—these allowances appear to be so numerous and so large that in several departments, especially that of defence, I have been almost afraid to add them up to ascertain how much they come to. They have not been added up yet—I have not had sufficient time—but I have no doubt from my past experience of the Defence department that enormous allowances are made, and that a great saving can be made in cutting down some of them. If we were to follow out the report lately placed before us, instead of cutting down, we should have to very largely increase the expenditure. So that honorable members will see that we have not been extravagant in our expenditure upon the transferred departments. In the Customs department we propose to spend £376 more, but honorable members must recollect that in regard to this department there will, in consequence of the new Tariff, be a great deal more work to do than has been done. On the New South Wales Estimates a sum of £10,000 was provided for additional assistance; but, on talking over the matter with my colleague, the Minister of Customs, having had some experience in that particular department myself, I was able to show him where we could dispense with that item altogether by transferring a number of officers from Melbourne and other places

to Sydney. That has consequently been done, with the result that that particular item of £10,000 has been omitted from the Estimates. Then also in the Defence department we have made a saving of £11,005, whilst in the Post-office we have provided for an increased expenditure of £10,484. Any honorable member who realizes how this department is increasing, and the large amounts that have necessarily to be spent, will see that the Post-office is a department in which we cannot very well cut down the expenditure too low. On the whole we have made a reduction of £145 on the total amount of votes for the three departments, as compared with the expenditure at the time of transfer. In addition to that we have had to provide £3,150 for new expenditure on account of the Customs. That is accounted for by the establishment of the Minister's office. We have also had to provide £9,475 in respect of new expenditure in the Defence department, and £4,690 in connexion with the Post-office. It seems to me that shortly before the transfer of these departments to the Commonwealth the States showed a great anxiety to act liberally in many directions—Victoria not being behindhand; so that when we come to compare the expenditure which we propose with the actual expenditure of last year, there are just a few circumstances which I have to ask honorable members to bear in mind. In some of the States there has been a very large increase in the number of the forces. But some of the States forgot to make any provision for the payment of the extra forces, or for their equipment. In some cases volunteers have been turned into partially-paid corps. The reclassification of the public service in Victoria and New South Wales also means an enormous extra expenditure. I am told that in New South Wales it comes to no less than £40,000. The amount for Victoria I have not been able to ascertain, but I think we may safely calculate it at something like £20,000.

Mr. WATSON.—Is that all on account of the Defence department?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; it mostly concerns the Post-office. There would not be a great increase in respect of extra payments to the men. The increases of which I speak relate to the whole service. Increases have been made in other States in other directions. We find that fresh

arrangements for new services were entered into just before the transfer of the departments. New arrangements have also been made, by means of which payments to the Railways were considerably increased. In Victoria we were doubly hit. We suffered a loss of revenue in consequence of the establishment of penny postage, and at the same time we have to put on extra men to carry out the work. Further expenditure was incurred in that particular department in other directions. With regard to the defence forces the equipment had run very low, and our ammunition supplies were really in a dangerous position. The result has been that we have had to order several million rounds of ammunition this year for the purpose of having a reasonable reserve. We have not gone to the full length that we should have gone, but we hope to have a sufficient reserve this year, and next year we hope to be able to increase it so that we may have in store the full amount of ammunition recommended. Some of the States have made increases in other directions just prior to the commencement of the Federation, and held back works and maintenance, apparently thinking that the Commonwealth had some means of dealing with these amounts without affecting the States. Some of this extra expenditure was not provided for last year, and some of it was provided for only six months. The result is that this year we have a burden imposed upon the Commonwealth which makes a considerable difference in the amount of our expenditure. But, of course, honorable members will realize that in connexion with the Post-office we have to make provision for increased expenditure in connexion with improvements and extensions of the telegraph and telephone systems, and that we have also to provide for central offices for the new departments. Comparing the expenditure which we propose with the actual expenditure last year—which I have pointed out is hardly fair—and taking the extreme case, I find that in 1900–1 £250,539 was expended in connexion with the Customs. That sum we have increased to £253,010. In the Defence department the actual expenditure last year was £782,968, and we have increased it to £850,075. In connexion with the Post-office, the amount of £2,264,187 has been increased to £2,301,623. In the Customs, then, we have an increase of £2,471; in the Defence

Department, £67,107; and in the Post-office, £37,436; or a total increase of £107,014. That is to say, we are asking Parliament to allow us to expend this year £107,014 more than was actually spent last year. Honorable members will naturally desire some justification of that apparently large increase.

Mr. KNOX.—In connexion with the three departments?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The total expenditure in connexion with the three transferred departments over the whole Commonwealth is £107,014 more than the actual expenditure of last year. Of that amount £28,281 represents increments which the officers are entitled to by law or the practice of the various States. Then the additional staff put on in the Post-office and otherwise accounts for probably £8,000 or £10,000. The absence of the troops makes a very large difference—a difference of £30,000—which we have to find this year, and which had not to be spent last year. Then the increase in the forces in the different States, allowing only for six months, represents an extra expenditure of £20,000. The ammunition, as I pointed out, also represents £20,000 extra. Reclassification, allowing only for six months, and allowing that six months was provided for last year, and in some cases it was not, accounts for probably £30,000. Then other items, where we have made arrangements with the railways of the different States, account for at least £10,000. So that against the £107,014 increase we are asking for, we can account for £148,000 and there are other increases, which had not to be provided for last year.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—What have we to with the railways?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I was referring to the amount paid by the Post-office to the different State railways for the carriage of mails. Honorable members have the Estimates, and I can assure them that I have given every detail I possibly could with regard to all expenditure. There are only a few items with which I will trouble the House. In connexion with the department of Home Affairs, we have provided for the Inter-State Commission and the Public Service Commissioner for six months. We have established a Public Works department on a

very moderate scale. The amount of expenditure for which we are asking in connexion with that department for the six months is £4,066. We must, of course, have some professional head of the department, and we must have certain inspectors under him. But we hope, at all events for some considerable time, to be able to work in harmony with the different States, and, as most of the work coming under the direction of the department will be connected with repairs, maintenance, and new buildings in the different States, we think there will be a saving to the Commonwealth by getting the States to do the supervision for us, as we believe they will be willing to do in most instances. We shall pay them out of Commonwealth funds the sum of £5,000 a year for that particular work. If we attempted to establish the branch fully manned, it would cost very much more than that. It may happen in time that we shall have to do it; but I think that at the start, wherever possible, we should use the officers of the various State departments. If honorable members turn to page 20 of the Estimates, they will find that we have set out there all the moneys that are to be expended upon works and buildings, rent, repairs and maintenance, fittings and furniture, and electric lighting. The whole of that expenditure, which amounts to a very large sum, has been brought under the Department of Home Affairs. I regret to say that in connexion with these particular items, I am not able to give a comparison with the amounts expended last year. The details are so mixed up in the various departments of the several States, that I have not been able yet to obtain any reliable information. The proposal is for an expenditure of £84,173 in connexion with maintenance, &c., and I have had to assume that that amount was expended last year. On the whole, however, I believe that the expenditure amounted to a larger sum. In order that honorable members may have the fullest possible information, we have set out at page 3 of the Budget papers the details of the particular works included in this sum. I am not going to attempt to take honorable members through these details, but I am certain they will find that the information set out at the page I have indicated will be very useful to them when dealing with this particular vote. It will give them particulars which they are entitled to obtain, and I think it will

prevent very often the necessity for explanations by the Minister. Then there are one or two other items relating to this department to which I must direct the attention of honorable members. We provide £3,000 for expenses to be incurred in choosing a site for the Federal Capital; and we provide also a sum of £10,000—£7,000 of which will be paid to the various Railway Commissioners—for the purpose of covering the travelling expenses of honorable members in attending Parliament and returning to their respective homes. A pass is given also to an honorable member's wife should she desire to make the direct journey. Except for the direct journey from an honorable member's residence to Melbourne or back a pass is not given to his wife. We have to take over a number of properties, and we have provided £2,000 towards the cost of making the requisite valuations. There is another sum of £500 which has been provided, subject to the approval of honorable members, for the purpose of erecting a memorial at Corowa in commemoration of the establishment of the first Federal league.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—The honorable gentleman might as well strike that out at once.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We have also had to provide for certain slight increases in other departments. We have had to provide for the Audit-office, and for the officers necessary in connexion with the High Court if it be established during this year. I have cut my own department down as finely as possible. I have a very small staff who have been working night and day for the last four weeks. After the 1st of January we shall have thrown on us the work which is now performed by the States, and it will be necessary then to make some slight increase in the number of the officers employed. We have £89,381 in our Trust Funds, and I think it will be the desire of the committee that these moneys should be absolutely safeguarded, and should not be expended for any but the Trust purposes. There will be very little temptation to the Treasurer in the Commonwealth to do otherwise because, as a rule, he will always have sufficient money with which to deal. So much as to what we propose to expend during the year. Perhaps the more important question, or as important a question, is

how much money we are to raise, and how we propose to raise it. I do not intend to deal with the details of the Tariff or the justification of it. That task will be undertaken by the Minister in charge of the department. But it is my duty to point out how our estimate of revenue has been arrived at, and how it affects the various States. We have based our comparisons on the figures for 1899, not for 1900, and for this reason—that we had all the statistics prepared with regard to the former, and it would have been impossible to get them for the latter. But we had a stronger and a better reason for our action. We found this extraordinary state of affairs, that whereas the imports overseas in 1899 came to £34,000,000, in 1900 they came to £41,000,000, being an increase of £7,000,000. Honorable members know that that could not be a normal increase; it would be absolutely impossible. Therefore any attempt to base our estimated receipts on the figures for 1900 would be absurd. The figures for that year were abnormal in many respects. A million and a half's worth of goods extra was imported into Western Australia, although the returns in 1899 were comparatively low. The real reason for this great expansion was the fact that the prices of export goods in Great Britain had largely increased. They increased in 1900 to an extent of 14½ per cent. We do not take the full amount, but we take 10 per cent. as a fair amount to charge against 1900 as the increase in value, especially, as with *ad valorem* duties, you may get a largely increased revenue and not have any increase in your imports. The prices, as shown by the *Economist*, have gone back to those for 1899. Moreover, the process of stocking up had commenced in 1900, although, perhaps, not to such a large extent as it was carried on for a few months after the 1st January. There is no doubt that a considerable quantity of goods was imported in the expectation that the Government might by some means or other bring in a Tariff immediately after the 1st of January. The total imports for 1899 amounted to £63,570,000, and of that Inter-State trade represented £29,500,000, leaving £34,000,000 of foreign trade. Those figures have been very carefully checked, and I think are reliable. We find that in 1900 there was an importation of £69,000,000, and that the Inter-State

trade amounted to £28,000,000, leaving the foreign imports at £41,000,000. We take £1,000,000 from that amount to allow for the inflation of values, and £2,500,000 for the "loading up" which has occurred. I think that both amounts are fair and reasonable to deduct. We therefore expect that in a normal year our imports from overseas would amount to £34,500,000. We estimate that the effect of the Tariff will be to reduce our imports by about £5,000,000, there being a decrease of manufactured articles and an increase of raw material, and therefore we expect the taxable overseas imports to amount to about £29,500,000. We propose to leave free gold and specie, for which we allow £1,000,000, and Government goods, for which we also allow £1,000,000, while on the free list there will be other goods amounting to £6,500,000, further reducing the taxable amount to £21,000,000. From all the information we can gain we consider that that is about the amount upon which we shall be able to levy taxes in a normal year. I do not say that this year will be a normal year, but probably next year or the year following the taxable amount will come to about the sum I have mentioned. While we make our calculations upon the figures for 1899 we realize that we must give back to the States as much as they got in 1900 on their larger imports for that year, because they are expecting it, and many of them have increased their expenditure upon that expectation. Honorable members can realize that that fact has made our task far and away more difficult than it would have been if we had had to provide only for the amount received in 1899. To show the difficulty of framing the financial part of the Tariff, I would ask honorable members to turn to page 8A of the papers which have been distributed, where they will find that to frame a Tariff which would suit New South Wales and give her all she requires, would mean duties returning £4,973,615, while South Australia would require a Tariff producing £6,642,567; Victoria one producing £7,349,712; Tasmania, £10,684,623; Queensland, £11,846,227; and Western Australia £19,499,881. Of course, any attempt to raise a sufficient amount to suffice the last three States would be absolutely futile, and, therefore, we have not endeavoured to provide so large a sum. Another difficulty is created, as honorable members will see by referring to page 9

of the same papers, by the variation of the customs and excise percentage of the various States to their total sources of revenue. The percentages are based on the figures for the year 1899-00. In New South Wales the percentage was 17·40, in Victoria 30·43, in Queensland 34·90, in South Australia 22·54, in Tasmania 47·47, and in Western Australia 32·47, the average being 26·59. Honorable members are entitled to know how we have arrived at the figures which I propose to quote in a minute. We have dealt with the matter on the basis of the figures for a normal year. Every line in the Tariff has been based on the expected imports, and the amount of duty that would be derived therefrom. There has been no guess-work. The officers have gone through every detail, and have ascertained so far as it is possible to estimate what would be received from each particular item. I am going to deal first with a normal year, and then I shall deal with this particular year, in order to show the State Treasurers what they may expect to get back. Here again we have been faced with a great difficulty with regard to statistics. Rarely could we trace a line of the *ad valorem*s through all the different States. Items would be mixed up in other items, and it has been a work of great labour to attempt to pick them out. There has been no uniformity in the statistics of the States, and the sooner we have a statistical branch of our own, and uniform statistics the better it will be for us, and the easier for us to know exactly what the States are severally producing. We read all manner of reports as to what is done in one State and in another State, but, as they are based on different foundations, they are not in any shape or form reliable. We have taken into consideration how the revenue is likely to be affected by the increase or reduction of rates of duty, by the increase or reduction in the consumption of home-made goods instead of imported goods, by the importation of raw materials in place of manufactured articles, and by the displacing of the imported article by the locally-manufactured article. As to goods upon which excise duties are imposed—spirits, beer, and colonial wines—we hope that the local product will, to a great extent, take the place of goods that are now imported. With regard to wine, I think that we one and all sincerely hope that the local article

will be consumed to an extent which will reduce the consumption of ardent spirits. From a Treasurer's point of view do not like it; but in the interests of the Commonwealth I think it will be better for us to consume our own colonial wines, which we can get pure, than to consume imported wines or spirits. We know, too, that there will be great Inter-State competition between various manufacturers, and that is shown by what is now going on in the various States. I have no doubt that the manufacturers in the various States will fight each other, and endeavour to do the largest amount of business they can. We have taken into consideration the past experience of the States with regard to production and manufacture, and also with regard to importations. We have also dealt with the consuming power of each State, although that must not be taken as a guide to any great extent. It is not the wealth of a State or its consuming power that means revenue from the Customs: it is the necessity it is under to import dutiable goods. That fact we have also taken into consideration. We believe also that by the larger amount of manufacture which will take place here, a greater amount of employment will be given to our people, who will therefore have more money to spend within our boundaries, and that money will be spent to a large extent upon goods made dutiable for revenue purposes. We must also not forget that the climate, the age and sex of the people have a great bearing upon this calculation, and we have also to allow for the natural increase in our population, though we cannot in any way provide for sudden changes of population from one State to another. We consider that under our Tariff proposals Western Australia, with the power she has to impose additional taxation, will be amply provided for, but we have not been able to deal fully with Tasmania and Queensland, although in order to help those States we have on many of our purely revenue items put a heavier burden than we should otherwise have felt inclined to impose. We felt inclined to give as much revenue to those States as we could. New South Wales is a State deeply interested, because she will have a very large increase in her revenue, and let us all hope and trust that she will be able to put it to a very good use. If we had to deal only with the aggregate, there would not be much difficulty; but we have

to deal, not only with the aggregate amount, but also to provide an amount which will enable as many of the States as possible to be kept in a perfectly solvent condition. Honorable members who have had anything to do with State Budgets will know how difficult it is for a Treasurer to calculate in a State where he knows pretty well all about the customs transactions, about the amount that will be received from certain duties. I want here to ask honorable members not to be led away by calculations which have been made from time to time, by various Government statisticians, by taking a certain number of items such as spirits, wine, and beer, and concluding that because certain quantities of these commodities were consumed, the same proportionate quantity would be consumed under a uniform Tariff, and basing their calculations of the total revenue upon those particular lines. As a matter of fact the consumption of these particular items varies in the States a good deal, because there are varying rates of duty. Take Western Australia for instance, which has sugar absolutely free of duty, and Queensland. No doubt both these States consume more than the others, but the statistical tables, so far as I have been able to investigate them, are absolutely unreliable. I would not be guided by them, but I insisted on every article being worked out. Still, if you get half-a-dozen men to work out these tables, they will bring out half-a-dozen different results. Take the case of Queensland, for instance. I believe they arrived at the sugar consuming power of Queensland by taking the amount supposed to be produced and the amount exported, and assuming that the whole of the balance was consumed. That brought out a result of 129 lbs. per head consumed in Queensland, as against about 90 lbs. per head consumed in Victoria. That, I think, is absolutely and utterly impossible, and I, therefore, place no reliance upon these calculations. Another great difficulty that was presented to us was the necessity of levelling up New South Wales. If New South Wales had had duties imposed, and yielding her a higher revenue, there would have been very little difficulty in making the tariffs of the various States agree, but in the first instance we had to provide a large sum for the purpose of giving New South Wales the proportion of revenue she would be entitled to get under a uniform Tariff. As honorable members are

aware, for the first five years of the Commonwealth, the money collected from Excise and Customs is to be credited to the States in which the goods are consumed, and therefore New South Wales would, under any Tariff we could possibly prepare, receive a very large increase. Then again we are confronted with the question of the inter-colonial duties. That is a very difficult subject to work out, but the figures have been supplied to me for the year 1899. From these I find New South Wales collected from intercolonial duties £141,061, Victoria £358,659, Queensland £144,009, South Australia £89,679, Tasmania £76,829, and Western Australia £256,060, making a total of, say, £1,066,297. The total amount derived from goods imported from abroad was £5,456,035, the gross revenue received in that year being £6,522,332. Now honorable members will realize that the loss of these intercolonial duties increases our difficulty in raising the necessary amount of money. The whole of our revenue from Customs has to be raised now from a far more restricted source than in the past, and that of course has given us great difficulty, because in addition to the loss of the intercolonial duties we know full well that a considerable loss will take place in consequence of the consumption of home-made goods instead of those imported, as in the past. Now, we regard the position in connexion with the Inter-State duties in this way: that the amount of money they represent is saved to the people. In connexion with overseas imports, the question always arises as to who pays—whether it is the consumer or the manufacturer who has to pay. That is always a moot point, and I have my own views in regard to it, but with respect to Inter-State duties there can be no question whatever, but that the Australians pay because they are both exporters and importers. Now they will have the money represented by the Inter-State duties in their pockets, and they are so much the better off; but it is a very difficult thing to get at it. We talked a lot about federation and the benefits that would accrue from it, but have the sacrifices that the people would have to make been sufficiently considered?

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—When we do away with the Inter-State duties we leave ourselves £1,000,000 short and we can only raise that sum from overseas imports.

If on some of the items—not the protective items, but the revenue items only—the people of the Commonwealth find that they have to pay a little more than they did before, they must recollect that they have to set off against this the £1,000,000 which they are actually saving. That is one of the reasons why in some of the revenue producing items we have—contrary to what we would have liked to do—had to make some increases in the amounts. I find that the total customs and excise revenue for 1899 was £7,437,596, while in 1900 the revenue was £7,762,653, a considerable increase. In 1900-1 the revenue rose to £8,152,623—that showed that there was a large stocking of goods—while for the six months ending 30th June, 1901, we find that the customs and excise revenue amounted to £4,151,628. These figures are altogether abnormal, and we must not be guided either by the receipts of 1900, or by the figures for the first half of the present financial year. Our merchants are undoubtedly going to do a little gambling. What honorable members will be anxious to know is what amount of revenue we are expecting to derive. In a normal year we hope to get from Customs £7,388,056, and from excise £1,554,345, making a total of £8,942,401.

Mr. WATSON.—That is for the full year?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is for a normal year. If honorable members will turn to page 10 of the printed figures, they will find that in New South Wales the estimated Customs revenue is £2,679,917, whilst the receipts from excise are expected to amount to £549,531, making a total of £3,229,448. I have endeavoured to give in one of the schedules figures which will enable honorable members to check the statements we put forward. That will be an average of £2 7s. 9d. per head of the population, and the percentage will be 36·11, whereas in 1900 the amount per head was £1 6s. 11d., and the percentage 23·01. In 1899, the collections were £1,667,704, and in 1900, £1,785,781, so that we expect an increase in a normal year of £1,443,667. Of course the years 1889 and 1900 included the Inter-State duties, whereas our estimate does not.

Mr. REID.—Is the honorable gentleman taking a normal year?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—My calculation is on the basis of a normal year. The Victorian Customs are estimated to bring in

£2,112,819, and £500,547 is expected from excise, making a total of £2,613,366, against £2,245,389 in 1889 and £2,342,485 in 1900, both years including the Inter-State trade. The contribution per head for Victoria will be £2 3s. 6½d., and towards the whole of the Customs and Excise Revenue that State will contribute in the proportion of 29·22, as against £1 19s. 10d. in 1900, with a proportionate contribution of 30·18, an increase of £270,881. The Customs revenue in Queensland will realize £1,134,383 and excise £219,664, or a total of £1,354,047, against £1,563,972 in 1889 and £1,561,486 in 1900. The estimated contribution is at the rate of £2 14s. 6½d. per head, as compared with £3 4s. 2d. formerly, and the proportionate contribution is 15·14 of the total as compared with 20·11 formerly. There will be a loss to that State of £207,439. In South Australia we expect to get from Customs £569,223, and from excise £114,870, making a total of £684,093 against £641,181 in 1889, and £639,004 in 1900. That will be equivalent to £1 17s. 8½d. per head, as against £1 16s. formerly, and the proportionate contribution is 7·65 against 8·23 previously. In Tasmania the estimated revenue from Customs is £295,433, and from Excise £58,006, or a total of £353,439 as against £447,036 and £489,151 in the previous years. This represents £2 1s. per head as against £2 17s. 11d., or 3·96 of the total as against 6·30. In South Australia the gain is £45,089, and in Tasmania the loss is £135,712. We hope that in Western Australia the Customs will produce £596,281, and that Excise will yield £111,727, or a total of £708,008 as against £872,314 in 1889, and £944,746 in 1900, a loss of £236,738. This represents £3 17s. 7d. per head as against £5 7s. 7d. in 1900, and 7·92 of the total as against 12·17 of the total for the same year. Under our Tariff proposals the contribution per head throughout the whole of the Commonwealth in a normal year will be £2 7s. 6d., as against a present average per head of £2 8s. 5d., which latter rate would bring us in £9,126,541. Under those proposals New South Wales—and on page 10 of the Budget figures I have given the amounts which each State will gain or lose—will gain £1,443,667; Victoria; £270,881; South Australia, £45,089; whilst Queensland will lose £207,439;

Tasmania £135,712; and Western Australia £236,738, as against the revenue of 1900. The gains therefore represent £1,759,637, and the losses £579,889, thus leaving an increase of £1,179,748 on the receipts of 1900. But apart from these amounts, New South Wales has to pay £106,530, for her share of the new expenditure; Victoria, £94,420; South Australia, £28,620; Queensland, £39,170; Tasmania, £13,549; and Western Australia, £14,400.

Mr. WILKS.—Are these estimates based on the last census figures?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They are based on the present census figures. I may mention, in regard to that matter, however, that up to the present time I have been unable to get the States to agree as to the correctness of these figures. A question as to 10,000 is still in dispute. We propose to raise from Customs £7,388,056 as against £6,824,825 in 1900 or an increase of £563,231. From Excise we expect to receive £1,554,345 as against £937,828, or an increase of £616,517. The figures for 1889-00 include the Inter-state revenue to the extent of £1,000,000, and that fact must, of course, be taken into consideration when honorable members are checking these calculations. The details I proposed do not include certain items which we collect and hand over to the States for various services performed, amounting in 1900 to £211,161, but honorable members will find the details of those items in one of the papers which I have circulated. For the information of the States, and in order that they may ascertain approximately what they will receive during this financial year, we have been to considerable trouble. We have ascertained exactly what was the revenue for the last three months, and it was a large increase and we have worked out as far as we can a calculation of what amount would be received during the remaining nine months. I shall not ask honorable members to go through the whole of these details in regard to our calculations. We have given them on page 40 and the following pages of the Budget papers, a reference to which will show exactly how we have arrived at our figures, so that honorable members will have the fullest opportunity of checking them. We have taken the estimated revenue for a normal year, and we have taken into account what we know to be the actual revenue. We take into consideration the duty on the accumulated stocks, and also the fact that

less duty will be received on some foreign imports. In Victoria, on the other hand, there are large quantities of goods which have not been taken out of bond, the importers evidently believing that there would be a reduction in the amount of some of the duties. Honorable members at their leisure will find these figures very interesting, and I shall be glad if those with financial knowledge will assist in checking these calculations. With this end in view, I have given the fullest detail, so that honorable members may see exactly the basis on which we have worked. On page 11 will be found what we expect to collect in each of the States for this financial year. I have already dealt with the normal year, and I now want to show what we believe will be received during this particular year. Of course honorable members will realize that it is only a calculation, but it is made on the best material obtainable for the purpose, with a view to showing what we honestly think the various States will receive. In New South Wales we expect that £2,360,000 will be received from customs and excise, £868,000 from the Post and Telegraph department, and £5,000 from the Defence department, making a total of £3,233,000. The expenditure on the transferred services is estimated at £1,203,979, and the other expenditure is put down at £106,530, leaving a net amount to be paid over to that State of £1,922,491.

Mr. REID.—That is the new federal expenditure.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes, I will give the details of it in a minute or two. This calculation is for the whole of the financial year 1901-2, and is made up of what we know to be the revenue received during the three months, and of what we estimate it will be during the remaining nine months. We allow for the stocking-up, and for the reduction that will take place in the imports. In Victoria we expect to receive from customs £2,410,000, from the Posts and Telegraphs, £545,000, and from Defence £7,000, making a total of £2,962,000. We shall have to pay for the transferred services £965,277, and for other expenditure £94,420, or a total of £1,059,697, leaving an amount to be returned to that State of £1,902,303. In Queensland we believe we shall collect from customs and excise £1,404,000; from the Post and Telegraph department,

£316,000; or a total of £1,720,000. We shall have to pay for transferred expenditure £719,692, and for other expenditure £39,170, or a total of £758,862, leaving an amount of £961,138 to be returned to that State.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—How does the Treasurer get credits for Defence?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—From various articles which we sell. For example, we receive half-price for ammunition supplied. Then, again, we may sell some rifles. In South Australia we expect the customs and excise duties to yield £665,000. From the Post and Telegraph department we estimate the receipts at £271,000, and those from Defence at £1,000, making a total of £937,000. Against this amount we expect to expend on transferred services £337,856, and on other services, £28,620; leaving a return to that State of £570,524. In Western Australia we anticipate that we shall collect £800,000 from customs and excise, and £215,400 from Posts and Telegraphs, or a total of £1,015,400. On transferred services we shall expend £344,042, and on other services £14,400, returning to that State £656,958. In Tasmania, we anticipate that customs and excise will produce £370,000, and that the Post and Telegraph department will yield £102,350, making a total of £472,350. Against that amount we expend on the transferred services, £156,571, and other expenditure will absorb £13,549, leaving a balance to be returned to that State of £302,230. On the whole, we expect to collect from customs and excise in this financial year £8,009,000, as against £8,942,000 for a normal year. We expect to collect from the Post-office £2,317,750, and from defence £13,000, or a total of £10,339,750. Against that, we expend £3,727,417 on transferred services, and the "other" expenditure, £296,689, both of which include a considerable amount of arrears from the last financial year. We return to the States £6,315,644. The expenditure on each department is as under:—The Governor-General, £20,030; Parliament, £115,714; External Affairs, £8,117; Attorney-General, £6,200; Home Affairs, £30,280; Treasury, £9,935; Customs, 262,113; Defence, £906,475; and £18,860 for new works; Post-office, £2,347,463, and £35,120 for new buildings; pensions, £6,100, which would have had to be paid by the States

and is transferred expenditure; interest, £7,500; and sinking fund, £2,500, making a total of £3,777,207 as the expenditure provided out of revenue for this financial year, and to this amount has to be added £246,899 for the arrears up to 30th June, 1901—making a total of £4,024,106 to be paid this financial year. A balance-sheet may be shown as follows for this year:—

Receipts—

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| Customs and Excise Revenue | ... £8,009,000 |
| Post-office | ... 2,317,750 |
| Defence | ... 13,000 |
| | £10,339,750 |

Expenditure—

| | |
|---|----------------|
| On various items above mentioned, including new expenditure | ... £3,777,207 |
|---|----------------|

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Leaving a balance of | ... £6,562,543 |
| Deduct arrears amounting to | £246,899 |

| | |
|---------|----------------|
| Leaving | ... £6,315,644 |
|---------|----------------|

as the amount to be paid over to the States, and this amount is paid over as follows:—

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| New South Wales | ... £1,922,491 |
| Victoria | ... 1,902,303 |
| Queensland | ... 961,138 |
| South Australia | ... 570,524 |
| West Australia | ... 656,958 |
| Tasmania | ... 302,230 |
| | £6,315,644 |

But the State Treasurer will also receive for various Customs services moneys which, in 1900, were as follow:—

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| New South Wales | ... £78,772 |
| Victoria | ... 71,204 |
| Queensland | ... 61,185 |

And these amounts must of course be added to the above sums to show the total receipts in connexion with Customs and Excise. The Tariff may possibly yield a larger sum than I have anticipated, and if this be so and the States do not absolutely require the money, I shall be glad to assist in reducing the rates charged on some of the revenue-producing articles which are consumed as necessities by the masses of our people. Honorable members at their leisure can study the pages I have mentioned, which give details showing how we arrive at this particular amount of expenditure. Now we see that New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia are practically safeguarded. With regard to Tasmania and Queensland, no practical Tariff could safeguard these two States, and we shall have to deal with them

exceptionally. Western Australia is protected by the power to impose duties. When I was speaking at St. Kilda, about three years ago on the Constitution Bill, I said it would be far better if the larger States were to make up the loss to Tasmania—at that time I do not think Queensland was concerned—out of the revenue which would otherwise go back, instead of attempting to impose an impossible Tariff. A provision appears in the Constitution under which we can render temporary assistance to any particular State. If these States had been left alone and not interfered with, they could have altered their Tariffs as necessary to suit their requirements. They gave up their power, relying on the justice of Parliament to see that they were not placed in a difficult position; and I say that we, if these States ask us to do so, are in honour bound to do everything we possibly can to assist them to tide over difficulties in the early years of federation.

Mr. WATSON.—After they have exhausted their powers of taxation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—My own opinion is that these States will struggle on, and not ask for any assistance. In Queensland they have a reserve of taxation, and they are already making inquiries with a view of putting that into force; but, unfortunately, in little Tasmania they have exhausted nearly every power they have of direct taxation. For several years they have been favoured with surpluses, but unfortunately these appear to have ceased. Whatever taxes they levy will, so far as my information leads me, give them really a very small amount to help them to make up the considerable loss they will suffer. It has been suggested that we should take over a certain amount of the debts, in proportion to population, by which they would benefit.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Is it proposed to reduce the taxation?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They will collect a less amount; they get back only exactly what they collect. Of course, if the return were on a population basis they would be in a far better position. The only other plan I know of is that, if these States ask us, we should advance them a certain amount of money during the first three, four, or five years, and allow them to repay that to the Commonwealth over extended periods without any interest. By that means, without any large demand

upon any of the States, we could help them to tide over the difficulty. We must realize that it is not their fault, but their misfortune, that they are placed in this awkward position, and whatever we do for them ought to be done, not as a charitable dole, but as giving them a reward for the manner in which they have all through loyally fought for and carried out the federal movement. If they suffer through that movement, and if they want assistance, I have no hesitation in saying that, so far as I am concerned, I shall be only too pleased to help them to devise some scheme by which we can give them that assistance in the first few years. I have shown honorable members how we expect to derive our Customs revenue, and if they turn to page 36 of the Budget papers, they will see that we estimate to receive from the Post-office in New South Wales, £868,000; in Victoria, £545,000; Queensland, £316,000; South Australia, £271,000; Western Australia, £215,400; and in Tasmania, £102,350. In order that there may be no misapprehension, I have put a note to the Tasmanian figures, showing that they include "Tattersall's" receipts for the full year, which possibly may not be collected. The Post-offices, according to the statements of receipts and expenditure, show a loss of about £60,000; but I am not satisfied with the estimate, and I hope before long to see a proper balance sheet. Now that we have control of all the Post-offices, I hope to see them put on a proper footing; instead of having innumerable branches in one State, and a few in another, we ought to have uniformity. Now that there is uniformity of work, there ought to be uniformity in other respects. As we have separated postage from fee stamps, we ought to be able to ascertain exactly what are the receipts and expenditure of the Post-office, and I hope at an early date to be able to supply honorable members with the information. I do not know that that can be done for this financial statement, because we must allow a year for the working of this system.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Has the right honorable gentleman estimated any difference in the rates paid?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The estimate does not allow for services which are rendered to the States free, amounting to £80,000. The Savings Bank business transacted by our officers, which ought to be paid for by the States, amounts to £30,000; and there is

also newspaper postage, £30,000. The estimate does not take into calculation the amount of interest chargeable in connexion with the State buildings. As honorable members will see, while the estimate shows receipts and expenditure, it cannot in any way be looked on as a trading balance sheet of this particular department. I may also mention that so far as Victoria is concerned, her loss in connexion with penny postage is calculated at £58,000 for this financial year.

Mr. WATSON.—Will the Treasurer say, before he leaves the subject of the Post-office, whether he has calculated interest on capital already expended?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I mentioned that I did not take that item into consideration. Of course, it will be a very large amount, but until we know what the value of the property is fixed at, we cannot charge the interest against the particular department.

Mr. REID.—Is there no estimate of it in the honorable gentleman's accounts?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No, I have not estimated it in my accounts, and I mention the fact that it is not calculated. Another difficulty I have been placed in, is owing to the fact that the States have managed their accounts at the end of the year in an absolutely different manner in each State. In some cases they have allowed payments to be made for three months—in Victoria we allowed two months—and in other States only ten days, and sometimes only two or three days have been allowed. In some cases this expenditure is charged to the preceding financial year, and in other cases to the current year. I do not want, in conducting our Commonwealth accounts, to have to carry forward any arrears if it is at all possible to avoid it. I think we should make a strong effort during each year to pay all our accounts for that year. It may be that instead of paying in July we shall have to pay towards the end of June; but we can always calculate approximately the amount we have to pay. I feel strongly that no item should be carried forward from one year to another. That practice always puts the Treasurer in the position that, if he is in any difficulty, he is able to carry forward items of expenditure. But I believe each year should stand by itself, and that the people should know what is received and what is paid for that

year. In respect of any items that have to be carried forward, the Audit Act provides that information shall be given in detail. It will be remembered that it was late in the financial year before I could get the necessary Supply. The result of that was that a large amount of money which should have been debited to 1900-1 was not paid, and comes up as a debit into this year. In all the comparisons which I have made, I have not taken that amount into consideration, because it would be unreasonable in some cases to compare fourteen months' expenditure with twelve months'. I think that amount of money should be cleared off at once, and that we should not be forced, at the end of this year, to carry forward a similarly large amount. Therefore honorable members will find a set of estimates dealing wholly with money that belongs to the last financial year, and which ought to be debited to that year, because it ought to have been paid in that year.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Are those the arrears—£26,936—set forth in a foot-note to page 12 of the Budget papers?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; that is only part of the new expenditure. The details of arrears are brought into this balance-sheet because we are paying them this year. Honorable members will find those details set out fully in a portion of the Estimates.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Does the right honorable gentleman propose that votes shall lapse if unexpended at the end of the financial year?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Under the Audit Act, all the votes lapse on the 30th June. We have to close down sharply on that date. That obligation has placed us in a difficulty in having to settle up within the last few days of June. We had within a very short period to make payments to mail contractors, to the Railway departments for the carriage of mails, to the militia, and for other services; and if the payments were not made the votes had to lapse. The total amount of arrears comes to £246,899. Of course it has already been paid and debited to my present Supply. I propose to debit the amount to this year, so that next year we shall be able to submit to Parliament a perfectly clear balance-sheet. There is a section in our Constitution Act providing that the Commonwealth must not use more than one-fourth of the net Customs revenue. The net amount that

one-fourth would come to is £1,937,408. The expenditure to be deducted from that, including the new expenditure and the arrears—including everything, in fact—comes to £1,423,988. So that honorable members will see that we have nothing to fear this year. We are over £500,000 to the good.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is to say, if the duties are passed, the Treasurer will have a surplus of £500,000?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes; and we shall give the States half-a-million of money more than if we ran up to the full quarter. It is very difficult to arrive at the meaning of the words, "Net revenue of the Commonwealth from duties of customs and of excise." On the advice of the Attorney-General, after giving the matter careful consideration, we have taken it that those words mean allowing for drawbacks, and also allowing for the Customs expenditure. What we think the words mean is this: That we must give back to the States at least three-fourths of what the States would themselves have received from customs and excise after drawbacks and rebates had been paid, and after providing for their own expenses of collection. We have made our calculations upon that basis, as being the proper one upon which to act.

Mr. MCCAY.—Is that the interpretation most favorable to the States?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; that interpretation will be more favorable to the Commonwealth.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The Treasurer has not allowed for interest on the Customs buildings?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have not taken the question of interest into consideration at all, for a reason I will mention presently. Honorable members will find, on page 13 of the Budget papers, that I have set out how we arrive at it. We take our expenditure at £4,024,106. Then we take the expenditure of the Customs department away from that. We say that our expenditure independently of the Customs department expenditure is £3,754,738. Then we take what we get from the Post-office and from the Defence department away from that, and we say that the amount we have to provide out of customs and excise is £1,423,988. Then we take the total revenue from customs and excise, and we deduct from that the expenditure in connexion with customs and excise. We

do not take one-fourth of the total customs and excise, because that would not be fair; but we take a fourth of the customs and excise after deducting the cost of collection. That gives us £1,937,408 upon which to work.

Mr. THOMSON.—The expenditure deducted includes new expenditure, I presume?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes; it includes everything. That, we take it, is the fair way of interpreting that particular section of the Act, which it is somewhat difficult to understand. Honorable members will find that throughout the Estimates, and throughout all the comparisons which I have placed before them, I have shown what we believe to be new expenditure, and what we believe to be transferred expenditure, so that the States may see exactly what we propose to debit them with, and the Commonwealth will see exactly what we propose to debit on a population basis. Now I come to another interesting portion of my task. We have not only heard a great outcry with regard to the enormous expenditure which the Commonwealth is going to impose upon the States with regard to transferred services, but we have also heard an enormous outcry with regard to what the Commonwealth Government was going to do in connexion with new expenditure. Large sums of money, going up to £750,000, and even to a million, have been mentioned. It has been almost said that we were going to ruin the whole of the States by the extra expenditure we were going to incur as a Commonwealth. Now, in dealing with these particular items, I want honorable members to look at page 14 of the Budget papers I have circulated, but in looking at those figures they should bear this fact in mind: There is what I will call "other expenditure," that is, expenditure which has to be borne *per capita*. But we must realize this fact in fairness—that a portion of that "other expenditure" is expenditure which would have been incurred by the States themselves if there had been no federation at all. A portion of the expenditure is for new buildings. We have placed the sum of £54,480 on the Estimates to pay for new buildings. That item will come up later on. New expenditure must not, I think, in fairness be held to include that amount, which would have had to be paid by the State out of revenue or loan money. If we

take the total "other expenditure," it comes to £269,726. From that I deduct £54,480 for new works, and I also deduct £10,305 as a non-recurring item, representing expenditure in connexion with the celebrations at the opening of the Parliament. When those deductions are made, honorable members will see that the whole of the new expenditure occasioned by federation comes to £204,941.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Does not the same argument apply to the additional expenditure of the Defence department—that it would have been chargeable to the States if there had been no federation?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The sum of £54,480 includes a certain amount for additional expenditure out of revenue, but not out of loan money, both for the Post-office and Defence. But the total new expenditure for which we can be fairly charged comes to £204,941. The full details are as follow:—

| | Caused by Federation. £ |
|---|-------------------------------|
| Governor-General's Salary ... | 10,000 |
| " Printing, &c. ... | 2,000 |
| Government House, Sydney ... | 3,638 |
| " Melbourne ... | 3,892 |
| Ministers ... | 12,000 |
| Senators ... | 14,400 |
| Representatives ... | 30,000 |
| Auditor-General ... | 500 |
| Public Service Commissioner ... | 750 |
| " Inspector ... | 2,400 |
| Sinking Fund ... | 2,500 |
| Parliament ... | 28,806 |
| " Travelling ... | 10,000 |
| " Printing ... | 20,508 |
| External Affairs ... | 7,321 |
| Attorney-General ... | 6,200 |
| Home Affairs ... | 19,916 |
| " Maintenance New De- partments ... | 3,860 |
| Treasury and Audit Office ... | 8,935 |
| Post-office ... | 4,690 |
| Defence ... | 9,475 |
| Customs ... | 3,150 |

Amounting to ... £204,941

to which has to be added £54,480 for new works, and £10,305 for the Defence celebrations.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Does it include election expenses?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If the honorable member will allow me, I am coming to that in a moment. Of this expenditure £7,000 is merely a payment to the different State railways, and is therefore no loss to the States; but still I have taken that to

the debit of this particular expenditure. We want to allow for the whole year's expenditure. Some of the items here are for only six months, and some do not come into this year at all; but we want to see, as nearly as we can, what a full year's new expenditure will amount to, and therefore I have set out in a foot-note several items, including one of £10,000 for the judges if appointed, and £20,000 for one-third of the election expenses, debiting that portion to the year. I do not know that it would not be a good plan to set that aside, because otherwise the whole £60,000 would come upon the States at one moment, and that is a matter for consideration. So that we have to add to the £204,941 a sum of £37,150, and that would amount to £242,091, if we had the full expenditure and allowing for one-third of the election expenses. Honorable members will see that that is considerably below the amount which has from time to time been mentioned. It is even below the £300,000, the estimate arrived at in Adelaide.

Mr. BARTON.—As the proper expenditure for 1897, four years ago.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I do not know how the figures then submitted were arrived at. They were placed on the table by Mr. Holder, a member of the Convention. I have tried to find out how they were arrived at. I wanted to get the basis upon which they were estimated. They were made up by the statisticians, I believe, but I have not been able to discover how they were arrived at.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable gentleman has included nothing for interest on federal buildings, which the finance committee at Sydney put down at £70,000 a year.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am dealing with this year, and with the full year. shall show what I do with interest.

Mr. WATSON.—That was included in the Adelaide estimate.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That was included in the Adelaide estimate, but honorable members will admit that the circumstances were very different from what they are at the present time, especially in regard to the amount of our receipts and expenditure. It left out a large number of items which ought to be included, and included in transferred expenditure several items which we have included as new expenditure. While that was a rough and

ready way of getting at the amount, we must not take it that that would be the amount that would be fixed by people sitting down now and ascertaining exactly what the total expenditure would be. With regard to the point mentioned by the honorable member for Parkes, unless we build largely, which we are not likely to do for a year or two, I think the £300,000 should cover our new expenditure. At all events we should make every effort to keep the amount under that sum.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Does the right honorable gentleman reckon the Inter-State Commission for six months only?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; in the total which I gave the committee, I have only calculated for six months. But in the figures which I am now giving I add the other six months, and I am providing for the full twelve months. Honorable members may be able to suggest other items later on, but I have put in everything I could think of as likely to be included as new expenditure for the year.

Mr. WATSON.—Has the right honorable gentleman included the statistician?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; there is no provision made for the statistician. That would, of course, be Federal expenditure, but it will be some time before we shall be able to get them into operation, and no provision is made on the Estimates for them. I do not think it likely they will get into operation for some time.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable gentleman does not intend this as an estimate for future years, but for the one year only.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am showing the actual amount for this year, and have added some amounts which I think ought to be included. With regard to new buildings, we have adopted a scheme which I think will meet with the hearty approval of honorable members. In many of the States wooden and iron buildings have in the past been constructed out of loan, and the result has been that by the time the loan falls due the buildings have probably disappeared. We think that so far as these buildings are concerned, they ought to be charged against the revenue of the year. It will be an inducement to the States not to insist upon building here, there, and everywhere, when they know that the total amount to be expended is going to be

stopped from the year's revenue. They will be a little more guarded than they would be if they thought it was all going to be paid for out of loan, on which they would be called upon to pay only 1 per cent. to a sinking fund.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Assuming that we have the right to do it, which I think we have not.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That of course is a question which we shall be glad to argue, but undoubtedly we should charge these buildings to the different States if built out of revenue. Then with regard to larger buildings proposed, and with regard to permanent works, we believe they are fairly chargeable against loan. With regard to expenditure in connexion with defence, we think that that expenditure, with the exception of some very small buildings, is also fairly chargeable against loan. For instance, supposing a fort had to be erected in Queensland or Western Australia for the benefit of the whole of the Commonwealth; that would involve a large expenditure, and it could hardly be expected that it should be paid out of revenue and debited to the particular State in which it happened to be erected. That would not be fair. But with regard to ordinary small works for keeping up the defence force, if they are paid out of loan we intend to charge them against the States as part of the transferred expenditure, or at all events the interest.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Ammunition?

Mr. REID.—Artillery guns, and so on?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Any small works, and honorable members will see such works set out in detail in the schedule when we come to deal with them. Ammunition would certainly be charged against the States, but with reference to field guns and rifles it is a question to be decided. With regard to telegraph and telephone lines, the expenditure must necessarily be very large for a year or two. An immense amount of work all over Australia will have to be done, and as we think that a large amount of that work is permanent, and as wires and posts have to be replaced out of the revenue from time to time, we can fairly charge that against loan expenditure. We do not therefore propose to charge it against the revenue of the year, which, however, would bear the interest. Now, as to expenditure which we charge against

revenue, which we charge against the States for carrying on their postal work, we propose for the Post-office an amount of £35,120, and for defence some £18,860. These items will, as I say, be charged against the States. Now we come to deal with what we propose to pay out of loan, and here we must take this fact into consideration: If we rented a building the rent would be clearly chargeable to the State.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Only during the bookkeeping period.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—What I am dealing with now applies only, of course, during the bookkeeping period. I hope that at the end of the bookkeeping period the arrangement will really come to an end. I want to deal now with the question of what we propose to do with regard to loan expenditure. A considerable amount will have to be spent out of loan. Suppose we improve our telephone system in the State of Victoria, extend and increase it largely, and provide new tables, and by that means save expenditure and get an increased revenue, it would not be fair that the State of Victoria should get all the benefit and not pay something. So far, therefore, as the interest is concerned, we charge that against the State in which the work is done.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Or against the working expenses of the service, which is the same thing.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We debit it against a particular State. As the buildings belong to the Commonwealth, and will be the property of the Commonwealth, we charge the sinking fund against the Commonwealth. I think that is only fair, and I think it is within the meaning of that particular section that if the States are going to get large benefits in consequence of expenditure they should pay interest as they would have had to pay it in the past.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable and learned member proposes that the Government shall take over buildings from the States without compensation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am not dealing with that question at the present moment. I am dealing only with new buildings, and not with the other debatable question. That is a matter upon which I may say a word or two later on, but I do not propose to deal with it now for reasons which I shall give. If honorable members

turn to page 22 of the Budget papers, they will find that I have given there the fullest possible details relative to the proposed works, whether they be out of revenue or loan moneys.

Mr. WILLIS.—Some of the works mentioned there have been completed.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The details refer to works that are absolutely new.

Mr. WILLIS.—The additions and alterations to buildings at Mudgee, for instance, have been completed.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They may be complete now, but we have to pay for them. The rule I laid down in dealing with these matters was, that where a State had a work in progress at the time of transfer, and was carrying it out with loan money, the State might go on and finish it. If the contract had not been entered into, then I considered that the State should not be allowed to do any work which the Commonwealth ought to do. I have financed some of these works, however, until loan money can be raised for the purpose of the expenditure. With regard to the distribution of loan expenditure on buildings, however, we have not in any shape or form endeavoured to give an equivalent amount to each State. We have looked simply at what we consider will be the requirements of the particular State involved. I desire to say also that these schedules may possibly be varied when I come to introduce the loan Bill. Further information that we shall obtain may possibly induce us to leave out some of the items, or to put in additional ones. At the present moment, however, they set forth the proposals which, so far as I have had time to examine them—I have not had a very good opportunity of looking into the report on the telephone and telegraph system—are absolutely justifiable. We propose to expend on post-offices in New South Wales £265,980, Victoria £155,500, Queensland £107,000, South Australia £59,430, Western Australia 50,830, and Tasmania £45,000, or a total of £683,740. I have given in the Budget papers all the details of what we are going to pay out of loan moneys, but the figures I have just quoted represent a summary which I have made showing how much will be expended in each State. I hope honorable members will take an early opportunity of studying every one of the papers circulated, and if there is anything I can explain to them individually I shall be only too glad to do so. These figures are well

worthy of consideration, and ought to be studied by honorable members in order that they may check the Government in their expenditure if they desire to do so. In addition to the items I have mentioned, there is also a sum of £12,500 required by the Treasury for machinery which will be used in the new printing-office when it is once established. That machinery will be kept entirely separate in the present printing-office, and the material purchased will last for a great number of years. We have provided for a number of postal buildings and telegraph lines, and perhaps I may relieve the mind of the honorable member for South Australia, Sir Langdon Bonython, by mentioning that the Tarcoola line is included among them. We propose to provide for the underground system of telephone wires, and we certainly have to supply new tables. I believe that the table in New South Wales has been found to be utterly unworkable. I have mentioned how we propose to deal with the principal and interest in connexion with these buildings. Turning to page 21 of the Budget papers honorable members will find the details of the defence expenditure. They are divided really into three items. We intend to ask the House to give us £100,000 for the purpose of providing new rifles. When these rifles are distributed among the various States it will be a question whether the purchase money should be considered new expenditure or whether it should be treated as part of the maintenance of the department. That is a matter which I have not considered yet, but the rifles appear to be absolutely necessary. We must also keep up our armaments. While I do not believe in spending large sums on some of the items asked for by the department, I believe we ought to have an abundance of ammunition, plenty of good rifles, and plenty of field guns. We have provided £44,000 for field guns, and £27,695 for certain works, which, with the £100,000 for new rifles, makes a total of £171,695. Of this amount £12,700 is chargeable to New South Wales, £33,525 to Victoria, £7,820 to Queensland, £1,650 to South Australia, £7,000 to Western Australia, and £6,000 to Tasmania. I think it is only right that, before we incur any of this expenditure—even if the House approves of the proposal and passes the necessary Bill—we should await the arrival of our new Commandant, Google

Mr. WILKS.—When the Government can catch him.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is, when we can catch him. That is one reason why I have not interfered with the Defence department's estimates of expenditure. But for that fact I should have cut down many of the defence items. If I had followed my own desires I should have reduced them considerably. But I was in this position: We are expecting the arrival of a new Commandant, and if his views prove to be different from those of the present management, there will be no absolute necessity to expend the money that we provide for these items on the Estimates. On the other hand I thought it would not be fair for me to cut down the defence estimates, in order to make it appear that we were expending less money, when later on, if the Commandant made certain recommendations, we should have to spend this amount. Therefore, against my own inclinations, I have left a considerable portion of the Defence department's estimates of expenditure untouched.

Mr. REID.—Does the right honorable and learned gentleman think the Commandant will ever cut the amount down?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I do not know. I recollect that I cut the Victorian defence estimates down from £160,000 to £120,000. I kept a pretty firm hand on that expenditure. I received a number of notes from the Commandant, setting forth that "the Treasurer must undertake all responsibility," and I indorsed them—"The Treasurer undertakes all responsibility." Fortunately, it came out all right.

Mr. McCAY.—It came out all right for the Treasurer, but it was ruinous to the defence forces.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I do not think it was. If anything had happened the unfortunate Treasurer would have been blamed, but I think I was perfectly justified in cutting down the expenditure on that occasion. If I had my way I should cut down the Commonwealth defence expenditure.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have often referred to the right honorable and learned gentleman as the financial Cromwell of Victoria. Will he tell me whether, in charging these lump sums for defences to the different States, he has assumed that the defences are for the purposes of the State only, or that they are for the whole Commonwealth?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have not charged them, in any of the figures shown in the Budget papers, to any particular State.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes, at page 19 of the Budget papers New South Wales is charged £12,700, and Victoria £33,525, although the defence of Victoria may have a Commonwealth aspect. Has the right honorable and learned gentleman charged these defence items according to location?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The money has to be expended, but my honorable and learned friend has overlooked the fact that these amounts are to be spent out of loan money. The interest may fairly be charged to a State, and the capital to the Commonwealth; but with regard to defence buildings, I do not know that it is justifiable to charge the States with interest. I think that probably both the capital and the interest should be charged to the Commonwealth, because, as I have pointed out already, any work done at one end of the Commonwealth is for the good of the whole. The Post-offices are in an entirely different position, however, because they get the benefit of the revenue. So far as these items of defence expenditure are concerned, I do not think it is set forth in the Budget papers that the amounts specified are going to be charged against the various States. The papers simply point out where the money is to be spent, so that members shall not have to ask—"How much are you going to expend in each of the States?" Coming to the question of raising a loan, I propose to ask for authority to borrow £1,000,000. I do not know that we could get irredeemable stock. There seems to be some strong objection to such a course being followed, but I would take the loan for 50 years, with the right to pay off after 30 years. We propose to have a 1 per cent. sinking fund. Honorable members know that in the past various States have provided sinking funds, but that when a Treasurer has been hard up they have disappeared. I propose to make it mandatory, however, that we shall purchase back, or purchase, our own stock.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—A very bad principle. We had to pay through the nose for it in New South Wales when it rose.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—In Victoria we floated £1,500,000 with a $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. sinking fund, and as soon as the financial year commenced I sent to London and

quietly bought up the stock at £96. We can realise that, as a rule, a 3 per cent. stock will not be over par. As a rule you can go into the market and buy stock. But even if we cannot buy in the open market, we are always selling stock, and instead of selling to the public we can sell to ourselves and cancel the stock. By that means we redeem a portion of the whole stock.

Mr. CROUCH.—Will the trustees be within the Commonwealth or outside?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The trustees, if any, of course, will be here. I hold a very strong opinion that it is not wise to rush into heavy borrowing. At the present time, therefore, all I expect to put on the market during the financial year would be £500,000. The public would probably tender for some of it, and we could sell the rest as we wanted to do so over the counter at the Treasury. We found that a very good practice, and we are doing that at the present time. I have not been able to make any arrangement with the banks which was at all satisfactory to me. Certain schemes were submitted to me some time ago, but I am dissatisfied with them; and I have not yet had an opportunity of consulting with my leader on the subject. It is of no use to borrow money and to put it into a bank unless we get a decent interest on it. With regard to loans generally we have power to take over the loans existing at the date of the federation, but we have no power to take over any loans which have been raised since that time. I suppose we could take over any loans which had been renewed. I think it is a power which should be exercised, but it has to be exercised very cautiously. We cannot expect those who hold stock in London, returning them $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., to take our stock which will return them only 3 per cent. They will insist, if we want to convert the loans, upon getting an amount of stock which will give them pretty nearly the same amount of interest as they are drawing. The only time to renew and consolidate the loans is when they are about to fall due. When they have only a year or two to run some of the holders may be anxious to get long-dated stock instead of short-dated stock. But while they have a number of years to run you will not find any capitalists who will make us a present—they will get from us an equivalent for what they are giving. Of course, if we can make fair and reasonable

terms with them, well and good, but it would never do for us to enter into any conversion at the present time by which we should have to largely increase the amount of the debt, and really make a very little saving in interest. I also share the hope that, whatever is done, a sinking fund will be established, so that, not in our time, but eventually, these debts will run out. A sinking fund of 1 per cent. will redeem a debt in about 47 years. I have looked at the Canadian system. It is said that, instead of borrowing money, we ought to take ten or twelve millions of gold which the banks have lying in their coffers. In Canada they compel the banks to keep a reserve—I do not think we do—but they provide that a certain portion of that reserve must be kept in the Dominion's notes. By that means they get the use of a considerable amount of money without paying any interest. On the face of it it appears to be a fair proposal, and that no harm is done. But until I get the fullest information I am not going to rush into any scheme of the kind.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is a splendid scheme.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—In theory I admit it is splendid, but I do not know that in practice it works out well. I have sent to Canada to get the fullest possible information with regard to the working of the scheme. Canada is differently situated from us. I believe that a large amount of gold has gone from Canada and is kept in New York. We should have no place where we could keep a reserve of gold which could be readily availed of. I am not going to say that the scheme is not feasible, or that it is unfair, but I hold that before the Government introduce such a scheme they must get the fullest possible information, and it will have to be carefully and cautiously considered by the House. If, without putting the banks in a difficult position, we could get the use of this large amount of money and save the interest, not injuring anybody, then it might be worth a trial. But it is too serious a matter to make a trial of unless we are perfectly certain of our grounds. I am favorably impressed with the idea, but we have to be very cautious before we act. There are one or two items which I have not provided on the Estimates. I have made no provision for the money which will be required for the payment of the officers of the various departments where the salary is to be

increased to £110. I do not know exactly what it is—some considerable amount—but the Public Service Bill is not yet law, and I do not think I am justified in placing the money on the Estimates for expenditure. In dealing with the sums proposed to be expended, it is only fair that that amount should be mentioned, because it may have to be expended. That, of course, is in pursuance of the action of the Federal Parliament.

Mr. CROUCH.—What is the approximate amount?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is over £40,000, if I recollect rightly. Then I make no provision for giving effect to the Victorian Public Service Act, passed before the federation of the States. It provides that officers doing a corresponding class of work shall be entitled to get the highest rate of pay received in any of the States. One of my officers, unfortunately, is away inquiring into this matter, because it is almost impossible to say what the corresponding positions are, so different are the Acts. The amount will have to be provided, but it also ought to have appeared on the State Estimates for last year. It is one of the things which the Federal Parliament inherited, and will have to carry out as soon as the rates are ascertained. No idea whatever can possibly be formed as to what that amount would be. Then I have deliberately left off the Estimates a sum of money which I found has been paid for rates and taxes. The position taken up by the Attorney-General is that a State cannot rate the property of the Commonwealth, and that the Commonwealth cannot rate the property of a State. Therefore, I could not put on the Estimates an admission of a liability to pay these amounts, whatever equitable arrangement we may feel inclined to come to with them afterwards. That amount also has to be taken into consideration with regard to our total expenditure. My honorable colleague, the Minister of Trade and Customs, will tell honorable members in a few minutes that it will be necessary, perhaps not this year to any great extent, to provide for certain agricultural and other bonuses. Those I have not included. We have staring us in the face the fact that we shall have to deal with the question of the capital. That is not likely to require any expenditure over what we have provided in this financial year. I am only too anxious to see the bargain which was made carried out

as early as we possibly can, and the Federal Parliament have a House and home of its own. I mention these matters now in case honorable members might want to force on extra expenditure for works and other matters. In the near future we shall have to face the question of expenditure in connexion with the Northern Territory and the Pacific cable. We shall also perhaps shortly have to pay the sum of £22,000 per annum in connexion with the administration of New Guinea. Three of the States are now liable for that amount, and the liability may shortly become a Commonwealth concern. Negotiations are pending with the Home Government in order to induce them to accept some part of the liability; but the amount is one for which we may have to provide later on. Then, not this year but later on, money may have to be borrowed for the purpose of constructing transcontinental railways, as money will have to be borrowed for the purpose of building the Federal Capital. There is also the question in abeyance with regard to the transferred property. That I do not propose to deal with, because I have no doubt the conference will devise some scheme which will be fair and equitable both to the States and to the Commonwealth. But, whatever money has to be spent by the Commonwealth, the sinking fund and interest must, of course, be stopped out of the amount to be paid back to the States. It may not be fair to South Australia, but, personally, I should be very glad to see that matter settled by making a clean sheet. The Commonwealth has no funds of its own.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not think it is fair to say that the Commonwealth has no funds of its own. One fourth of the Customs revenue belongs to the Commonwealth.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is not so; it is State money.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It comes through the States, but it belongs to the Commonwealth.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It goes back to the States. We are merely trustees for the States with regard to that money, and must not use more than one-fourth and, as I have said, we should be very cautious, because we are spending, not our own, but State money. We shall probably have to enter into some new arrangements,

with regard to the auxiliary squadron, and we may have to provide larger amounts for the purchase of armaments and for military purposes generally. I want to draw honorable members' attention to page 31 of the papers I have had distributed, with regard to the question of allowances. We have practically abolished the system of giving allowances, except in the Post-office, where we put about £200 on because there the increasing of salaries or dealing with the officers might possibly give one man a preference over another, and there are allowances made to two officers borrowed from New South Wales; but, with regard to the other departments, we have made slight increases in various salaries. Most of the increases we should have made independent of the question of allowances; but in some cases we have taken the fact of allowances having been given into account, and have given very small increases, which we shall be able to explain in detail, when we come to consider the Estimates. The amount of the increments given to the whole of the officers in the "new" departments is only £522, while the increases given to officers in the transferred departments is about £28,000. In my own department I have increased the salaries of some of the clerks from £250 to £310 per annum—the minimum of their class—because, from what I have seen of their work, I believe that they were underpaid, and are entitled to an extra amount. The Public Service Commissioner will have an opportunity of re-classifying them later on, though I believe that they will then be classified at a higher rate of pay than I have given.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Has the right honorable and learned member raised the salary of any female employé?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There are no female employés in my department. Although the amounts which appear in the estimates for the expenditure of the transferred departments are voted, it does not follow that they will be expended. I believe that a large saving can be made by amalgamating branches, and we have given notice to all the permanent heads that we hold them responsible in regard to expenditure upon contingencies not merely to pass the accounts because they are presented to them, but to see that the expenditure is justifiable. We do not see any necessity for going outside our own service for a

considerable length of time to obtain officers, unless some special officer is required, and the Prime Minister has given instructions that no officer shall be appointed from outside the service without his special authority. By means of this provision and the control which I shall get under the Audit Act upon its coming into force on the 1st of January next, I think that honorable members may rely that we shall do our best to keep the expenditure down to the lowest shilling for which the work can be properly carried on. There is one sum which I specially desire to mention. Honorable members will recollect that in the first instance it was not anticipated that the Governor-General would have two residences to maintain; but in the State of New South Wales something over £3,000 was voted to assist him in meeting the extra expense which was forced upon him, and which was not contemplated when his salary was fixed. In the State Parliament of Victoria I proposed the voting of a similar sum, but the House was against me, chiefly on the ground that the matter was one which should be dealt with by the Federal Parliament. There is included in the Estimates a certain sum for official printing and other matters, and I have given the total expenditure with regard to the Governor-General, so that honorable members can see exactly what it is. There is a sum of £2,000 set down, a portion of which would no doubt come out of any sum we might determine to pay by way of extra allowance. However, the matter is one which I shall not deal with on the Estimates. There will be a special appropriation, and when the Bill is brought in it will be fully explained. I hope that we shall be able to justify the expenditure, and that the House will consider that what we propose is fair and equitable.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is that £2,000 in addition to the £3,000 voted by New South Wales?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The £3,000 voted by New South Wales is not being paid in the meantime. We said that we would not allow one State to make a special payment to the Governor-General. I believe that the States can and ought to make considerable savings upon their annual expenditure. We are taking over a lot of their Treasury work, and of their audit work, and I have no doubt that a large number of their officers will have no work to do. We

shall take over a certain number of them, and, therefore, there will be a number left who can be transferred to other departments. It is very difficult to determine between what is "transferred" and what is "other" expenditure.

Mr. REID.—And what are travelling expenses? I see that two gentlemen connected with the department of Home Affairs are receiving £1 a day while living in Melbourne.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Those are borrowed officers.

Mr. REID.—I do not know how the gentleman to whom I am referring can be termed a borrowed officer, because he has been out of the public service for some years. He gets a pension from New South Wales, a salary of £450 per annum, and travelling expenses at the rate of £365 per annum while in Melbourne.

Mr. WATSON.—He was a temporary officer only in New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—Then the accountant in the same department gets £500 a year, and £1 a day while in Melbourne, under the head of travelling allowance.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I understand that they were State officers, and are paid the usual travelling allowances. That is a question which the committee will have every opportunity to discuss.

Mr. REID.—Did the right honorable and learned member sanction the expenditure?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The amounts are being paid under the authority of the Prime Minister, as I referred them specially to him.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I sanctioned the expenditure, if the leader of the Opposition really wants to know.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have no doubt the Prime Minister fully inquired into those particular items, and that the Minister at the head of the department satisfied him that the allowances were justifiable. With regard to transferred expenditure, we consider that expenditure which is necessary for carrying on a department ought to be charged against that department. That is why we are charging the departments with interest in lieu of rent, which might otherwise have to be paid. So far as the bookkeeping system is concerned, I have always felt very strongly against it. I have never believed in it. I have always held to the view that

when we had one people we should have one pocket for our expenditure and for our receipts. Unfortunately, it was a question of "No bookkeeping, no federation." Possibly in the earlier stages it might have been somewhat unfair to the larger States, like New South Wales and Victoria, but ultimately it would have rectified itself, and it certainly would have saved us an endless amount of work, a large amount of the Tariff we have to impose, and the endless confusion which will take place from tomorrow, because it will be almost impossible to so keep our books as to trace the various articles which go from State to State. However, that point has been determined by the Constitution, and the bookkeeping clauses will have to be carried out; but so long as they remain in force I do not believe that the people of Australia will derive the benefit they ought to receive from Inter-State free-trade. There is only one other item with which I need trouble honorable members. At page 57 of the printed figures, I have set out, as nearly as I could possibly ascertain it, the expenditure in each department during the current year. My trouble in getting information has been to find out what is really spent in each department. I could get the departmental estimates, but I found the Public Works department, the Treasury, and the Attorney General's department making payments which really belonged to another department. Whilst we cannot compare these with any other figures, we shall have them as comparisons for our next and future financial statements. This statement shows, as closely as it is possible to show, the amount of money to be spent in every particular department, and honorable members will have an opportunity of considering the figures at their leisure. There is also amongst these papers a long document which shows a comparison of every item in the transferred departments at the time of transfer with the approximate expenditure of this year and the actual expenditure of last year. When dealing with this question, and perhaps finding that we are spending so much more than before, I would ask honorable members to consider that we are paying for many services that we did not have to provide for previously, and that it will not be fair to call upon us to account for that particular expenditure. All we can fairly be called to do is to show that

we have not increased the expenditure, at the time of transfer, but that we have reduced it as far as we could. We have had very little opportunity of investigating matters, but I do hope that when we bring forward the next financial statement, we shall be able to show a considerably decreased expenditure. I have to thank honorable members for having listened patiently to what must necessarily have been a dry story. It is absolutely necessary that this statement should be made in order that honorable members may be fully informed, and more especially in order that the States may know what we are going to do with their money. I have avoided detail as far as I could, but perhaps I have occupied more time than I ought to have done. In conclusion let me say that there is every prospect of these estimates being realized as far as the receipts are concerned. I trust that we shall be blessed with good seasons, which will enable us to realize our estimates of revenue, and I also believe that some of the items of expenditure may be considerably reduced. I hope and trust that honorable members will carefully consider and deal with these matters, as far as the financial aspect of our affairs is concerned, for the benefit of the Commonwealth. We ought to do the best we possibly can—whatever States we may represent—to act justly and fairly. We have passed through bad times in most of our States, more especially in the State I represent, but there is no doubt that better times have come upon us, and that we are passing through our bad years, and will soon be once again on the high road to progress and prosperity. We hope that under uniform duties that progress and prosperity will continue to increase, that the streams of our national advancement will soon be flowing full. I sincerely trust we shall all derive advantage and benefit from the new order of things. I hope also that He Whom we daily invoke to aid us in our consultations will influence all honorable members to deal with this question in a patriotic and absolutely impartial spirit. I believe that will be so. I trust also that the financial statement which it has been my great privilege and honour to place before honorable members of this Chamber, and through them before the people whom we represent, may prove acceptable to the many important interests of this great community.

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trade and Customs).—I do not hesitate to assure honorable members that I feel the honour and responsibility of my present position. I heard it suggested that we should adjourn, but I know that the delivery of what I have to say at this particular moment will be of advantage to the press and the public, and therefore I propose to continue my remarks. The right honorable the Treasurer has alluded most kindly to our co-operation in the work relating to the Tariff. Let me take this early opportunity of expressing my deep gratitude for the invaluable aid which the right honorable the Treasurer has so kindly rendered me in connexion with the discharge of my duties in that respect. I feel that this is a moment which seldom comes. Years and years we have struggled for federation. Why? So that the fiscal barriers which have so long divided the sister States should be removed. For how many years have we struggled with that object? Many there are who joined in that struggle who are no longer here, but they live in our memories, and it does seem that we should specially remember them at this moment when at last Inter-State free-trade has been established and the barriers have been overthrown.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There may be some who would question this or that or the other thing, but we feel that it is our duty in the interests of the Commonwealth to interpret the people's will as best we may, and believing that that will is unanimously in favour of the course we have pursued, we have taken the responsibility of initiating free-trade between the States from this date, and we look with the greatest confidence to the people and to this Parliament to support us by confirming our action in any way that may be necessary. I do not purpose in introducing the Tariff proposals of the Government to indulge in too much detail. We must recollect the stage which we have reached to-night. We are at the initiation of the consideration of proposals which must be debated line by line, if not word by word in committee, and which therefore, it seems to me, should not be opened up at this moment, because our attention can better be given to the consideration of questions of principle. Detail comes hereafter. Let us not duplicate our work as regards every item of the proposed

Tariff. A time will come when honorable members must consider what is a proper article for taxation, the rate of the tax to be imposed, and the result of its operation. But if we enter into inquiries of that minute character to-night, I think we shall be making a mistake. Instructions have gone out to collect only the Federal Tariff from this moment. Free-trade is with us, free-trade amongst the people of States subscribing to the same conditions of life, which is altogether different in character from the free-trade which I know some others advocate. However, let me not be drawn off from the good resolve in which I have just indulged. I have chronicled my determination not to enter upon details. I wish also to chronicle my determination not to bring into this debate abstract questions of principle which may or may not divide us, and which may not necessarily be particularly involved in this discussion. We know what are our views. They have been declared in public. They were declared by the Prime Minister, and supported by the people. As a result Ministers are here; and our majority is here. If there is any doubt as to the way in which Australia has spoken upon the question of the Barton fiscal policy, let it be determined at once on the floor of this House, but do not, for the purpose of wasting time in connexion with a discussion of this kind, let issues of that sort be unnecessarily introduced. We recognise fully that at this time in our history neither free-trader nor protectionist can have his way entirely. The Tariff is a compromise Tariff, but, at the same time, it gives effect to our policy as stated to the country and accepted by the people who sent us here. That policy, as declared at Maitland, required that our Tariff should be framed so as to produce an amount sufficient to allow of there being returned to the States—as nearly as practicable—their ordinary receipts, then roughly estimated at £8,000,000, plus their share of the federal expenditure, which was then also roughly estimated at from £300,000 to £750,000. That policy was further for moderate protection, particularly avoiding the unnecessary destruction of existing industries whose magnitude and suitability rendered them worthy of fiscal protection. There was no desire—and it has never been attempted to be debited to this Government—that we should indulge in the fostering of exotic industries, one-man

Mr. Kingston.

industries, microscopic industries. But the Prime Minister drew particular attention to the fact that there were in our midst industries of special magnitude and importance which he would not dream of destroying, as might be done by a fiscal Tariff such as some honorable members advocate. The objects of varying the Tariff were of importance. They were, above all, to obtain revenue, to preserve the solvency of the States, and to keep faith with them, because they entered into federation on the understanding that they would be so protected, and their right to the redemption of that promise continues unabated to-day. I was delighted—and no doubt honorable members generally were delighted—to hear the observations of the Treasurer in this connexion. I was pleased to hear him say that, whatever was necessary to preserve the solvency of the States, and to continue their State integrity, should be done by this House if ever the necessity arose for action on our part. At the same time I have the greatest confidence that each and every one of the States have nothing to fear from the future, but everything to hope. They have proved equal to any emergency in the past, and I am sure that they will be found similarly equal in the future to coping with any difficulty whenever it may come. From the observations of the Prime Minister, and from the mode in which our policy has at various times been supported, we may fairly divide protection into two classes, drawing the dividing line between existing and future industries. Existing industries were specially mentioned by the Prime Minister. In their case destruction would mean loss of capital, loss of employment, and general injury to the community. As to future industries, they stand in a different light. Their postponement does not mean loss of capital or distress amongst workers, at least not in the same degree as is meant by the destruction of existing industries. Further, where industries are already established, the risk of increased prices from protective duties on imported goods pending local supplies, is avoided. We hope we shall be able to show that we have dealt satisfactorily with all these matters—revenue, protection to existing industries, and further encouragement in the future.

MR. REID.—Does the right honorable gentleman mean new industries or industries to which he has referred as existing?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I mean exactly what I say.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable gentleman does not say it plainly.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I shall probably say it quite as plainly as the honorable member wishes, if he is particularly desirous of interrupting the thread of my ideas.

Mr. REID.—Do not say that.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am glad of the right honorable member's assurance that he did not mean to do that.

Mr. REID.—You are not a child surely?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not think I am a child.

Mr. REID.—Then why does the right honorable member fear an observation?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am inclined to think that, on an occasion like this, when an important statement is being made, the courtesy which the House generally extends to speakers should continue to be extended, whatever may be the provocation to act otherwise.

Mr. REID.—If it is considered to be discourteous I shall not interrupt, or ask the right honorable member a question again.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I hope we shall show that we have not forgotten any of the objects to which I referred, even if the encouragement be less than expected, or less than it ought to be under different conditions. There can be no extremes of revenue-production and protection-giving in any one line—the two things are mutually destructive. We stand in a position to-day in which we are bound to give fair attention to both. The first condition is revenue, but protection, to existing industries at least, must accompany it. Now, as to the revenue required: I listened with a great deal of interest to the Treasurer, and I found with delight that he had anticipated a good many of the remarks I was going to make. I say I was delighted, because I venture to think that he put the matter a great deal better than it would be possible for so much less an experienced financier as myself to put it. He pointed out that we are bound to give back, in the interests of revenue and the States' solvency, the present receipts of the States, less their share of the Federal expenditure. I reminded honorable members just now that the Maitland estimate was from £8,300,000 to £8,750,000, averaging £8,500,000. That was the estimate which

the Prime Minister made of the probable requirements of the States at about this time. However, that has not been quite reached, and I hope it will not be reached for some time. I fancy that honorable members must be particularly gratified by hearing the assurance of the Treasurer with reference to the expenditure for the coming year. We have heard so many gloomy forebodings as to what the expenditure was to be, and so many unfounded criticisms, that it is really a delight to now know how baseless all the suggestions with reference to federal extravagance have been, and how carefully the resources of the Commonwealth have been husbanded in the careful hands of the Treasurer. If, however, as he pointed out, we are able to collect a certain sum—this £8,500,000—it does not follow by any manner of means that we shall be able to meet the requirements of the States. The bookkeeping clauses are such that the money cannot be distributed according to the States' necessities, but must be divided in the proportions in which the States, by their consumption of dutiable goods, have practically contributed. I remember when the Constitution Bill was under discussion, that, although my official position prevented my taking a very lively part in the debates, I was amongst many who considered that these bookkeeping clauses were likely to prove most mischievous. The idea of the Commonwealth, as regards the federal revenue, being compelled to keep accounts between the States and only to use for the purposes of a one-State constituency, money which that State has itself provided, whatever the varying necessities of the different States, seemed to me then most monstrous. I aided those who sought to prevent the passing of these provisions, but bad as I thought them I feel to-day much stronger on the point. The practical working of these bookkeeping clauses in connexion with the framing of the Federal Tariff has demonstrated beyond the possibility of denial their absolute monstrosity. The results can only be imagined by those who have not had before them the task which the Government have lately had, by a conception of the difficulties in which a State would be landed were it compelled in the distribution of its State revenue, to allocate in each electorate, only money which by a careful system of book-keeping might reasonably be credited to the

particular electorate. We have had to struggle under these distressing conditions for the purpose of framing a Tariff which should give to each State what it wants and its share of the Federal revenue. By the figures which have been quoted by the Treasurer, it is shown, as is the natural result, that the States' necessities being different as regards their Customs revenue—one requiring a much larger proportion of its total Customs revenue than another—and owing to the varying Customs revenue-producing powers of the different States, the task which we could otherwise have successfully undertaken is impossible of accomplishment. Queensland, being the most dependent upon Customs revenue through having a magnificent consuming power, is the State chiefly affected. We know, however, that she has splendid resources. There is no State, it seems to me, which has before it a more brilliant future. Her circumstances to-day are temporary. May those particular circumstances shortly end. May a bright sun speedily disperse the clouds that overshadow her. She has time after time proved her power of revival. She has also, at this particular moment, powers of State taxation untrenched upon, in directions which have already been fully exercised in some other cases. I am confident that the people of Queensland, as of any State in Australia, will address themselves to any financial difficulty in the future just as they have done in the past, with the determination—which has always proved to be successful—of getting over the difficulty in an honorable way. Tasmania is also affected. She has been in the habit of relying to a large extent upon her Customs revenue. But for the last two or three years she has been in the best position of all the States. She has had on the year's accounts, a surplus which per head of the population is altogether in excess of the proportion of surplus which any other State has had. I say that that is a credit to the little island. Then, as regards the State from which my right honorable colleague, the Minister for Defence comes, owing to his wisdom and sagacity of the Convention, precautions were taken for preserving the interests of Western Australia. She, whilst entering, at our request, the charmed circle—and glad indeed we were when we were able finally to disperse all the doubts and difficulties which threatened to obstruct her entrance—took steps to protect herself in a time such as this.

Mr. Kingston.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We should have been in a bad way if we had not taken such steps.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable gentleman recognized years ago that his State would be in a bad way if he did not prepare for evil times. Those evil times may in some respects be said to have come; but at any rate, through my right honorable friend's foresight, his State is in a position to guard against these evil times, the exercise of that protection, even though it may be at the expense of taxing our goods. She has the power, she intends to exercise it, and she will be safe.

Mr. MAHON.—The power of taxing her own people.

Mr. McCAY.—A Government must tax somewhere. Every tax a country imposes taxes her own people.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am not going to deal very closely with figures which have occupied the attention of the right honorable the Treasurer, but I wish, if I possibly can, to specially direct the attention of honorable members to what the necessities are in connexion with the framing of the Tariff in the point of revenue producing; and to what extent we can fairly go. We cannot go to an extent which would meet all the necessities, but the larger the amount of money we collect the greater approach there will be in that direction. What is a fair total in the way of revenue to provide for, division amongst the States on account, one might say of their expectations as to Customs revenue, and their share of the cost of Federal Government? The amount suggested at Maitland was £8,500,000. We have resolved to increase it by a little—simply in our effort to raise money—and to tie ourselves down to a limit of £9,000,000.

Mr. REID.—Very moderate!

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think it is moderate. The next point that arises for consideration in connexion with the Tariff is this: Having to raise this money, what goods are available for the purpose? What is the net amount of foreign imports which we can tax? After the most careful computation which we found possible, we have arrived at the conclusion that £34,000,000 of foreign goods will be available for the purpose. The difficulty of our task will be appreciated when honorable members recollect that the total amount of imports, foreign and Inter-State, which previously were available for taxation by the States

was £63,000,000. By the act which we have accomplished to-day, £29,000,000 disappear from the range of federal taxation. Inter-State goods are free. Thus our difficulty is, as compared with the position of the States a short time since, that whilst we have to raise £9,000,000 and have only £34,000,000 worth of goods from which to raise it, they raised a lesser sum, and had £63,000,000 available for taxation. Of course it must be remembered that the great bulk of the £29,000,000 worth of Inter-State trade was not taxed or taxable, consisting as it did in most cases of staple produce which is not generally taxable by the States. But still the importance of the power which the States possess in regard to the taxation of these goods, is shown by the fact, that on Inter-State commerce they levied taxes, which at the least were able to return £1,000,000 per year. Under circumstances such as that, I wish to call attention to this fact—that we have a larger revenue to be made up, and goods of a lesser value to make it up from; and that we must not be surprised if the percentage of taxation is higher than it has been in some cases. No other thing is possible if we are to endeavour to raise the sum of money we require. The £34,000,000, further, is not all to be taxed under our proposals. I know there are some honorable members who favour drag-nets. If I recollect rightly, it is not so long ago that there was an honorable member on the Opposition side who declaimed against free lists practically, and contended for the adoption of a scheme under which, after £4,000,000 had been obtained from stimulants and narcotics, and £2,000,000 from fixed goods, there should be a general lumping together of all the residue, whether the articles could or could not be manufactured here, whether they included raw material, manufactured articles, tools of trade, or anything else—that they should all be dealt with holubolus in one great all-encompassing drag-net.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—True revenue purposes.

Mr. KINGSTON.—True revenue purposes. Let the honorable member have the benefit of his proposal. Ours, judged by it, are not true revenue purposes, for we intend to have nothing to do with a proposal of that sort, but to provide very differently.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Of course, the right honorable gentleman is a protectionist.

Mr. KINGSTON.—We intend to discriminate and to apply our intelligence to the question in order to deal with it as it ought to be dealt with.

Mr. REID.—Intelligence?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Probably the right honorable gentleman is out of stock; if so, we can supply him with some on this side of the House.

Mr. REID.—We are loaded up.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is evidently something wrong with the right honorable gentleman.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—We do not blazon our own intelligence before the public.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; and the honorable member knows perfectly well the sense in which I employed the word, which could not possibly convey any boasting to one side or offence to the other. From our £34,000,000 we deduct £2,000,000 coin and specie; Government stores—

Mr. REID.—How much for these?

Mr. KINGSTON.—£1,000,000. Then we provide for a discriminating free list of £6,000,000, which I venture to think is not so bad at all, under the difficulties which we have had to encounter. We are not going to indulge in a drag-net at all. We are framing our Tariff on plain, honest principles.

Mr. REID.—See advertisements!

Mr. KINGSTON.—So that any one who reads—

Mr. McCAY.—May run.

Mr. KINGSTON.—May run to congratulate the author of the best Tariff ever proposed for parliamentary acceptance.

Mr. REID.—Who is the author?

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is a State secret!

Mr. REID.—Is it the *Age*?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think I hear the right honorable gentleman talking about the *Age*. I have often heard it said that the *Age* is behind us, but I tell the right honorable gentleman that he is behind the age.

Mr. REID.—I have heard that before, but it is good enough for your Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No doubt the right honorable gentleman has heard it before. The fact is so prominent that he has been

told it time and again. He ought to have been reformed long ago, and I regret that I should have to rebuke him on an occasion like this. The right honorable gentleman should have taken wisdom by previous counsel; let him take it now.

MR. REID.—Now let us have the Tariff.

MR. KINGSTON.—Is the right honorable gentleman or the Chairman in charge of the proceedings? Now having taken the £8,000,000 off the £34,000,000 we have got £26,000,000 to deal with, and from that we propose to make a further deduction of £5,000,000, because this Tariff will stimulate industry in Australia, and the result will be that we shall ourselves produce many things which we require to import to-day. That will be to our eternal advantage, because we shall become as we ought to, a self-contained community. I am not going to claim all sorts of particular advantages for the Tariff to which I am now referring, but I venture to predict that a great future is immediately before Australia. The walls are down; there are larger markets; the market which, being so small, was not worth exploiting, is now enlarged, and is worth exploiting by all.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Why not enlarge it more?

MR. KINGSTON.—It is worth exploiting both by residents here and by people from abroad. I venture to predict that the time is not far distant when we shall have not only development by our own Australian people, but by those who will come here and become Australians.

MR. REID.—Under the educational test.

MR. KINGSTON.—Tempted by the new conditions which we have created. Then with the larger market, the stimulus of the tariff, and the sheltering hand—

MR. O'MALLEY.—Of protection?

MR. KINGSTON.—The sheltering hand of protection against foreign and cruel competition, against prison-made goods or goods produced with the cheapest possible labour and under conditions with which our employers and our men cannot compete, there will be a development throughout Australia. I venture to consider that New South Wales will profit most, and I hope that she will.

MR. O'MALLEY.—Sydney will become the New York of Australia.

MR. KINGSTON.—I only desire that the business shall go to those most worthy of it. I believe that the various other States, although not blessed so much with

providential resource, will be able to hold their own. But New South Wales, with her coal and other God-sent possessions, has a position as the premier State, from which I have no wish she should be displaced.

MR. REID.—Hear, hear! Butter all round.

MR. KINGSTON.—The remarks of the right honorable member for East Sydney tempt me to dwell a little more on this point, and I tell him that New South Wales at this moment occupies the lowest position amongst the manufacturing States in the whole of the continent.

MR. THOMSON.—She has got on pretty well, in spite of it.

MR. KINGSTON.—The value of her manufactures are the lowest per head.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—By how much?

MR. KINGSTON.—I shall give the honorable members the figures.

MR. REID.—From the Age?

MR. KINGSTON.—No; from Coghlan. I have not got him here, but—

MR. REID.—If the right honorable gentleman had he would make a better Tariff.

MR. KINGSTON.—The figures are these: the rate per head for New South Wales is £6 16s. 10d., and for Victoria it is £8 13s.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Victoria pays £1,000,000 extra in taxation for that.

MR. KINGSTON.—I do not care about that. Victoria makes a good use of it. Putting it another way: If New South Wales produced in manufactures the same rate per head as Victoria does, she would produce manufactures to the value of £2,500,000 more than she does now, or an increase of more than 25 per cent. on her present output.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—And would perhaps lose her natural industries.

MR. KINGSTON.—But grass will grow even if manufactures increase, and the coal will still be in the earth, although there are artisans toiling.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The right honorable and learned gentleman would take the worker from the coal-field and put him elsewhere.

MR. KINGSTON.—I am not going to enter upon a dispute upon a small question like that; but I will tell the honorable member—and the figures were brought to my attention only within the last few days—that in ten allotted articles of import New South Wales is unable to supply her

own local requirements. She is compelled to have recourse to importation to this extent: That as regards these ten articles, of which apparel, &c., is the chief item, she imports more, and is less able to supply herself from within, as compared with Victoria, by about £2,000,000.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—There is nothing in that.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I leave honorable members, who are interjecting, to explain that fact themselves. I am addressing myself to the question of whether or not New South Wales manufactures are a success. When they fail to be able to supply her people then they are not as successful as those of other States which fully supply local needs.

Mr. GLYNN.—If the right honorable gentleman applies the per head test to England and America the result will be the opposite.

Mr. CHAIRMAN.—These interjections must cease. Honorable members will have an opportunity of addressing themselves to the question later on, and I trust they will not interrupt any further.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I must apologize for having been withdrawn from the discussion of the principal object of my remarks. I put it that £21,000,000 was the total left to us for taxing purposes in connexion with the Tariff which I am now recommending to the acceptance of the committee, so that, given £21,000,000 to tax, we have £9,000,000 required in the way of revenue. First of all, I take off £1,500,000, which we can get from excise duties. That leaves £7,500,000 to be obtained from the £21,000,000, which means 35·71 per cent.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—That is too low.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Analyzing that still further, we proceed to inquire, as is usual, into the receipts which are to be expected from stimulants and narcotics. The honorable member for Wentworth—I must apologize for appearing to tread so closely in his footprints—referred to £4,000,000 being obtained from this source. I do not know whether he meant that that sum would be obtained from customs and excise.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—From customs and excise.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Customs and excise are sometimes very confusing. We propose to get £4,100,000 from the customs and excise duties on narcotics and stimulants.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The figures I referred to were those for 1899.

Mr. McCAY.—Does the right honorable and learned gentleman refer to the Customs or custom and excise returns on narcotics and stimulants?

Mr. KINGSTON.—£4,100,000 from customs and excise. But, as I have already deducted £1,130,000 from the revenue to be collected on account of excise, it is only possible to credit against Customs the sum of £2,975,000 on a value of £1,910,000, or a percentage on stimulants and narcotics—which is not at all astonishing—of 155·76.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Does the sum of £1,500,000, to which the right honorable and learned gentleman referred just now, relate to excise on goods other than stimulants and narcotics?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The sum of £1,500,000 is our total excise receipts.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Is the sum of £4,100,000 on narcotics and stimulants quite apart from that?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; the £4,100,000 includes £2,975,000 collected on a value of £1,910,000. The balance of import duty remains to be raised from £19,000,000—I will omit the odd hundreds—which makes an average of 22·93 per cent. It represents goods which are dutiable at fixed duties, or composite rates—and by composite rates I mean rates which are partly fixed and partly *ad valorem*—and *ad valorem* duties. Then, to further analyze and differentiate between these three classes of goods, putting the fixed and composite rates together, we estimate that they will yield £2,020,000, on a value of £6,530,000, or 30·94 per cent. The *ad valorem* rates will yield as follow:—10 per cents., £104,000; 15 per cents., £496,011; 20 per cents., £1,188,200; and 25 per cents., £574,000, making a total on the *ad valorem* rates of £2,362,211 on £12,583,740, or an average percentage on the *ad valorem* rates of 18·77.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—What is the average on the fixed and composite duties?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Thirty per cent.

Mr. CROUCH.—Nothing above 25 per cent.?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes. I said there were four percentages—10, 15, 20, and 25. I put that as clearly as I was capable of doing. I stated the proceeds, and then I averaged the Estimates, and showed what they must be.

Mr. REID.—What total will the *ad valorem* duties produce?

Mr. KINGSTON.—£2,362,000.

Mr. REID.—And how much will the fixed and composite duties yield?

Mr. KINGSTON.—£2,020,000.

Mr. REID.—Can the Minister give the total yield from stimulants and narcotics?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Stimulants and narcotics with excise will yield £4,100,000. I venture to put it that a Tariff framed on that basis has much to recommend it. It produces revenue; it is reasonable in all its phases. I do not think that a single division to which I have referred excites justly the criticism that it is excessive. At the same time I venture to

think that whilst a Tariff of that description ought to satisfy, and no doubt will satisfy those who desire the production of revenue, there will be found also in connexion with items which I shall shortly explain, that the promise of the Government has been fully redeemed, not only in relation to the revenue branch, but also as to the preservation of industries which ought to be preserved, and the encouragement of those which ought to be brought into existence. Of course, honorable members will understand that I have been speaking in round figures, because I felt that it would be inconvenient to burden the committee with the odd hundreds of pounds; but the following return will give honorable members the exact information on the subject:—

PERCENTAGE OF ESTIMATED REVENUE TO VALUE OF ESTIMATED IMPORTS.

| Head of Revenue. | Estimated Value. | Estimated Revenue. | Rate per cent. |
|--|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| | £ | £ | |
| Narcotics and Stimulants ... | 1,909,632 | 2,975,374 | 155·81 |
| Fixed and Composite Rates ... | 6,530,258 | 2,020,471 | 30·94 |
| Ad Valorem Rates, 10 per cent. ... | 1,040,000 | 104,000 | 10·00 |
| „ „ 15 per cent. ... | 3,306,740 | 496,011 | 15·00 |
| „ „ 20 per cent. ... | 5,941,000 | 1,188,200 | 20·00 |
| „ „ 25 per cent. ... | 2,296,000 | 574,000 | 25·00 |
| Total <i>Ad Valorem</i> ... | 12,583,740 | 2,362,211 | 18·77 |
| Grand Total ... | 21,023,630 | 7,358,056 | 34·99 |
| Total, Less Narcotics and Stimulants ... | 19,113,998 | 4,382,682 | 22·93 |

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DUTIES TO VALUES IN EACH DIVISION OF TARIFF, AND OF TOTAL DUTIES AND VALUES, AND PERCENTAGE ON TOTALS, EXCLUSIVE OF STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS.

| Head of Revenue. | Total Revenue. | Total Value. | Rate per cent. |
|--|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| | £ | £ | |
| Division. | | | |
| 1. Stimulants ... | 1,959,306 | 1,349,208 | 145·21 |
| 2. Narcotics ... | 1,016,068 | 560,424 | 181·30 |
| 3. Sugar ... | 127,660 | 268,617 | 47·52 |
| 4. Agricultural Products and Groceries ... | 1,141,863 | 2,372,331 | 48·13 |
| 5. Apparel and Textiles ... | 1,476,910 | 8,330,100 | 17·73 |
| 6. Metals ... | 420,898 | 2,329,458 | 18·07 |
| 7. Oils, Paints, and Varnishes ... | 279,895 | 954,056 | 29·33 |
| 8. Earthenware, &c. ... | 146,830 | 622,508 | 23·59 |
| 9. Drugs and Chemicals ... | 115,257 | 492,369 | 23·41 |
| 10. Wood, Wicker, and Cane ... | 164,340 | 1,065,800 | 15·42 |
| 11. Jewellery and Fancy Goods ... | 120,580 | 573,400 | 21·03 |
| 12. Leather and Rubber ... | 119,775 | 561,000 | 21·35 |
| 13. Paper and Stationery ... | 87,117 | 584,626 | 14·90 |
| 14. Vehicles ... | 57,480 | 286,500 | 20·07 |
| 15. Musical Instruments ... | 56,570 | 197,958 | 28·58 |
| 16. Miscellaneous... ... | 94,507 | 475,275 | 19·88 |
| Total ... | 7,358,056 | 21,023,630 | 34·99 |
| Less Stimulants and Narcotics ... | 2,975,374 | 1,909,632 | ... |
| Exclusive of Stimulants and Narcotics ... | 4,382,682 | 19,113,998 | 22·93 |

I fully recognise that, as to this matter of estimates, it is very difficult to ascertain what will be the result of the application of a uniform Tariff and Inter-State free-trade. There are a variety of matters to be considered. The factors, of course, which chiefly require consideration are the diminution or increase of foreign imports arising from the increase or reduction of customs duties, and the reduction of foreign imports resulting from Inter-State free-trade enabling the State supplies to displace foreign imports. It is really impossible to gauge these matters with absolute accuracy, as so much is left to conjecture and opinion. We have taken every care to subject the figures we are laying before the House to every possible variety of check, and considerations of probable revenue—though presenting very difficult problems—are not incapable of solution when expert minds are applied to them. We have, I am happy to say, most capable officers in all our States, and I think we have every reason to be proud of the chiefs of our Customs department. They are and have been assembled in conference, both in Adelaide and in Melbourne, for months and months. Of course, matters of this sort require the closest attention, and these officers have devoted their expert minds to the solution of the various problems in such a way that we believe that each of them is able from his knowledge to form a very fair idea of what is likely to be the result of the application of the uniform Tariff to Australia—even though the question is complicated by the abolition of the Inter-State system of customs duties, and the establishment of Inter-State free-trade. Further, it is not that one officer alone has made this calculation or another officer alone has made that. As a test we have thought it well that these calculations should be made by various officers working separately, and some of the conclusions at which they have arrived approximate in the most startling degree, and show that there is really a standard by which matters of this sort can be judged. I may say, amongst other things, that the result which is now shown as regards the percentage which will be received per head in New South Wales, though made now by one officer, tallies very closely—indeed within a shilling—with that which was arrived at some time ago by another officer. Then again with reference to Tasmania we find that the lump

sum to be contributed and received was calculated by three officers, who—although the total amount was some £350,000—were within £10,000 of each other. I think that results of that sort justify us in submitting these figures to the consideration of the committee and challenging criticism. We shall only be too delighted, if there is any error, to have it pointed out so that it may be corrected, but I think I am justified, under the circumstances I am explaining, in predicting that there are few here who will be able to detect any error, because I think the figures are right. Referring to the ten items of which I spoke, in which the imports into New South Wales were so much larger than those of Victoria, I found that they were apparel, boots, and shoes, butter, malt, soap, grain and pulse, flour and other prepared grain, preserved milk, cement, and cheese, and that it was necessary for New South Wales to import these goods to the value of £2,251,372 against similar goods to the value of £502,448, which was all that Victoria was unable to supply for herself.

Mr. REID.—That kept a lot of Australians alive.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am very glad that the right honorable gentleman is one of them. I have shown roughly what are the percentages of the various contributions to the federal revenue in the form of various classes based on the nature of the duties. I propose now to mention, for the information of the committee, what are the percentages, ascertained and dealt with in a different way. We have divided our Tariff into sixteen classes, and we have tried to make it as plain as possible, to clearly specify the goods which are dutiable, to declare that all others which are not specified are free, and also, for the purpose of dealing with any questions as to whether or not a line is or is not included, to declare specified exemptions which will solve any doubts. The sixteen classes are specified in the return which I have previously given. As to stimulants, a high rate is shown, and there is also a high rate of duty on narcotics. Sugar is only taxed at 47 per cent. on its value, and agricultural products and groceries are taxed at 48·13 per cent.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the right honorable gentleman tell me why agricultural products and groceries are bracketed together?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Because I think that is a fair description of the goods which are generally found in the earlier part of the Tariff, and which are mostly included among the imports subject to fixed duties. It is a simple title, and one which I think is not inappropriate. It is the best I could think of, and when honorable members have seen the Tariff I am inclined to think they will come to a similar conclusion.

Mr. BARTON.—It includes the principal food stuffs.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes. This title comprises the principal food stuffs, and we know the extent to which we are indebted to our agriculturists for food. I would ask honorable members to notice that after these four classes have been dealt with—and they are, each of them, as regards their high percentages, classes which are usually found similarly taxed—there is no class whatever which is taxed at so high a rate as 30 per cent. There is one line, oils, paints, and varnishes, taxed at 29·33 per cent., and musical instruments at 28·58 per cent. The various other classes are apparel and textiles 17·73 per cent., metals 18·07 per cent., earthenware 23·59 per cent.—

Mr. REID.—Will the Minister excuse me for asking a question? Does the right honorable gentleman's statement—"apparel and textiles 17·73 per cent."—mean that there is no higher duty than that?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; it is the average.

Mr. REID.—That is not how the Minister is putting it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable and learned gentleman, I venture to think, is altogether too childlike and bland. Did any other honorable member consider I was putting it to the committee that these were the highest duties in any of the classes?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—How could we know?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I will guarantee that the honorable member for Wentworth knew. If he had not known he would have asked the question put to me by the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney. But it was left to the leader of the Opposition to come to the conclusion that he or

some one else was labouring under a delusion in regard to this matter, and that there was some doubt as to our intentions. For pure innocence and for falling into a trap before it was set, commend me to the right honorable the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If what the Minister now states be correct, why did not the honorable gentleman use the word "average"?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Because it was not necessary. Every one knew what I was talking about.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—We have got the explanation now.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes; honorable members have the explanation, if any explanation was necessary.

Mr. REID.—It is the usual insult.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I venture to consider that I insult no honorable member, though that course would be perfectly justified in view of some of the observations which fall from the right honorable and learned member. The leader of the Opposition seems to think that he has a monopoly of the right to insult honorable members. I have heard him on a variety of occasions indulge in insults which were undoubtedly calculated to provoke resentment. He presumes to insult honorable members, and to complain of those who refuse to allow his remarks to pass unchallenged.

Mr. REID.—Look to your backers.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I shall look where I like. It is all very well for honorable members to subject me to these interruptions. I should like to proceed on the even tenor of my remarks, but at the same time I am not to be habitually interrupted in the way that some honorable members seem to think, without a word of reply now and then.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Do boots come under the apparel line?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, they do not. Of what are boots made? They are generally made of leather. The last I saw were. The other rates—or as I might say for the information of some honorable members, "average" rates—vary according to the following list:—

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DUTIES TO VALUES IN EACH DIVISION OF TARIFF, AND OF TOTAL DUTIES AND VALUES, AND PERCENTAGE ON TOTALS, EXCLUSIVE OF STIMULANTS AND NARCOTICS.

| Head of Revenue. | Total Revenue. | Total Value. | Rate per-cent. |
|---|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Division. | £ | £ | |
| 1. Stimulants | 1,959,308 | 1,349,208 | 145.21 |
| 2. Narcotics | 1,016,068 | 560,424 | 181.30 |
| 3. Sugar | 127,660 | 268,617 | 47.52 |
| 4. Agricultural Products and Groceries | 1,141,863 | 2,372,331 | 49.13 |
| 5. Apparel and Textiles | 1,476,910 | 8,339,100 | 17.73 |
| 6. Metals | 420,898 | 2,339,458 | 18.07 |
| 7. Oils, Paints, and Varnishes | 279,895 | 954,056 | 29.33 |
| 8. Earthenware, &c. | 146,830 | 622,508 | 23.59 |
| 9. Drugs and Chemicals | 115,257 | 492,369 | 23.41 |
| 10. Wood, Wicker, and Case. | 164,340 | 1,065,800 | 15.42 |
| 11. Jewellery and Fancy Goods | 120,580 | 573,400 | 21.03 |
| 12. Leather and Rubber | 119,775 | 561,000 | 21.35 |
| 13. Paper and Stationery | 87,117 | 584,626 | 14.90 |
| 14. Vehicles | 57,490 | 286,500 | 20.07 |
| 15. Musical Instruments | 56,570 | 197,958 | 28.58 |
| 16. Miscellaneous | 94,507 | 475,275 | 19.68 |
| Total | 7,358,056 | 21,023,630 | 34.99 |
| Less Stimulants and Narcotics | 2,975,374 | 1,909,632 | ... |
| Exclusive of Stimulants and Narcotics | 4,382,682 | 19,113,998 | 22.98 |

Mr. WATKINS.—What is the 14 per cent. upon?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Paper and stationery.

Mr. REID.—Oh!

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the leader of the Opposition suggest that we should not put a duty upon paper?

Mr. REID.—I want to know what the duties are. "Does paper and stationery" include printing paper?

Mr. KINGSTON.—For the information of the right honorable and learned member, I may say that there is a duty upon printing paper. I am sure that the Government have every right to take credit to themselves for having the courage to impose a duty upon printing paper. I should like to know if the leader of the Opposition would ever have screwed his courage up to the sticking point in that respect?

Mr. REID.—I take duties off; I do not put them on.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There are a good many honorable members here; some of whom were Members of Parliament in other States, whilst others were Ministers of the Crown. I have heard remarks from many whilst I have been speaking; but I say that if these who had the courage to put a duty upon printing paper were all to

speak simultaneously, there would be an even greater silence than that which now prevails. As I have said before, our aim has been to frame a Tariff for the raising of revenue, and for the preservation of industries. Of course, we have put the highest duty upon the complete manufactured product, and have imposed a lesser duty upon an article as it approached the raw material, so that when the raw material is produced here it is also protected, though at a less rate than is the complete manufactured article. When it cannot be produced locally it is admitted at a low rate, if not free, though revenue considerations have necessitated the taxation of such raw material, when, if circumstances had permitted, it would have been free.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What is raw material?

Mr. KINGSTON.—It depends on what one is using it for. Yarn is raw material for the manufacture of cloth, just as cloth is raw material for the manufacture of apparel. In a matter of this sort, owing to the necessity for raising revenue, we have provided not only for the taxation of printing paper, but for the taxation of cotton goods which might otherwise be free, and for the taxation of kerosene, which we should also have liked to have avoided.

Mr. MAHON.—Is the Minister taxing kerosene?

Mr. KINGSTON.—We are taxing kerosene. Honorable members know that in a great many instances in Australia it is taxed and has been taxed. I venture to consider that when we are taxing the plainer cottons—to say nothing of the question of printing paper—kerosene should be liable. Indeed, any other oils should be liable to a fair and reasonable tax such as we propose. Concerning the protection of industries, great regard has been had to their extent and nature, to the amount of natural protection which they enjoy, and to the protection which is required to preserve their existence. No hard and fast line has been drawn as to the extent of any *ad valorem* or composite rate. I do not propose—as I said before—to deal with the items in detail. I have called the attention of honorable members to the classes in the Tariff, and the rate of taxation which generally affects them. I now propose, as regards three or four of the first divisions, to address a few remarks to honorable members in regard to one or two aspects which are important. Stimulants, being our chief item of revenue, we propose to deal with them practically for revenue purposes solely. Indeed, the instruction which was given to those concerned in framing the Tariff was that as regards stimulants and narcotics they should be taxed up to the highest revenue-producing point. Hence we propose 14s. per gallon on spirits, without any allowance for underproof.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That is too much for revenue.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member for Wentworth says that is too much for revenue, and I do not mind admitting to the honorable member that we hesitated for some time between 13s. and 14s., but the conclusion we ultimately came to was that 14s. was the better duty. It might be that 13s. would have given an equal result, but, of course, that would be consequent only on an increased consumption, and I take it that we are not particularly anxious in regard to spirits to promote consumption from the revenue point of view. So long as we get the money, we shall be satisfied with a less consumption.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What is the excise on spirits?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The excise on spirits will be 11s. in certain cases, and 12s. 6d. in others. It will be 11s. as regards the

forms of spirits which we think are more commendable.

Mr. McCAY.—Pure wine spirit?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Pure wine spirit is amongst them. The excise will be 12s. 6d. in regard to inferior spirits. The rate of 14s. is, I may mention, the New South Wales rate, and in that State there is an allowance for underproof. It is also the Queensland rate, but in the latter State there is no allowance. In Western Australia it is 16s., and that does not seem to interfere very much with the rate of consumption there. But the people in Western Australia are most energetic, and, looking at the interchange, one would come to the conclusion that a little more stimulant is found to be necessary there in some respects than in other places.

Mr. REID.—Think of the despotism they were living under for years!

Mr. KINGSTON.—The lowest rate is in Victoria—namely 12s., without allowance. Thus in only two of the six States is any allowance made.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—What is the rate in South Australia?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I forgot to mention that the rate in South Australia is 15s., with an allowance, I think, and there is a very high preference is given in regard to local spirit, the rate on the latter being 9s. 4d., or a difference of 5s. 8d. That might be considered, before federation came, fully justified by the superior strength and quality of the Adelaide production. As to excise, the question of the honorable member for Northern Melbourne has elicited what I intended to say. We propose 11s., or 3s. difference on spirits from wine, barley malt, molasses, or maize, and 12s. 6d. on all others. The cheapest spirit, I understand, and no doubt my honorable friends will corroborate me, is at present produced in Queensland from molasses, and is chiefly used for rum or methylation.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—How about potatoes?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I have not mentioned potatoes, as they are not selected for special encouragement, and I imagine, from the temper of recent debates, that any proposal of that sort would not meet with too much favour. Unless the proposal be altered—and possibly honorable members in the corner would desire to see it altered—that spirit will share the comparative obscurity which compels it to pay 12s. 6d. excise

duty. We feel that, as regards excise, and encouragement to local spirits, it is very necessary to proceed cautiously, and honorable members will, therefore, notice that preference for local spirits has generally been cut down. Various States have had various experiences of the result of too much encouragement to local distillation. At first New Zealand had both excise and customs rates for local spirit equally at 14s., but they cut that down and gave a preference of 7s., or 50 per cent., to the local production. The loss of revenue was such that they put the excise duty up again to 14s., and bought out the distilleries, compensating the owners. We must, in this connexion, be careful lest we create a vested interest which cannot exist on the terms granted, without serious injury to the public. The preference which was granted in Queensland to the local distiller was 2s., and Victoria gave 4s. in favour of spirit from grapevine—or pure wine spirit, if it is ever produced—or from barley malt, and 2s. preference to other spirits. As regards the duty on beer, that is placed at 1s. 6d. per gallon in bottle, or 1s. per gallon in bulk. In regard to excise on beer, we have thought it our duty to keep to the New South Wales rate, namely 3d. per gallon, although that is a 50 per cent. increase on the rate which exists in South Australia. Tobacco comes next in importance to spirits as a revenue-producing item. New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland can produce tobacco, and have done so, and the Northern Territory is also fit to produce it. Large quantities of tobacco have been produced in these States at various times. The highest yield in Australasia was in 1888, when 70,000 cwt. was produced. Queensland now produces the greatest quantity at a place called Texas.

Mr. McDONALD.—Grown by Chinamen.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is it?

Mr. McDONALD.—Yes; the whole of it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The gentleman whom I saw was not a Chinaman by any means, but a most intelligent man, and a Government expert.

Mr. McDONALD.—Chinamen grow it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—All I can say is, that many mistakes may have been made at different times in the establishment of industries; and New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland have made mistakes in connexion with the tobacco industry. But, from all I hear, the difficulties in deciding

what tobacco to grow, and how, when, and where to grow it, have been overcome at the place I mentioned. Tobacco has been turned out which has been able to overcome a usual but unpatriotic preference of some people for foreign goods rather than for those which are produced in their own country; and Queensland is consuming a lot of her own manufactured tobacco. Tasmania allows no preference, and has no tobacco factory. The average preference amongst the five States amounted to 1s. 2½d. after New South Wales and Queensland had altered their rates to compete with Victoria, where a preference of 1s. 3d. was given.

Mr. REID.—That was only temporary.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am reminded by the leader of the Opposition that that was only a temporary matter. Although Victoria gave a preference of 1s. 3d. to the local maker, New South Wales, and, I think, Queensland, got ready for the coming of Federation and the uniform Tariff by giving power to reduce their excise duties, so that tobacco might be turned out in those States with advantage equal to that allowed in Victoria. They asked that the power should be exercised, and it was exercised, and the result was as quoted. But before that the average preference had been a little over one shilling and three-fifths of a penny. What is now proposed is that the preference shall be 1s. I think that is striking a fair average of protection to the local manufacturers from imported leaf, getting the best information we can as to what is wanted in Australia. The rate for tobacco manufactured from imported leaf is 3s. 6d. Honorable members will notice that that is 6d. in advance of the general rate. It is a tax which of course affects many, but, at a time like this, revenue is desired, and I think our smokers, if needs be, might contribute a little extra to the revenue; though I should like to think, in view of what are the profits made by the tobacco manufacturers, that the extra 6d. will fall upon the manufacturers and not upon the consumers. The preference in Queensland is 2s. It is the difference between 2s. and 4s. The rate for manufactured tobacco in Queensland at present is 4s. We are reducing that a little, while we are raising the rate generally as it affects the other States. Of course, if local leaf is available the preference will be increased

by the saving of the duty on the imported leaf. What we are proposing on imported leaf is 1s. 6d. Then we propose 1s. excise.

Mr. SALMON.—That will kill the tobacco-growing industry.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is not protecting the tobacco-growing industry.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I have heard a good deal as regards what is needed. I have heard it from Queensland and other places; and I say that in allowing the average of 1s. preference on local manufacture from imported leaf, it seems to me that we are we are giving a fair thing.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable gentleman has not mentioned the duty on imported leaf yet, I think.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The duty on unmanufactured imported leaf is 1s. 6d.

Mr. WATSON.—Do I understand that the excise on locally-grown tobacco is 2s. 6d?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; 1s.

Mr. WATSON.—I understood the right honorable gentleman to say that the difference was 1s.

Mr. KINGSTON.—This is the way the matter stands—manufactured imported tobacco, 3s. 6d.; unmanufactured imported tobacco, 1s. 6d.; excise, 1s. If local tobacco is taken to a manufactory to be manufactured—

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON. — That is, local leaf.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes; if the local leaf is taken to a factory to be manufactured, it will only pay 1s.

Mr. GLYNN.—That is a pretty stiff protection.

Mr. KINGSTON.—On the other hand, imported manufactured leaf pays 3s. 6d. What more do the growers of tobacco want?

I venture to think that I could not have made the matter sufficiently plain to the honorable and learned member for Indi. No doubt the fault was with me. Stated again as plainly as can be, the duties are—3s. 6d. on imported manufactured leaf, 1s. 6d. on imported unmanufactured leaf, and on the local manufactured article, whether of local leaf or of imported leaf, 1s. So that the result is that if a manufacturer takes imported leaf and manufactures it he has to pay 2s. 6d. altogether, as against 3s. 6d. that is paid on the manufactured imported leaf. If, on the other hand, he uses local leaf he only has to pay an excise of 1s., as against 3s. 6d. on the imported

article. I venture to think that now I have made myself plainly understood the honorable and learned member for Indi will be inclined to review the opinion he expressed by way of interjection just now. Cigars and cigarettes are intended to be similarly dealt with by way of an import duty of 6s. 6d., which we may calculate at an excise of 1s. 6d. on cigars, and 2s. on cigarettes. This will give a preference to the local manufacturer of cigars of 3s. 6d. when using imported leaf, as against a present general average of 3s. 7d. in the six States; or, in the case of cigarettes, a preference of 3s. as against a present general preference of 3s. 5½d. in the States. As to cigars, their value varies so much—from, say, five for 1s. to 1s. each—that we have determined to introduce in this connexion a composite rate, following the example of Canada. Accordingly, their taxation is provided for at the rate of 5s. 6d. per pound, and 15 per cent., which will give a fair return as regards the cheaper smoke, and will require also a fitting contribution to the revenue in the case of more delightful and luscious cigars. Now, sir, I come to a matter of very considerable interest and importance, as to which the Government have devoted considerable thought. That is, as to the question of whether or not there shall be an excise on sugar. Of course, if there were no excise, seeing that under present circumstances sugar contributes very largely to the public revenue, the exhaustion of this source of revenue would be very severely felt. It would add to the difficulty which the Government always have in providing the necessary funds when larger amounts are required than before, and there is less for the purpose of taxing. Still at the same time we do not like the proposal to impose an excise duty to which Australia is not accustomed, which is a novelty, which is a tax upon an industry which has previously been free from it, and which industry is natural as to our soil and climate. But we have to contrive the means as best we may, and particularly having regard to the fact that in connexion with this excise on sugar we can emphasize our "white Australia" policy, we have decided to impose an excise on Australian sugar. The amounts of duty we propose are as follow:—As regards the import duty, £6 per ton; as regards the excise duty £3 per ton, but accompanied by a rebate to the grower of white sugar.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—White sugar, or sugar grown by white labour?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member knows perfectly well what I mean; there is no room for doubt upon the point. I refer to the grower of white sugar—the man who produces sugar by white labour only. Let that be thoroughly understood and made as clear as the noon-day sun. In this case, the man who employs the labour of white men, men of his own colour and class in disregard of the temptation to employ others who, however entitled they may be to fair and proper consideration, have not the same claim upon us, and who are employed for this reason that their labour can be got at half the price at which the planter can employ his own white brother—

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Has the right honorable gentleman taken account of everything?

Mr. KINGSTON.—To mark our opinion, expressed time and again on this subject of “white Australia,” and to show that we will have an end of this kanaka curse, this proposal is here embodied, and we intend to give effect to it. They tell us that the cost of white labour is much greater than that of the other labour.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—So it is.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Then, as regards the man who, regardless of purely selfish considerations of personal interest, employs those who have a greater claim upon him than the black, who is brought here often to die, and certainly to work under conditions we have reason to deprecate, let it be known that our policy, the policy of our other Bills, and of this Bill, is that we will have an end to it, and that soon.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Nonsense.

Mr. McDONALD.—What is the rebate?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Four shillings per ton of 10 per cent. sugar cane, equal to £2 per ton of sugar, that is to say £2 out of £3, the excise on black sugar being £3, and on white sugar £1. I venture to consider that with these repeated assurances, which we are giving in every possible way, of our views in connexion with this matter there can be no doubt as to what we mean. We see the agitation commencing elsewhere, we see the strength being put into this matter for the purpose of preventing the “white Australia” policy being given effect to. We hear the appeals made for time—to spare us a little till we go hence. Until when? For seven years they say now.

But that is the story they were preaching years and years ago. All they wanted was a little time, but that time never comes, and it never will come, until Australia is firm and united, as it ought to, be in its action. I am proud indeed that in connexion with this Tariff we have again shown what we mean and what we intend to do. Let the struggle be as keen as it may, Australia has declared for a “white Australia,” and we in this Parliament intend to endeavour to obtain it.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Put that performance against the professions of honorable members opposite.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Why did not the right honorable gentleman vote straight the other night?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did vote straight, and I spoke straight. I am doing my best to speak straight now, and I venture to say that there will be no doubt as to what are my views, or the views of any member of the Government to which I have the honour to belong.

Mr. BARTON.—Will the honorable member for Macquarie go straight upon this?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He will go straight, as the right honorable gentleman never did, or he would not be where he is to-day.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member for Macquarie has made a remark which is offensive, and I ask the honorable member to withdraw it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Of course I withdraw at once any offensive remarks made by myself. At the same time, I think that the Chairman should call the Prime Minister to order for having made an offensive remark to me.

Mr. BARTON.—I made no offensive remark.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—With all due respect, I say that my career as a politician is such that I can claim to have gone straight. I may mention that I went down at an election because I did go straight. I retorted upon the Prime Minister that he did not go straight, and for that I apologize.

Mr. BARTON.—I may make a personal explanation, which will give my right honorable colleague a moment's rest. The honorable member for Macquarie made an interjection asking why the Minister did not go straight. It is quite clear that if any trouble arose it was from the

implication the honorable member made that those who were not of his way of thinking did not go straight.

The CHAIRMAN.—I asked the honorable member for Macquarie to withdraw the offensive remark he made. He has withdrawn it, and I now call upon the Minister for Trade and Customs.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Rising to a point of order, I desire to say that during the speech of the right honorable the Minister for Trade and Customs certain interjections took place across the table. The right honorable the Prime Minister made the interjection, "Will the honorable member, Mr. Sydney Smith, go straight?"

Mr. BARTON.—On this.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Well, on this question. The honorable member for Macquarie has taken exception to that, and has stated that that remark was offensive to him. I think that in all fairness the Chairman should now ask the Prime Minister to withdraw that remark.

Mr. BARTON.—I cannot help thinking, without any implication of motives, that it is strange that a point of this kind should be taken. The honorable member for Macquarie caused all the trouble by a very offensive interjection across the table—"Why did not you go straight?" My answer was simply to ask whether the honorable member would go straight on this. I did not impute that he would not go straight; I simply asked whether he would go straight. It seems to me that this is a storm in a tea-cup, because I believe I have often had to go straight for my honorable friend opposite. But I did not mean to impute to the honorable member that he would not go straight on all occasions.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not wish to pursue the matter further. When I said that the Prime Minister did not go straight, I did not mean the statement to be understood in any offensive way. I had thought it was the best way to get rid of alien labour by going straight for a certain measure, and the right honorable gentleman did not go straight for it.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Is sugar now in bond liable to excise duty.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Probably that will be found out early in the morning.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The right honorable and learned gentleman might tell us to-night.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I should be only too glad to do so, but I am not the chief law officer of the Crown. This interlude has put me somewhat off my track.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am very sorry for it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am sure the honorable member had no intention of doing so. It seems to me that the little trouble was not properly constituted, because I was not in it. I am not going very closely into these figures, because I have been occupying the attention of the committee for some time, and all these matters will have to be thrashed out. It is difficult to come to a conclusion as to what will be the precise result of the rebate, but we calculate that at present the proportion of black sugar to white is about seven or eight to one. I would point out, in reference to the excise duty of £3 per ton, that there is no intention to injure the employers of black labour; but there is an intention to prevent their operations from resulting to the disadvantage of the employers of white men. As they will not consent to compete on the same terms, and as the employment of white labour, as we all acknowledge, is infinitely to the advantage of the State, it is fair that the State, in dealing with these classes—the men who will employ white labour, which is desired, and the others, who for profit employ black labour—

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Not for profit.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Of course it is for profit.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The industry cannot be carried on without black labour.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The man who brings these kanakas from their homes to die here does so for his own profit. He should be marked out for a salutary distinction, such as we propose to show in this matter, and which we are sure the country generally will help us to carry out.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Is it intended to apply this differential treatment at once?

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is not intended to apply it until June next, because we can hardly ascertain the difference so far as the present season is concerned.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—But is it intended to apply it before the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill puts a stop to the importation of kanakas?

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is to come into force on the 1st July next, and I hope and

believe that the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill will be in operation before the 1st January next. I do not see how we could collect the duty now on a differential system, because we have not exercised any power of supervision over the circumstances under which sugar has hitherto been grown. It could not have been looked into before, and the manufacture for the season is now in full swing. We propose, therefore, that the excise to be collected at once shall be the average of £3 on all sugar, but next year it will drop down to £1 as regards white sugar. It is not only our assured hope but a certainty—the people in the north know it—that legislation of the character which we are now introducing will effect the eradication of the black trouble in Queensland and elsewhere where it now exists, and prevent it where there may be a desire to introduce it. Australia will be pure white, and will be subject no longer to criticisms for the contrary that she encourages black labour by the 1st of January, 1907, when the excise will cease and all sugar, being white, will be free. The reluctance which we entertain in connexion with the imposition of this duty is removed by a consideration of the character to which I refer. It affords us another opportunity of doing something in the direction which we so much desire and which is properly the chief object of an Australian Parliament and people. In 1899, over £500,000 was received from sugar duties. The excise from a revenue point of view will be specially helpful to Queensland, where local supplies and 6s. 8d. duty prevent imports from coming in now. It is difficult to estimate the probable result from the varying factors: (1) imported; (2) excisable at greater rate; and (3) excisable at lower rate. The total consumption of sugar at present is 170,000 tons. It is doubtful whether Queensland and New South Wales combined can at this moment supply all that may be desired, and that has induced us, amongst other reasons, to fix the rate of import as low as we have, so that in case of a shortage the sugar-consuming public shall not be too much at the mercy of the sugar producers. I have a lot of figures on the subject, which I do not intend to use, and I am sure honorable members will be thankful that I refrain from quoting them. An honorable member asked just now how we are going to collect the duty.

This is the way we propose to do it: We will give a rebate on white sugar, all sugar £3 excise duty, in the form of a rebate-note given to the grower and equal to cash for payment of sugar duty, and transferable by delivery. Thus the grower, when he comes with his cane to the factory, and is in a position to establish his claim to this rebate, gets the official rebate-note, and either gives it to the miller, who, no doubt, will be glad to take it from him, or use it himself at its full cash value. I do not believe that any better plan can be conceived for dealing with this matter. We have given a great deal of attention to it, and we are satisfied that it will work. We have got the power already under the general Excise Bill to require growers, and factories also, to register. Sugar will shortly be proclaimed a material in respect of which registration must be effected. Everything is in order, and I trust that while we are going to take the responsibility—as is our duty—of enforcing the law at once, that the committee will not hesitate to give us any necessary ratification of our action when we require it. I have now dealt with three great classes: Stimulants, narcotics, and sugar. Then I come to the division dealing with agricultural products and groceries. Some honorable member—I forget who it was—asked what they meant. Under those headings will be found chiefly goods which are generally grouped as liable to fixed duties. That is where the claims of the producer are dealt with, and where protection is given to the farmer, the dairyman, the gardener, the orchardist, and the manufacturer, both as regards their raw material and manufactures therefrom. Thus we find that arrowroot, bacon and hams, broom corn, butter and cheese, eggs, fruits and vegetables, grain and pulse (both prepared and unprepared), hay and chaff, honey, jams and jellies, hops, linseed, malt, meat, milk, and straw are all included. The estimated revenue from these sources is £1,142,000.

Mr. WATSON.—What is the percentage?

Mr. REID.—About 50 or 60 per cent. on some.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Of course, they vary very largely. The next division I come to is that of apparel and textiles, which introduces us to an industry worthy of the most careful preservation, and on which 25 per cent. is proposed to be charged on completely

manufactured articles of the highest class. The same protection is given to manufactures of metal, not including agricultural, horticultural and viticultural machinery and implements, which are rated at 15 per cent.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—What is the duty on tea?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am glad the honorable member has put that question. That is another case of the composite charges. I think that in Canada they have a composite rate on coffee. I have already informed honorable members that they have it on cigars. Probably honorable members were expecting a rate of 3d. per lb. on tea, but what we have decided to impose is 2d. per lb. and 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and for this reason, that the quality varies so much that we do not think it fair to charge the tea of the poorer classes at the same rate as that which may bedouble its value. We must have some revenue from a fairly taxable article which is not yet produced here in consumable quantities or qualities, and so we ask for a duty of 2d. per lb. We endeavour by these composite rates to make some provision for an equitable charge—according to the value of the thing consumed—which at present is conspicuous by its absence from most of the Tariffs which have obtained in Australia. Twenty-five per cent. is the rate applied to patent and other medicines, jewellery, boots, and shoes, when they are not made the subject of a composite rate, manufacturing stationery and brushware. The importance of the industries which we have devoted our best energies to preserving is made manifest by consideration of the figures in the papers before the committee showing the number of persons employed therein. Where an industry is the subject of considerable investment of capital and employment of labour we have deemed it our duty to do the best we can, not only to preserve it, but to encourage it. At the same time we have not raised the rates so far as they are known in this State by any manner of means. There has been a fair consideration of the various rates of the different States, and an endeavour made to assimilate in the Tariff the best provisions of each. No doubt, in many cases, people in Victoria may view with some surprise the reductions which have been effected, but at the same time what we feel is, that their manufactures are established and that they have every

reason to congratulate themselves on the position to which they have attained as the premier manufacturing State in all Australia. They will have the advantage of a larger market, a greater output, and consequently a cheaper output. And I believe that with these assistances which are not theirs only, but are the property of every State and any member thereof, there will be a power of sustaining competition not only among ourselves—though perhaps it may be more keen—but against the outsider. On a consideration of everything affecting the question, there will be secured by this Tariff not only the money which is wanted for Australian purposes, but a fair and proper, though not extravagant guarantee of the safety and perpetuation of industries which are worthy of encouragement.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What is the duty on woollens?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Woollens as regards apparel 25 per cent., wool in the piece 20 per cent., and yarns, 15 per cent.

Mr. PAGE.—Is it 25 per cent. on the manufactured article?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes; and I say in that connexion consult the tables, view the statistics, apply your own knowledge to the consideration of the question of how many people are dependent for their livelihood, and are honestly earning it in industries associated with textile and apparel. I believe we have every reason to be proud of these industries. Let us, then, do what we fairly can for the purpose of encouraging them. Glass and furniture making have also been made the subject of special protection, and they are industries which are well worthy of protection. On furniture the duty is 20 per cent., which is the rate applicable to leather manufactures other than boots, or to manufactures of wicker, bamboo, cane, or wood. With apparels there are three protections desirable—one to the maker of yarn here, one to the maker of the cloth, and another to the maker of the apparel. Looking at our pastoral industry, is it not preposterous that the wool which we grow should be sent away to the other side of the world for the purpose of being turned first into cloth and afterwards into garments, to be sent back across the seas so that we shall use them? Is it not much better, that, having the wool and the people capable of manufacturing it, to turn it into yarn here, and here also to make

the yarn into garments? Look at the wealth and opportunity of employment that we are losing if we do not take sufficient pains to secure to our people the trade and the opportunities for living, which are properly, and ought to be ours. So also we protect the maker of woollen apparel against competition from the maker of silken apparel. The silken apparel is charged the same duty as the woollen apparel, but we draw a distinction. Seeing that we cannot make silk cloth here—it has not yet been made—we do not charge the same rate of duty on the silk cloth as we charge on the woollen cloth; but we admit it at 15 per cent. so as to give the maker of the apparel an opportunity of profiting, as he has to import the silk piece goods and pay the duty before he can make them into apparel himself. Financial necessities have compelled the Government to propose a duty on cotton goods. A duty of 10 per cent. is proposed on plainer qualities of cottons and linens with very few exceptions, and the better kinds fall into the 15 per cent. list. Flannelette, which, from all I can hear, is a most objectionable imitation of wool liable to ignite on the slightest provocation, has found its way into the 20 per cent. list. So also the necessities of revenue have required the removal of printing paper from the free list, and it goes into the 10 per cent. list.

Mr. REID.—With cottons and calicoes—the poor man's list of 10 per cent.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is one other matter. The Government consider that a reasonable system of bonuses may be adopted to encourage the establishment or extension of industries which are not yet established, or not sufficiently established, or to which protection cannot conveniently be immediately extended pending their sufficient establishment.

Mr. WATSON.—Where are the Government to get the money from?

Mr. KINGSTON.—We shall get the money right enough, but we are going to commence in a small way. I think that while we are encouraging existing industries, the future of Australia demands at the hands of the Federal Government, which has control of the matter of bonuses, that they should not neglect these altogether, but should bear in mind that the powers they possess are held in trust for the good of the people, and to be exercised when circumstances warrant it. Even

if we commence in a small way, we should show a determination to commence on these lines instead of standing still and saying nothing at all, or crying out that it cannot be done. Our attention is first drawn to the iron industry, and I know of no more important industry that could be selected for encouragement. We have got iron, and we have got coal. We have iron of as good quality for smelting as we could wish to have, and coal as good for the purpose of smelting it as might be desired. Are we going to stand still and do nothing? Shall we not be neglectful of our duties and opportunities if we fail to follow where others have led with good results? What has Canada done? She is paying a bonus in connexion with the iron industry—on pig iron, steel bars, and on other kinds of iron. We propose to pay a bonus in connexion with the manufacture of iron ore at a certain rate if manufactured from Australian ore, and at another rate if manufactured with a certain proportion of ore from other parts, or we may legislate to the exclusion of foreign ores altogether from the benefit of the bonus.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The Government would hide a 200 per cent. duty under the form of a bonus.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Iron is free at present under the Tariff, but we are going to offer a bonus for the purpose of encouraging the iron industry, and we shall ask Parliament to assist us to do something in that direction. I am not going to tie myself down to any special lines.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Would the Minister limit the bonus to say 300 per cent.?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I would limit the bonus to a specified amount. I would follow where others have led if they have led successfully. I look at it from this point of view: Are there other British peoples who have recognised the importance of the iron industry, and done something towards encouraging it—the iron industry being the chief basis of all other industries? We find that Canada commenced this policy years ago and she continues it, and I note with interest that Canada has recently been exporting iron in large quantities. We might suggest a bonus of 12s. per ton as to pig-iron manufactured in Australia, on the proportion from Australian ore, and 8s. per ton on the proportion from other ore; 8s. per ton on puddled iron bars

manufactured from pig-iron made in Australia, and 12s. per ton on steel ingots containing not less than 50 per cent. of pig-iron made in Australia. The bonus might commence shortly—indeed our idea is that it should commence some time about the middle of next year. We have under consideration the question as to whether the bonus should be limited to works which are capable of turning out a certain amount of the manufactured article within a certain time, and which have proved their capacity for so doing by running at a certain rate for a more limited time. However that may be, we are determined to ask Parliament to assist us in dealing with this question, and we look confidently for the support of the committee. With regard to the matter of details we had put it down that the amount in the first instance should be limited to something like £75,000, which would represent 10s. per ton on 150,000 tons of iron ore. I am not, however, binding myself in any way to the details of the proposal, but I am declaring what our policy is with regard to this most important matter, which is to be shortly embodied in a Bill, and introduced for the consideration of this House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the Minister propose to limit the bonus to iron produced from the native ores?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The lines which I read, which are merely suggestive at this moment, give a higher bonus on the Australian ores than on other ores, but the question as to how the bonus is to be limited, or in what proportion, is a matter upon which we desire to be more fully informed, and regarding which we shall shortly apprise the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In the meantime there is no duty.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, in the meantime there will be no duty on iron.

Mr. REID.—There is a 10 per cent. duty.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is no duty on iron under the Tariff.

Mr. REID.—I say there is—I have it in the Minister's own Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Might not the right honorable member imagine that, before I contradicted him most flatly in a matter of this sort, I knew what I was speaking of?

Mr. REID.—But it is here in the Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable gentleman has not read the first part of the clause. There it is provided that the duty shall not come into operation until a date to be fixed by proclamation.

Mr. REID.—That is a part I did not look at.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, of course the right honorable gentleman did not look at it.

Mr. REID.—A duty to be fixed by proclamation is something new.

Mr. KINGSTON.—If the right honorable gentleman would not be so cocksure of everything he talks about it would be better, as he is generally cocksure to be wrong. Here is an example shown by the right honorable gentleman, who takes up this Tariff, which he has not seen for three minutes, and presumes to flatly contradict men who have been considering it for months. The right honorable gentleman is affording an example of how to reach the height of audacity to which few can expect to attain, but to the apex of which he soars triumphantly. We are not going to stop at iron, but we believe in the encouragement of future industries relating to necessities which are not produced within the Commonwealth, or obtainable at reasonable prices. When the people want the manufactured goods that would be produced as the result of the local carrying on of a certain industry, it is a fair thing to provide for a bonus to encourage the establishment of that industry, and, as soon as the industry is established, to call certain duties into existence for the purpose of securing the maintenance of the industry. This is the policy we intend to adopt with reference to iron, and it is also our policy with regard to machinery—agricultural, dairying, viticultural, horticultural, and mining machinery. There is no doubt that it is a God-send when a fresh invention comes into these branches of industry. But till it comes, and is locally established if we tax the imported article, we impose a burden on the man who wants it, which is what we wish to avoid. How can we avoid it?

Mr. THOMAS.—By taking off the duty.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am glad indeed that the honorable member has given me that reference. I am speaking to the

agriculturalists. What has been the most notorious case in which the agriculturalist of these States has been bled? Has it not been in connexion with the implements and machinery which he requires to import? Undoubtedly it has been the price he has had to pay for the purchase of the reaper and binder. Do not every one of us know that? I inquired into this matter in South Australia, and I know that the same evil has existed here. What is that evil? The machines are put free on board at New York for something like £20.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—For £14.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am stating the case and giving the importer the fullest benefit of the doubt in order that my figures may not be challenged. These machines are landed here for £25, and are pressed on the unfortunate farmer for £50 or over. In other words, the price is increased to him by 100 per cent. I have verified these figures. What do the free-traders say of a duty by way of profit over cost of 100 per cent. upon a machine like the reaper and binder?

Mr. REID.—It is an American protection.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I have not seen the American protectionist here, but I have seen the importer. As regards the American protectionist, we say to him—"Come and establish your industry here and we will be glad." We would thus have the benefit of the manufacture of these articles in our midst. I have discussed this matter time and again, and I know all about it. I tell the right honorable and learned member that there are certain questions which are generally asked when this subject is discussed. I have had them asked me time and again when I have pointed out to the farmer the way in which he has been plundered by importing rings. When one emphasizes this point to a city or suburban audience, a theorist free-trader usually gets up and says—"You forget the patent and freight." My answer is: "The patent is up, and the figures quoted include machine and freight." Then they say—"But what about the duty? You have forgotten to calculate that." What has been my answer? There is not a pennyworth of duty paid upon these machines. They have been admitted absolutely free.

Mr. GLYNN.—That was not the explanation given. The Minister knows that perfectly well.

Mr. KINGSTON.—These questions were put to me first in the Town hall of the district which the honorable and learned member once adorned, and on another occasion at Petersburg. There is a glaring instance! Does any one imagine it would be tolerated for a moment that 50 per cent. or 100 per cent. could be exacted by the local manufacturer? Nothing of the sort! It would not be tolerated.

Mr. THOMSON.—The manufacturer abroad imposes that.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I know what are the facts and the results to our farmers, and no one can get away from them. In America the price of the reaper and binder is what I have stated, whilst to the unfortunate Australian farmer it is the sum which I have already mentioned. We say to the manufacturers—"Come and establish your manufactories here. It will be a benefit to you and to us." Where does the 50 or 100 per cent. go if not into the pockets of some of these people? We say to all the world, and we ask this House to say—"Come and establish your industries here. Turn out a certain number of machines. We will give you a certain bonus on every one you produce up to a certain number. When you produce that number, protection shall be given to your manufactures which will sustain you against outside competition." That is a provision which is not limited to these particular machines. It is to be extended by proclamation to all new machinery on which there is no import duty, and which is certified to be an industry the establishment of which in the Commonwealth is essential to the development of our resources—agricultural, dairying, horticultural, viticultural, and mineral. Power is given to the Government by proclamation to call into existence a duty which shall protect such industries after they have been established, and in the interim a specified bonus not exceeding 25 per cent. of the price of the article is to be paid. I do not know that there is any more that I require to say at this particular moment. I thank honorable members for the attention which they have been good enough to extend to me. I feel that I should be ungrateful if I did not join in the recognition of the great services which have been rendered

to us in this connexion by the Customs officers. The Comptroller-General has been unsparing in his attention to everything that was necessary. I must also mention Mr. Lockyer, whose high intelligence has been chiefly devoted to the all important question of the necessary calculations. Mr. Stephens, the South Australian collector, and Mr. Smart, of the Melbourne department, have both done yeoman service. In fact, I think that every one who has been called to our assistance has spared no effort, and I thank them accordingly. I shall conclude by saying that we

have every faith in the future of the Commonwealth. We hope that our proposals will contribute to the development of our splendid resources. The barriers which have so long separated sister States, and which many have so struggled to remove, are to-day removed once and for ever. We have great cause for gladness. Let us show our gratitude by soberly and earnestly addressing ourselves to the work which we now have before us. I beg to move—

That duties of customs and duties of excise be imposed according to the following Tariff :—

THE TARIFF

To come into operation on the 8th October, 1901, at 4 p.m. Victorian time.

All goods to be free if not included among dutiable goods.

All imitations to be dutiable at the rate chargeable on the goods they imitate, unless such rate is less than the rate which would otherwise be chargeable on the imitations.

“Proof” or “Proof Spirit” means spirit of a strength equal to that of pure ethyl alcohol compounded with distilled water so that the resultant mixture at a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit has a specific gravity of 0.9198 as compared with that of distilled water at the same temperature.

“N.E.I.” means “not elsewhere included.”

“Departmental By-law” means By-law made by the Minister, and published in the *Gazette*.

“Proclamation” means proclamation by the Governor-General published in the *Gazette*.

IMPORT DUTIES.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|---------|---------------------|
| DIVISION I.—STIMULANTS. | | |
| 1. Ale, Porter, and Other Beer, Cider, and Perry, containing not less than 2 % of proof spirit, viz. :—* | | |
| In bottle - - - per gallon | 1s. 6d. | |
| Other - - - per gallon | 1s. | |
| 2. Spirits, viz. :— | | |
| Spirits,† and spirituous compounds, n.e.i., when not exceeding the strength of proof - - - per gallon | 14s. | |
| When exceeding the strength of proof per proof gallon | 14s. | |
| Amylic Alcohol and Fusel Oil per gallon | 14s. | |
| Methylated and Collodion per gallon | 3s. | |
| Perfumed and Bay Rum - per gallon | 25s. | |
| 3. Wine, Fermented, viz. :— | | |
| Sparkling - - - per gallon ‡ | 12s. | |
| N.E.I. (including Medicinal or Medicated and Vermouth)— | | |
| In bottle - - - per gallon § | 8s. | |
| Other - - - per gallon | 6s. | |
| Containing more than 35 % of proof spirit per gallon | 14s. | |

* Six reputed quarts or twelve reputed pints to be charged as one gallon.

† Case Spirits, in cases of two gallons and under, to be charged as two gallons; over two gallons, and not exceeding three gallons, as three gallons; over three gallons, and not exceeding four gallons, as four gallons; and so on, a full gallon being charged for any part of a gallon in excess of the last full gallon.

‡ Three magnums, six reputed quarts, twelve reputed pints, or twenty-four reputed half-pints to be charged as one gallon.

§ Six reputed quarts, twelve reputed pints, or twenty-four reputed half-pints to be charged as one gallon.

Mr. Kingston.

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| DIVISION II.—NARCOTICS. | | |
| 4. Opium, including as regards Smoking Opium the weight of the immediate containing package . . . per lb. | 20s. | Tobacco destroyed for manufacture of Sheepwash or other purposes under Departmental By-laws |
| 5. Tobacco, viz. :— Manufactured, including the weight of tags, labels, and other attachments . . . per lb. | 3s. 6d. | |
| Unmanufactured . . . per lb. | 3s. 6d. | |
| Unmanufactured, but entered to be locally manufactured into Tobacco, Cigars, or Cigarettes—to be paid at the time of removal to the factory . . . per lb. | 1s. 6d. | |
| Cigars, including the weight of bands and other attachments . . . per lb. | 5s. 6d. and 15 % ad val. | |
| Cigarettes, including the weight of the outer portion of each cigarette . . . per lb. | 6s. 6d. | |
| Snuff . . . per lb. | 6s. 6d. | |
| DIVISION III.—SUGAR. | | |
| 6. Glucose . . . per cwt. | 8s. | |
| 7. Sugar, viz. :— The produce of Sugar-cane, including Molasses, Golden Syrup, and Syrups, n.e.i. . . per cwt. | 6s. | |
| Other . . . per cwt. | 10s. | |
| DIVISION IV.—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND GROCERIES. | | |
| 8. Animals, living, viz. :—Cattle, Sheep, Pigs, and Poultry . . . ad val. | 20 % | Cattle, Sheep, Pigs, and Poultry for the improvement of breeds, subject to Departmental By-laws |
| 9. Arrowroot . . . per lb. | 1d. | |
| 10. Bacon and Hams, partly or wholly cured . . . per lb. | 3d. | |
| 11. Biscuits . . . per lb. | 1½d. | |
| 12. Blue, Laundry . . . per lb. | 2d. | |
| 13. Broom Corn Millett . . . per cental | 4s. | |
| 14. Butter and Cheese . . . per lb. | 3d. | |
| 15. Candles, Tapers, and Night Lights ; Solid Spirit Heaters including the weight of the immediate containing package ; Stearine, Paraffine Wax, Beeswax, and Japanese or Vegetable Wax ; also Lard and Refined Animal Fats . . . per lb. | 1½d. | |
| 16. Cocoa Beans . . . per lb. | 1d. | |
| 17. Cocoa and Chocolate, Ground or in any way manufactured, or with milk or other substance, Cocoa Butter, Caramel and Caramel Butter ; Confectionery, n.e.i., including bon-bons and mixed packets of confectionery containing trinkets (gross weight), sugar candy, cachous, and fruits crystallized or candied . . . per lb. | 2d. and 15 % ad val. | |
| 18. Coffee and Chicory, viz. :— Raw . . . per lb. | 3d. | |
| Kiln Dried, Roasted, or Ground, and in liquid form, or with milk or other substance . . . per lb. | 5d. | |
| 19. Eggs . . . per dozen | 6d. | |
| 20. Fish, Fresh, viz. :—Oysters . . . per cwt. | 2s. | |

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TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|---------|--|
| Divison IV.—Agricultural Products and Groceries—continued. | | |
| 21. Fruits and Vegetables, viz.:— | | |
| Fruits, Dried, viz.:— | | |
| Currants - - - - - per lb. | 2d. | |
| Raisins and other, including Peel and | | |
| Ginger preserved (not in liquid) per lb. | 3d. | |
| Vegetables, dried or concentrated ad val. | 20 % | |
| Fruits and Vegetables, n.e.i. (preserved | | |
| in liquid, or partly preserved, or | | |
| pulpd)— | | |
| Half-pints and smaller sizes per dozen | 9d. | |
| Pints and over half-pints per dozen | 1s. 6d. | |
| Quarts and over pints - - - per dozen | 3s. | |
| Exceeding a quart - - - per gallon | 1s. | |
| Fruits and Vegetables, n.e.i. per cental | 2s. | |
| 22. Grain and Pulse, n.e.i. - - - per cental | 1s. 6d. | |
| 23. Grain and Pulse, prepared or manufactured, | | |
| viz.:— | | |
| Oatmeal, Rolled Oats, Groats, Wheat- | | |
| meal, Pearl Barley, Scotch Barley, | | |
| Maizena, Corn Flour - - - per lb. | 1d. | |
| Bran, Pollard, and Sharps per cental | 1s. | |
| N.E.I. - - - - - per cental | 2s. 6d. | |
| 24. Hay and Chaff - - - - - per cwt. | 1s. | |
| 25. Honey, Jams, and Jellies; also Preserved | | |
| Ginger in liquid (including the weight | | |
| of liquid) - - - - - per lb. | 2d. | |
| 26. Hops - - - - - per lb. | 6d. | |
| 27. Limejuice, and other Fruit Juices and Fruit | | |
| Syrups (non-spirituos) per gullon | 1s. | |
| 28. Linseed - - - - - per cental | 2s. | |
| 29. Linseed Meal - - - - - per cental | 4s. | |
| 30. Linseed Cake and Oil Cake per cental | 1s. | |
| 31. Liquorice, viz.:— | | |
| Crude - - - - - per lb. | 1d. | |
| Other - - - - - per lb. | 2d. | |
| 32. Macaroni and Vermicelli - - - per lb. | 1d. | |
| 33. Malt, including granulated, maize, and rice | | |
| malts - - - - - per cental | 6s. | |
| 34. Malt Extract, non-spirituos - - per lb. | 2d. | |
| 35. Matches and Vestas, viz.:— | | |
| For each 100 matches or part thereof— | | |
| Wax - - - - - per gross | 1s. | |
| Wood or other - - - per gross | 6d. | |
| 36. Meats, Fish, Poultry, and Game, viz.:— | | |
| Fresh or preserved by cold process per lb. | 1d. | |
| Potted or concentrated, including ex- | | |
| tracts of, and Caviare - - - ad val. | 20 % | |
| Preserved in tins or other air-tight | | |
| vessels, including the weight of con- | | |
| tents; also sausage casings - per lb. | 2d. | |
| N.E.I. - - - - - per cwt. | 5s. | |
| 37. Milk—Preserved - - - - - per lb. | 1½d. | |
| 38. Mustard Seed - - - - - per lb. | 2d. | |
| 39. Mustard - - - - - per lb. | 4d. | |
| 40. Nuts—Edible, viz.:— | | |
| Cocoanuts, whole - - - per cwt. | 1s. | Copra |
| N.E.I., whole or prepared, including | | |
| Cocoanuts, prepared - - - per lb. | 2d. | |
| 41. Oilmens' Stores, n.e.i., including infants' | | |
| and invalids' foods (special preparations | | |
| of), Culinary Essences non-spirituos, | | |
| Soap Dyes, Condition Foods, and other | | |
| preparations used in the household | | |
| whether otherwise exempted or not— | | |
| when in packages for retail sale - ad val. | 20 % | <p>Annatto, liquid and solid</p> <p>Isinglass</p> <p>Rennet liquid, in packages of not less than half-a-pint</p> |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|--------------|---------------------|
| Division IV.—Agricultural Products and Groceries—continued. | | |
| 42. Onions per cwt. | 1s. | |
| 43. Peel, drained or preserved in brine, acid, or water, including the weight of liquid per lb. | 1d. | |
| 44. Pickles, Sauces, Chutneys, Olives, and Capers— | | |
| Quarter-pints and smaller sizes per doz. | 6d. | |
| Half-pints and over quarter-pints per doz. | 1s. | |
| Pints and over half-pints per doz. | 2s. | |
| Quarts and over pints per doz. | 4s. | |
| Exceeding a quart per gal. | 1s. 4d. | |
| 45. Potatoes per cwt. | 1s. | |
| 46. Rice, viz. :— | | |
| Uncleaned per cental | 5s. 3d. | |
| For manufacturing Starch, under Departmental By-laws per cental | 6s. 3d. | |
| N.E.I. per cental | 8s. 4d. | |
| 47. Sago and Tapioca per cental | 4s. | |
| 48. Salt, n.e.i. per ton | 20s. | Salt, brown rock |
| 49. Seed, Canary, Hemp, and Rape ad val. | 15 % | Manures |
| 50. Soap, viz. :— | | |
| Perfumed, Toilet, and Medicated (including the weight of wrappers) per lb. | 4d. | |
| N.E.I., including Polishing per lb. | 1d. | |
| 51. Spices, viz. :— | | |
| Unground, n.e.i., including Green Ginger per lb. | 2d. | |
| Ground, n.e.i. per lb. | 4d. | |
| 52. Starch and Starch Flours, including rice meal, and rice, tapioca, and potato flours per lb. | 2d. | |
| 53. Straw per ton | 5s. | |
| 54. Table Waters, Aerated or Mineral, and preparations packed for household use for the production thereof, including sparklets; also Ale, Porter, and other Beer, Cider, and Perry containing less than 2 % of proof spirit ad val. | 20 % | |
| 55. Tea per lb. | 2d. and 20 % | |
| „ in Packets per lb. | 3d. and 20 % | |
| 56. Wine, unfermented per gallon | 3s. | |

DIVISION V.—APPAREL AND TEXTILES.

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| 57. Apparel and Attire and Articles n.e.i.— | | Apparel and Attire—Minor Articles for :— |
| Woollen or Silk, or containing wool or silk, partly or wholly made up (not being piece goods), including articles cut into shape ad val. | 25 % | Bindings and Stay and Boot Laces (except of Leather), Braids, Buckles and Buttons (not for adornment), Busk and Stay Fasteners Protectors and Shields, Bodice and Skirt Steels, Ferretings, Filletings, Gimps, Hooks and Eyes, Tapes, Webs, Waddings, Webbing, Wire, and Wire Ribbon |
| Not containing wool or silk, partly or wholly made up (not being piece goods), including articles cut into shape ad val. | 20 % | Diving Dresses |
| | | Bags and Sacks, viz. :—Bran, Corn, Flour, Gunnies, Ore, Sugar Mats, Woolpacks |
| | | Elastic Stockings, Surgical Meat Wraps, made up or in the piece |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|-----------------------------|---|
| Division V.—Apparel and Textiles—continued. | | |
| 58. Blankets, Blanketing, Rugs, Lap Dusters, and Rugging; Carpets, Carpeting, Floor Cloths and Mats, n.e.i., Floor Coverings (including Felts and Pads), and Carriage Mats; Curtains, Coxies, Cushions, Mantel and Furniture Drapery and Coverings, Bed-covers and Furnishings, n.e.i., whether partly or wholly made up; Frillings, Ruffings, Tucked Lawns, Pleatings, and Ruchings - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 59. Fur and other Skins, dressed or prepared, and hatter's fur - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 60. Gloves, including Mittens and Flesh Gloves - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 61. Hats and Caps, viz.:— Men's, Women's, Boys', and Children's felt hats - per doz. | 10s. and 15 % ad val. | |
| Dress hats - per doz. | 40s. | |
| Hats and Caps, Sewn - per doz. | 3s. | |
| 62. Hats, Caps, and Bonnets, n.e.i., Hat and Bonnet Shapes, Felt Pullover Hoods, and Wigs and other articles of natural or artificial human hair - ad val. | 20 % | Hats, Miners' Hats— Minor articles for :— Buckles, not for adornment Plaits, plain Helmets, Firemen's Parasols, Sunshades, and Umbrellas— Minor articles for :— Cups, Ferrules, Notches, Ribs, Rings, and Runners |
| 63. Parasols, Sunshades, and Umbrellas, viz.:— Containing Silk - each | 1s. 6d. and 15 % ad val. | |
| N.E.I. - each | 6d. and 15 % ad val. | |
| 64. Piece Goods, viz.:— Woollen, or containing wool, n.e.i. - ad val. | 20 % | Felt Sheathing, Bunting |
| Shirtings (fancy), n.e.i., Coatings, Vestings, Trouserings, n.e.i., Flannels, and Flannelettes - ad val. | 20 % | |
| Silk, or containing silk or having silk worked thereon - | 15 % | Milling Silk |
| Velvets, Velveteens, Plushes, Ribbons, Galloons, Lace, Lace Flouncings, Millinery Nets, and Veilings—all kinds and materials - ad val. | 15 % | |
| Cottons and Linens, viz., Blue Frocking, Butter and Cheese Cloth, Calico, white and grey, Drills, Duck, Dungaree, Jeans, Moleskins, Oil Baize, Leather Cloth, Sheetings (including Forfar, Dowlas, and Flax), Shirtings, White, and Oxford, Cambridge, and Harvard, Ticks, Towellings, Window Nets, and Hollands - ad val. | 10 % | Cotton and Linen Piece Goods, viz.:— Italians, Silicias, Linings, n.e.i., Pocketings, Flax Paddings, Buckrams, French Canvas, Wick, Lamp and Candle |
| Cotton and Linen Piece Goods, n.e.i., - ad val. | 15 % | Hair Cloth and Hep Cloth |
| 65. Tents, Taraulins, Sails and Flags - ad val. | 20 % | Canvas, Hessians, and Brattice Cloth |
| 66. Trimmings, Mantle Dress Bonnet and Hat n.e.i., including flowers, feathers, and embroideries in the piece - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 67. Yarns, partly or wholly of Wool - ad val. | 15 % | Yarn, Angora |

* Wool" or "Woollen" includes all manufactures from wool, hair, or fur.

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|--------------|--|
| 68. Ammunition, viz., Shot, Bullets and Slugs per cwt. | 7s. 6d. | Arms, viz.:—Rifles, Military and Match |
| 69. Arms, viz.:— Rifles, n.e.i., Shot Guns, Revolvers, Pistols, Air Guns and Air Pistols, Bayonets, Swords, Fencing Foils and Masks, Gun, Revolver and Pistol Covers Cases and Fittings, Loading Tools, and Cartridge Belts - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 70. Iron, Plate and Sheet,* viz.:— Plain Galvanized - per ton Corrugated Galvanized - per ton | 15s. 30s. | |
| 71. Lamps and Lampware, n.e.i., and Lanterns and Lamp Stoves and all parts thereof (except Chimneys, Shades, and Globes, Gasoliers, and Electroliers) - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 72. Lead, Sheet and Piping - per cwt. | 2s. 6d. | |
| 73. Mangles, Clothes-wringers, and Washing Machines - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 74. Manufactures of Metal, viz.:— Agricultural, Horticultural, and Viti-cultural Machinery and Implements, n.e.i., including Mould Boards, Shares, and Plough Plates cut to shape, Sheep Shearing Machines, Horse Gears; Engines, Portable, fixed on a locomotive boiler horizontally, with wheels and shafts suitable for transport, Traction and Oil Engines, and Roadmaking Ploughs and Machines - ad val. | 15 % | Apparatus—Diving Crucibles Engines—Fire Machinery (not including Motive Power, Engine Combination, or Power Connexions, if any), viz.:— Cream Separators and Testers Knitting Linotype and Monotype Machinery for Scouring, Washing, Carding, Spinning, Weaving, and Finishing the Manufacture of Fibrous Materials Machinery for the Manufacture of Paper and for Felting Printing Machines and Presses, and Machinery used exclusively for and in the actual process of Electrotyping and Stereotyping Sewing Machine Heads Stitching Machines Typewriters, not including Stands or Cases Machine tools used in the following industries and specified in Departmental By-laws:— Apparel and attire making, Bookbinding, Bootmaking, Brushmaking, Glassmaking and working, Hatmaking, Indianrubber working, Leather Dressing, Metal working, Paper cutting, finishing and folding, Stone working, Tile, pipe, and brick making, Wood working |
| Cutlery, n.e.i. (including Manicure Sets and Knife Sharpeners); also Instruments, Drawing, Mathematical and Surveying - ad val. | 15 % | |
| Nails, n.e.i., viz.:— Horseshoe and other wrought or pressed Nails - per cwt. Wire and other, and Spikes, Staples, Brads, and Tacks - per cwt. | 7s. 3s. | |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|---------|---|
| Division VI.—Metals and Machinery—continued. | | |
| Manufactures of Metal—continued. | | Metals and Manufactures of |
| Tanks, containing goods or empty, for every 100 gallons or part thereof | 3s. | Metal— Aluminium, Bronze, Yellow Metal, Britannia Metal, Nickel, and German Silver, viz.:—Pigs, Ingots, Scrap, Blocks, Bars, Strips, Sheets, and Plates Anchors, over 10 cwt. Anodes and Hooks for Plating purposes Brass, viz.:—Scrap, Bars, Sheets, Pipes, and Tubes Capsules, Metallic Chain in the piece Copper, viz.:—Scrap, Bars, Sheets, Pipes, and Tubes, Prepared Plates for Engravers and Lithographers Cylinders for Anhydrous Ammonia Discs, Plough and Harrow Electrical Materials, viz.:—Accumulators or Storage Batteries, except Glass Jars, Cable (covered), Carbons, Incandescent Lamps, Testing Meters and Instruments Eyelets Fire Extinguishers, hand Iron and Steel Tubes or Pipes (except riveted or cast) under 6 inches internal diameter, including Flexible Metal Tubes Lamps, Miners' Safety Last Thimbles and Block Fasteners Leaf and Foil Locks, Door, including knobs, keys, and escutcheons Pins, viz., gimp, solid-headed short toilet, plain wire hair, plain safety Platinum, viz., bars, strips, sheets, plates, retorts, pans, condensers, tubing, or pipes Rabbit traps Scales, viz., chemical, analytical, and assay *Scrap Iron and Steel Screws, table and music stool Steel, band or ribbon for making band-saws or band-knives Steel, rough-shaped, for chaff-cutter and other knives Tin Plates, plain |
| Weighing Machines, Weigh-bridges, and Scales, n.e.i., also Cash Registers, Computing Machines, and Attachments - - - - - ad val. | 20 % | |
| N.E.I., including Engines, Boilers, Pumps, Machines and Machinery, n.e.i.; also Screws n.e.i., Axles, Springs, and Plated and Mixed Metalware, including Plated Cutlery ad val. | 25 % | |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|-----------------|---------|---------------------|
|-----------------|---------|---------------------|

Division VI.—Metals and Machinery—continued.

75. Rails, Fish-plates, Tie plates, Switches, Points, Crossings, and Intersections for Railways and Tramways ad val.

15 %

76. Rolled Iron or Steel Beams, Channels, Joists, Girders, Columns, Trough and Bridge Iron or Steel, not drilled or further manufactured; Shafting, cold rolled, turned, or planished; also Bolts and Nuts and Barbed Wire ad val.

20 %

Metals and Manufactures of Metals—continued.

Tools of Trade, not being Machines, viz.:—Adzes, Axes, Hatchets, Tomahawks, and Cleavers, Augers and Auger Bits, Awls and Awl Hafts, Bevels, Braces and Bits, Braces (ratchet), Bruzzers, Bung Borers, Cards (file and wool), Chisels (except cold and plugging) and Gouges, Clamps, Combs (graining), Compasses, viz., carpenters', coopers', and engineers', Cutters (bolt, glass, mitre, and pipe), Diamonds (glaziers'), Drills, Files and Rasps, Forks (digging, hay, stable, and tanners'), Gauges (carpenters' and millwrights'), Gimlets, Hammers (except napping, spalling, quartz, coal, brick, and sledge), Hoes (garden and plantation), Irons, Hatters', Italian, Smoothing, Cloth Manufacturers' and Tailors', Jewellers' Tools, Knives (hay), Needles and bodkins, Pincers and Nippers (end cutting), Planes, Pliers, Punches, Rakes (hand), Routers (Wheelwrights'), Rules, Tapes and Chains (measuring), Saddlers' Tools, viz.:—Rein Rounders, Claw, Carving, French edge, and Patent Leather Tools, Wheels and Rosette Cutters; Saws, Screw-drivers, Scythes, Sets (Rivet and Saw), Shears, viz.:—Brushwakers', Garden, Printers', Sheep, and Tinsmiths'; Shovels and Spades, Sickles, Snips (Tinsmiths'), Spatulas, Spirit Levels, Spoke-shaves, Shaves, and Spoke Trimmers, Squares, Stocks and Dies and taps for same, Trowels, Vises, Wrenches Screw (except Cycle)

Washers and Rivets

Wire n.e.i., Wire Netting, Wire Cloth, Wire Gauze

Zinc, Scrap and Sheet, and Circles and Ingots bored or unbored for cyanide gold process

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| DIVISION VIA.—METALS AND MACHINERY. | | |
| To come into operation on dates to be fixed by Proclamation, and, except as to Galvanized Plate and Sheet Iron, exempt from duty in the meantime. Proclamation to issue so soon as it is certified by the Minister that the Manufacture of Iron or of Reapers and Binders or of any Machinery to which the Proclamation refers has been sufficiently established in the Commonwealth, according to the provisions of any law relating to bonuses for the encouragement of Manufactures. | | |
| 77. Iron and Steel— | | |
| Scrap Iron and Steel, and Pig Iron | 10 % ad val. | |
| Ingots, Blooms, Slabs, Billets, Puddled Bars and Loops, or like crude Manufactures less finished than Iron or Steel bars, but more advanced than Pig Iron (except Castings) | | |
| Bar, Rod, Angle, Tee, Sheet, Plate, and Hoop, except Galvanized Plate and Sheet | | |
| Galvanized Plate and Sheet, viz.:— | | |
| Plain - - - ad val. | | 10 % |
| Corrugated - - - ad val. | | 15 % |
| Machinery— | | |
| Reapers and Binders - ad val. | 15 % | |
| Other Machinery referred to in Proclamation - - - ad val. | 15 % | |
| DIVISION VII.—OILS, PAINTS, AND VARNISHES. | | |
| 78. Blacking, including Dressings, Soaps, Oils, Inks, Pastes, Polishes, Stains, and Varnishes for Leather; Berlin and Brunswick Blacks, Furniture Oil Paste and Polish, and Bronzing and Metal Liquids - - - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 79. Greases, Axle, and Thickened or Solidified Oils; Solid or Viscous Compounds for lubricating, and Tallow unrefined per cwt. | 4s. | |
| 80. Oils, viz.:— | | |
| Cotton Seed, in bulk or otherwise per gal. (Including Castor), in vessels not exceeding one gallon— | 2s. | |
| Quarter-pints and smaller sizes per doz. | 6d. | |
| Half-pints and over quarter-pints per doz. | 1s. | |
| Pints and over half-pints - per doz. | 2s. | |
| Quarts and over pints - per doz. | 4s. | |
| Over a quart - per gal. | 1s. 4d. | |
| In vessels exceeding one gallon, viz.:— | | |
| Olive - per gal. | 1s. 4d. | |
| Castor, China, Colza, Linseed, Gasoline, Mineral Spirit Oils, n.e.i., and Cotton Seed when methylated pursuant to Departmental By-laws - per gal. | 6d. | |
| Lubricating (Mineral), Mineral n.e.i., and Kerosene - per gal. | 3d. | |
| N.E.I. - per gal. | 6d. | |
| 81. Paints and Colours, viz.:— | | |
| Ground, in liquid, partly or wholly prepared for use - - - | 1s. per cwt. and 15 % ad val. | |
| Colours Dry, Dry White Lead, and Patent Dryers and Putty per cwt. | 1s. | |
| | | Oil, viz.:—Fish, including Cod (unrefined), Seal, Whale, Penguin, Petroleum (crude), Degras, Sod, Naphtha, Benzine, Mirbane, and Turpentine |
| | | Colours, Artists' Dyes, dry, not packed for retail sale |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|---|--|
| Division VII.—Oils, Paints, and Varnishes—continued. | | |
| 82. Varnishes, Varnish Stains, Lacquers, Enamels, Japans, Liquid Sizes, Patent Knotting, Oil and Wood Finishes, Petrifying Liquids, Damp Wall Compositions, and Lithographic Varnish | 1s. per gallon 15 % ad val. | Lamp, Ivory, Bone, and Vegetable Blacks London Purple and Paris Green Sulphate of Copper Ultramarine Blue Whiting |
| DIVISION VIII.—EARTHENWARE, CEMENT, CHINA, GLASS, AND STONE. | | |
| 83. Cement, Portland, Plaster of Paris and other like preparations having Magnesia or Sulphate of Lime as a basis, also Gypsum, not prepared - per cwt. | 1s. | |
| 84. China, Parian, and Porcelain Ware and Mosaic Flooring - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 85. Earthenware Brownware and Stoneware, n.e.i., and Tiles, n.e.i. - | 6d. per cubic foot* and 15 % ad val. | Earthenware, viz.:—Spurs, Stilts, and Thimbles |
| 86. Filters of all kinds, fire and glazed bricks, fire lumps, Fireclay Manufactures, n.e.i., Asphalt and Roofing Tiles - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 87. Glass, viz.:— Bent, bevelled, heraldic, sandblasted, enamelled, embossed, etched, silvered, and cut; corners cut, bevelled, or engraved; panes, prisms, and all other framed with metal - ad val. | 20 % | Glass, viz.:—Lenses, unmounted, Locket, Brooch, and Watch Glasses Bottles, empty, of not more than six fluid drams capacity Scientific Instruments and Apparatus, viz.:— |
| 88. Glass, n.e.i.; also Seltzogenes and Accessories and Syphon Bottles - ad val. | 15 % | Instruments for measuring the density of liquids Scientific Apparatus (glass), viz.:—Beakers, Flasks, Test Tubes, Vacuum Tubes, Burettes, Pipettes, Weighing Bottles and Tubes, Eudiometers, Nitrometers, Radiometers, Fat Extraction Tubes, Filter Pumps, Gas Washing, Reduction and Absorption Bulbs and Tubes, Test Measures in centimetres and grains; also Carbonic Acid, Sulphuretted Hydrogen, Decomposing Water, and Bacteriological Apparatus of Glass |
| 89. Glassware, n.e.i. - | 8d. per cubic foot* and 15 % ad val. | |
| 90. Glue, not Liquid, and Gelatine, Sheet per lb. | 2d | |
| 91. Glue, Gelatine, and Cements, n.e.i., including mucilage and printers' roller composition - ad val. | 20 % | Dry Gums, Shellac, Dextrine, Sandarach, and Mastic |
| 92. Stone, including Marble and Slate, viz.:— Monumental, wrought † - per cubic foot | 5s. and 5 % ad val. | Bath Bricks Oil and Whet Stones, Grindstones, and Millstones Pestles and Mortars—Agate |
| Wrought, n.e.i. - ad val. | 20 % | Stone, viz.:—Sawn or in the rough, n.e.i. |
| Roofing Slates and unwrought slate slabs - ad val. | 15 % | |

* Measuring outside the packages as imported.

† For purposes of measurement each stone shall be considered a rectangular solid corresponding in measurement to the extreme length, width, and height of the stone measured.

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|--|---------|---|
| DIVISION IX.—DRUGS AND CHEMICALS. | | |
| 93. Acetic Acid, Extract or Essence of Vinegar, and Vinegar— | | |
| Containing not more than 6 per cent. of absolute acid . . . per gal. | 6d. | |
| Containing more than 6 per cent., but not more than 30 per cent. . . per gal. | 2s. 6d. | |
| For every extra 10 per cent. or part of 10 per cent. . . per gal. | 10d. | |
| 94. Acids, viz.:— | | |
| Muriatic, Nitric, and Sulphuric . . . ad val. | 15 % | |
| 95. Carbonate of Ammonia, and Carbide of Calcium . . . per cwt. | 5s. | |
| 96. Drugs and Chemicals, viz.:— | | |
| Salicylic and Boric Acids; Bisulphites of Potassium, Sodium, Calcium, and Magnesium; Foaming Powders and Liquids, and Malt and Hops substitutes . . . ad val. | 20 % | |
| 97. Insecticides, Sheep-washes, and Disinfectants, n.e.i. ad val. | 15 % | |
| 98. Medicines, viz.:—Patent and Proprietary Medicines, and other Medicinal Compounds; non-spirituous medicinal extracts, essences, juices, infusions, solutions, and syrups; pills, pilules, tabloids, tablets, capsules, cachets, suppositories, plasters, poultices, salves, ointments, liniments, non-spirituous, powders, pastes, medicated confectionery, medicinal waters and oils, n.e.i.; and medicines for animals . . . ad val. | 25 % | Essential Oils, non-spirituous Bacteriological Products and Serum |
| 99. Perfumery, including perfumed Ammonia, Camphor in blocks or tablets, Toilet preparations, non-spirituous, perfumed or not; Lanoline, Glycerine, Vaseline, and Petroleum Jelly not medicated . . . ad val. | 20 % | |
| 100. Saccharin per lb. | 20s. | |
| 101. Soda Crystals per cwt | 1s. | |
| DIVISION X.—WOOD, WICKER, AND CANE. | | |
| 102. Furniture, n.e.i. (except metal), in parts or finished, including Billiard and Bagatelle Tables and Boards and Accessories, Photograph Frames and Stands for Pictures, Picture Frames (on pictures or otherwise), and Picture Mouldings, Cabinets, Brackets, Trays, Verandah Blinds, Screens, Hair Curled, Show Figures for Draping or other purposes, Writing and Stationery Cases, Writing Desks, and Mirrors framed or set ad val. | 20 % | Billiard Balls in the rough Furniture— Minor Articles for:— Bindings (except leather), Buttons, Castors, Ferrets, Gimps, Lace (float and orris), Tufts and Fringes |
| 103. Timber, viz.:— | | |
| Architraves, Mouldings, and Skirtings of any material . . . per 100 lineal feet | 5s. | Timber, viz.:— |
| Timber, Dressed, n.e.i. per 100 super. feet | 3s. | Ash |
| Timber, undressed, n.e.i., in sizes of 12in. x 6in. (or its equivalent) and over . . . per 100 super. feet | 1s. | Hickory } Undressed |
| Timber, undressed, n.e.i., in sizes of 7in. x 2½in. (or its equivalent) and upwards, and less than 12in. x 6in. (or its equivalent) . . . per 100 super. feet | 1s. 6d. | Oak } Walnut } Elm Hubs, with or without metal bands Engravers' Boxwood Logs not sawn |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|---------|--|
| Division X.—Wood, Wicker, and Cane—continued. | | |
| Timber—continued. | | Timber—continued. |
| Timber, undressed, n.e.i., of sizes less than 7in. x 2½in. (or its equivalent) per 100 super. feet | 2s. 6d. | New Zealand Pine, undressed, of sizes 12in. x 6in. (or its equivalent) or over |
| Laths - - - - - per 1,000 | 5s. | Shafts and Poles, sawn or bent, but not dressed |
| Palings - - - - - per 1,000 | 15s. | Spars in the rough |
| Pickets, dressed - - - per 100 | 4s. | Spokes, Rims, and Felloes of hickory, in the rough |
| Pickets, undressed - - - per 100 | 2s. | Staves, undressed or roughly dressed, but not shaped |
| Shingles - - - - - per 1,000 | 3s. | Veneers |
| Doors of wood :— | | |
| 1½in. and over - - - each | 7s. 6d. | |
| Over 1½in. and under 1½in. - each | 5s. | |
| 1½in. and under - - - each | 3s. 6d. | |
| 104. Wicker, Bamboo, Cane, or Wood—All articles n.e.i., made of, whether partly or wholly finished, including Bellows, Casks, Shooks, Sashes and Frames, Timber bent, n.e.i., Wood cut into shape for making boxes or doors, axe and other unattached tool handles, Umbrella Sticks, Walking Sticks and Canes - - - - - ad val. | 20 % | Wicker, Bamboo, Cane, or Wood, manufactures of, viz. :— Buckets, wooden Canes and Rattans Cane, compressed, in sheet and unshaped Last Blocks, rough turned Lasts and Trees, wooden |
| DIVISION XI.—JEWELLERY AND FANCY GOODS. | | |
| 105. Fancy Goods (not being partly or wholly of gold or silver), including— | | |
| Card Cases, Snuff and Match Boxes, Purses, Thimbles, Serviette Rings, Button-hooks, Shoe-horns and Lifts, Glove Stretchers, Toys, Ivory and other Ornamental Figures, Ornamental Confectionery, Feather Dusters, Paper Parasols, Articles used for Outdoor and Indoor Games, Fishing Appliances, Pencil Cases, Pencils, and Penholders, n.e.i., Articles manufactured from Pulp, Papier Maché, or Indurated Fibre - - - - - ad val. | 20 % | Lead Pencils and Penholders of wood |
| 106. Jewellery, viz. :— | | |
| Chain, machine-made in the rough, Gal- lerie, Coronets, Beads, Catches and Joints for Pins, Clasps, Points, and Brooch Pins - - - - - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 107. Jewellery and Imitation Jewellery, includ- ing Ornamental Hair, Hat, and other Pins, Buckles and Clasps for Adorn- ment, Smelling and Pocket Perfume Bottles, Chatelaines, Jewel Cases, Bolt and Split Rings, Swivels, Ear Wires, Bars and Stampings used in the Manu- facture of Jewellery; Medals and all articles n.e.i., partly or wholly made up of gold or silver, including gold or silver wire - - - - - ad val. | 25 % | Bullion and Coin Gold and Silver, bar, ingot, and sheet Jewellery, viz. :—Cameos and Pre- cious Stones, unset |
| 108. Watches, Clocks, and Chronometers, n.e.i., and parts thereof, Time Registers and Detectors, Opera, Field, and Marine Glasses, Pedometers, Pocket Counters, Kinematographs, Kinetoscopes, Phono- graphs, Graphophones, Gramophones, Cameras, and Magic Lanterns, includ- ing accessories - - - - - ad val. | 20 % | Ships' Compasses Ships' Chronometers Microscopes, Telescopes, Spec- tacles except gold or silver; Barometers and Thermo- meters, except advertising, and Watch and Clock Springs |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
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| DIVISION XII.—LEATHER AND RUBBER. | | |
| 109. Boots and Shoes, except partly or wholly of lasting or stuff, English sizes to be the standard, viz. :— | | |
| Man's sizes above 5 - per doz. pairs | 20s. and 15 % ad val. | Boots and Shoes, viz., Gum Boots |
| Youths' sizes above 1 - per doz. pairs | 15s. and 15 % ad val. | Boots and Shoes, Minor articles for— |
| Boys' 7-1 - - - per doz. pairs | 10s. and 15 % ad val. | Bristles |
| Women's sizes above 2 - per doz. pairs | 15s. and 15 % ad val. | Buckles, not for adornment |
| Girls' sizes above 10 - per doz. pairs | 12s. and 15 % ad val. | Nails, viz. :— Bills, Sparrow |
| Girls' 7-10 - - - per doz. pairs | 9s. and 15 % ad val. | and other, Clog, Heb, Hun- |
| Slippers, leather - per doz. pairs | 5s. and 15 % ad val. | garian, Nugget, Pin-point, |
| | | Screw or Ice, Spike, Cricket, |
| | | Running, Sprigs, Tacks last |
| | | ing, Tips, Tingles, and Rivets |
| | | Pegs and Peg Wood |
| 110. Boots and Shoes, n.e.i. (including India-rubber), Goloshes, Slippers, n.e.i., Boot and Shoe Uppers and Tops, Clogs and Pattens, Wading Boots, Slipper Forms in the piece or otherwise, Cork, Leather, or other Socks or Soles - ad val. | 25 % | |
| 111. Cloths made waterproof with Indiarubber - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 112. Indiarubber or other Hose, and manufactures, n.e.i., in which Indiarubber forms a part, including cycle and vehicle tyres - ad val. | 15 % | Indiarubber Manufactures, viz. :— |
| 113. Leather Manufactures, n.e.i., Leather cut into shapes, Harness, Razor Straps, Footballs, and parts thereof, and Whips, including Keepers, Thongs, and Lashes - ad val. | 20 % | Indiarubber crude or powdered, rubber waste, hard rubber in sheets, rubber thread, boot and apparel elastics |
| 114. Leather, n.e.i., including Green-hide for belting purposes - ad val. | 15 % | Beltng (composition) |
| | | Harness, Saddles, and Whips— |
| | | Minor articles for :— |
| | | Mountings, including hames, bits and stirrups, not plated, gold or silver |
| | | Leather, viz. :—Crust or rough tanned hogskins, goat, and Persian sheep |
| DIVISION XIII.—PAPER AND STATIONERY. | | |
| 115. Paper, viz. :— | | Paper, viz. :— |
| Manufactures of, Unframed, for Advertising Purposes, including Price Lists, Catalogues, Fashion Plates, and all Printed or Lithographed Matter for such purposes - per lb. | 3d. | Emery and Flint Paper and Cloth |
| White, printing (uncoated), in sizes not less than 20 x 25 inches - ad val. | 10 % | Filter Paper |
| Writing, cut less than 16 x 13 inches, and Paper, Toilet, in rolls or packets per lb. | 2d. | Litmus Paper |
| Browns, Grey, Blue Sugar, Cartridge, and Blotting - per cwt. | 6s. | Pulp, for manufacturing paper |
| Strawboard - per cwt. | 2s. | Roofing, sheathing, and insulating |
| Bags - per cwt. | 7s. 6d. | True Vegetable Parchment for packing butter for export. |
| N.E.I., including Cardboard, Pasteboard, Pulpboard, Millboard, Greyboard, Leatherboard, and Woodboard, Cloth-lined Boards and Paper, Floor Paper and Paper Hangings - ad val. | 15 % | Sizes 48 by 14 inches, and 48 by 12 inches |
| Vesta and Match boxes, empty per gross | 3d. | Writing, in sheets not less than 16 by 13 inches |
| Cards, Playing, in sheet or cut per dozen packs | 3s. | |

TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| Division XIII.—Paper and Stationery—continued. | | |
| 116. Stationery, Manufactured, viz. :— Advertisements and Pictures, framed, for advertising purposes; Bill Files and Letter Clips; Boxes, cardboard, cut and shaped or finished; Mounts for pictures; Calendars and Almanacs, n.e.i.; Date Cases and Cards; Albums, including Birthday, Scrap, Motto, and Character; Cards and Booklets, viz., Printers', Visiting, Menu, Programmes, Wedding, and Funeral; Christmas, New Year, Easter, and Birthday; Scraps, Transfers, and Paper Patterns; Ink-stands, Ink-bottles, and Ink-wells; Paper Knives, Blotters, Blotting Cases and Pads; Billheads and other printed, ruled, or engraved forms of paper, n.e.i., bound or unbound; Books, Account, Betting, Cheque, Copy, Copying, Diary, Drawing, Exercise, Guard, Letter, Music, Memo., Pocket, Receipt, and Sketch; Envelopes, Stationery Packets, Wrappers for Writing Paper, Memo. and Sketch Blocks, Memo. Slates and Tablets, Labels, Tags, and Tickets, Manufactures of Paper, n.e.i., including Printers' Matrices; Inks, writing and printing, and Ink Powders; Wax, Sealing and Bottling ad val. | 25 % | Pictures (not being advertising), viz. :— Autotypes, Chromographs, Engravings, Etchings, Oleographs, Oil Paintings, Photographs, Photogravures, and Water Colours Kindergarten materials Pens Maps, Charts, and Globes Parchment, cut and uncut School and Drawing Slates, and Slate Pencils |
| Division XIV.—VEHICLES. | | |
| 117. Bicycles, Tricycles, and similar vehicles ; Vehicles and parts thereof n.e.i. ; Cycle parts (except tyres) plated, enamelled, polished, or otherwise completed, or brazed or permanently joined, including Cycle accessories, and Motor vehicles - - - ad val. | 20 % 15 % | |
| 118. Cycle parts n.e.i. - - - ad val. 119. Vehicles, viz. :— Barouches, Broughams, Landaus, Victorias, Mail Phaetons, Drags, and similar vehicles - - - each | £12 and 15 % ad val. | |
| Express waggons, waggons for carrying goods, single or double-seated waggons, four-wheeled buggies—mounted on springs or thorough braces and without tops - - - each | £5 and 15 % ad val. | |
| Hansom cabs; also single or double-seated waggons, waggonettes, and four-wheeled buggies—with tops each | £8 and 15 % ad val. | |
| Omnibuses and coaches for carrying mails or passengers - - - each | £9 and 15 % ad val. | |
| Tilburys, Dog Carts, Gigs, Boston Chaises, Sulkies, and other two-wheeled vehicles—on springs or thorough braces each | £3 and 15 % ad val. | |

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TARIFF—continued.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|----------------------|---|
| DIVISION XV.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. | | |
| 120. Musical Instruments n.e.i., and Pianos, Parts of, n.e.i.; Musical Boxes, Pianolas, and other attachments or articles for rendering music by mechanical process, and Metronomes - - ad val. | 15 % | Musical Instruments, parts of, viz.:—Action work in separate pieces |
| 121. Organs, Pipe - - - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 122. Pianos, viz.:— | | |
| Grand and Semi-grand - - each | £12 and 15 % ad val. | |
| Upright - - - each | £4 and 15 % ad val. | |

DIVISION XVI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

| | | |
|---|------|--|
| 123. Bags, Baskets, Boxes, Cases, or Trunks, including fittings, viz.:— Fancy, hand, sporting, travelling, picnic, toilet, dressing, glove, handkerchief, collar, and work; satchels, reticules, valises, and companions - ad val. | 20 % | Bags, Portmanteaux, and Trunks (Minor Articles for)—when not gold, silver, or plated— Buckles, Catches for Lids, Chain-links (known also as Link-holders), Clips (fluted), Corners, Frames, Holders for Lids, Loops for Handles or Straps, Nails (fancy), Plates, Rollers, Stars; Catches, Handles, Hinges, Keyplates, and Ornaments for Portfolios |
| 124. Boats, Launches, and Yachts imported in any vessel, including all fittings - ad val. | 20 % | Baskets, viz.:—Carpenters' |
| 125. Brushware, viz.:— Carpet Sweepers, Hair Brushes and Combs (toilet), and Tooth Brushes - ad val. | 15 % | |
| N.E.I., including brooms, mops, crumb trays and brushes - ad val. | 25 % | |
| 126. Coke - - - per ton | 4s. | |
| 127. Cordage and Twines, n.e.i., including Macrame Twines, Fleece Thread, and Brushmakers' and Mattress Twines, Engine Packing in Rope Form, and Halters and other articles manufactured from cord or twine, including nets and netting - ad val. | 20 % | Cordage, viz.:— Engine-packing in sheet form Sewing Silks, Twists, Threads, and Cottons, and Crochet Cottons Unserviceable Metal |
| 128. Corks, Bungs, Net Floats, Cork Mats, and other Manufactures of Cork - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 129 Explosives, viz.:— Ammunition and Cartridges, n.e.i. ad val. | 20 % | Explosives, viz.:— Caps, Percussion Cartridges, Military Detonators |
| Fireworks - - - ad val. | 20 % | |
| Fuse, per coil of 24 feet or less, and in proportion for any greater quantity - per coil | 1d. | Powder, Blasting, common, of which 20 per cent. or less will pass through an 8-mesh sieve |
| Powder, Sporting - - - per lb. | 4d. | Special Fuse Powder, for the manufacture of fuse under Departmental By-laws |
| N.E.I. - - - per lb. | 1d. | |
| 130. Photographic Dry plates, Films, and Sensitized Paper - - ad val. | 15 % | |
| 131. Pipes, Smoking, including cases and other accessories, cigar and cigarette holders and cases, smokers' sets and cases, and tobacco pouches - - ad val. | 20 % | |
| 132. Twine and Yarn, viz.:— Reaper and Binder - - per cwt. | 8s. | Articles imported by and for the use of the Commonwealth or any State Government |

TARIFF—*continued.*

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|-----------------|---------|---------------------|
| | | |

Division XVI.—Miscellaneous—*continued.*

Articles imported by and for the official use of the Governor-General, State Governors, and Consuls

Articles imported by, and for use of, the Army or Navy, viz.:—
Arms, Military and Naval Clothing, Musical Instruments for Bands, Military Stores, and Munitions of War

Articles specially designed and imported for the use of the Blind, Deaf, and Dumb, when imported by governing bodies of public institutions having the care thereof

Minor articles to be specified in Departmental By-laws for use in the manufacture of goods within the Commonwealth

Models of inventions and other improvements in the Arts

Natural History, specimens of

Outside packages, n.e.i., in which goods are ordinarily imported when containing such goods, and if such goods are free or subject only to fixed duties

Passengers' personal effects, including furniture and household goods which have been in actual use by such passengers for at least one year, not exceeding £50 in value per adult passenger

Pictorial illustrations and casts and models for teaching purposes, when imported by governing bodies for the use of universities, colleges, or schools

Scientific instruments and apparatus imported by governing bodies for use in universities, colleges, schools, or public hospitals

Surgical and Dental Instruments and Appliances (not being furniture), viz.:—

Amputating, Cupping, Dissecting, Examining, Ear, Eye, Mouth, Nose, Throat, Midwifery, Operating, Veterinary, Lint, Gauzes, Bandages, Ligatures, Oil Silk, Poroplastic Felt, Splints, and Artificial Limbs and Eyes

Trophies won abroad

Works of Art, being statuary, and paintings framed or unframed, also windows for churches or public institutions, under Departmental By-laws

TARIFF—continued.

EXCISE DUTIES.

| Dutiable Goods. | Duties. | Special Exemptions. |
|---|--|---------------------|
| 133. Beer, viz. :—Ale, Porter, and other Beer, containing not less than 2 % of proof spirit - - - per gal. | 3d. | |
| 134. Spirits, viz. :— Distilled wholly from Grape Wine, Barley Malt, Molasses, or Maize - - - per proof gallon | 11s. 12s. 6d. | |
| N.E.I. - - - per proof gallon | 1s. 6d. | |
| For fortifying Australian: Wine or making Vinegar - - - per proof gallon | | |
| Methylated - - - per gallon | | |
| 135. Sugar - - - per cwt. of manufactured Sugar | 3s. until the 1st January, 1907, less, from the 1st July, 1902, a rebate to the grower of 4s. per ton on all sugar cane delivered at a factory for manufacture therein, and in the production of which sugar cane white labour only has been employed. The rebate is calculated on cane giving 10 % of sugar, and is to be increased or reduced proportionately, according to any variation from this standard | |
| 136. Tobacco, viz. :— Manufactured - - - - - per lb. | 1s. | |
| Cigars - - - - - per lb. | 1s. 6d. | |
| Cigarettes, including the weight of the outer portion of each Cigarette - - - per lb. | 2s. | |
| Snuff - - - - - per lb. | 2s. | |

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I hope that in the flashlight photographs that have been taken to-night we have seen the last of a most irregular and, I think, most unseemly proceeding. This is no occasion for theatrical advertisements of enterprising photographers, and I beg to enter my personal protests against them. Since the matter had gone so far, and every arrangement had been made, I did not think it gracious to raise any objection before the photographs were taken; but now that the photographing is over, I beg, as an individual member,

to express the hope that our proceedings will not be interfered with by any such exhibitions in the future. With reference to the course which the Government have adopted by dividing the addresses in reference to their financial proposals and the Tariff, I really feel that it would be unreasonable to complain, because there is no doubt that the task which was set to the Federal Treasurer in connexion with the present occasion was one almost too great for any single Minister to perform. At the same time, I wish candidly to say that in

the interests of the committee and of the country, it amounts to a public calamity that the Treasurer did not give us the benefit of his exposition of the Tariff, and of its bearing on the position of the country, because then we should have heard something about it. The Minister for Trade and Customs has left us absolutely in the dark as to what the Tariff is, which the Chairman has taken as read, and of which printed copies are now being distributed. It is a most extraordinary thing that on a matter of this sort, which was looked forward to throughout Australia, the Minister for Trade and Customs should have gone so largely into general observations, and so slightly into the real bearing and effect of these proposals of his upon the manufactures, trade, and industries of Australia. I am not paying compliments, but simply expressing my opinion when I say that if the Treasurer had performed the other part of the duty, we should have heard a great deal more about the Tariff and the nature of the proposals which the Government are making in the direction of taxation. The Treasurer gave us some tolerably clear idea of the general finances of the Commonwealth and of the nature of his estimates; but we have been deprived, and the public have been deprived, of any proper exposition of the Tariff. It is evident that this Tariff did get out, because the *Bendigo Advertiser*, a newspaper published in Victoria, has wonderfully hit off a large number of the articles therein dealt with.

Mr. McCOLL.—The newspaper was very far out.

Mr. REID.—I see a particular item which enables me to identify the newspaper article as certainly having come from some information. I do not, of course, know how the information was obtained, but there is a singular item here, under the head of tobacco. The division of the Tariff into sixteen classes does not facilitate reference. However, there is an item here, under the heading of narcotics—

Tobacco, viz. :—

| | |
|---|---------|
| Manufactured, including the weight of tags, labels, and other attachments, per lb. | 3s. 6d. |
| Unmanufactured, per lb. | 3s. 6d. |

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is a common form.

Mr. REID.—Well, perhaps it is a common form, but how these newspaper correspondents could get hold of an item of that sort,

which is a technical item, puzzles me. I do not blame the Ministry in any degree, because I am sure that the Minister for Trade and Customs and his colleagues made superhuman and very proper efforts to preserve secrecy. I do not wish at present, however, to take this matter up. The Government have been sitting for weeks dealing with these matters, and have had the benefit of the assistance of officers of the departments in arriving at their conclusions. It is, therefore, impossible for me to attempt to deal with the matter now. I propose to make only one or two general observations, and then I shall ask the Prime Minister to adjourn the debate for a week. I certainly should not feel competent to deal with the matter within any shorter time. Without pretending to analyze the financial exposition of the Treasurer or the statements of the Minister for Trade and Customs, there are one or two observations which I may make at once. In the first place, I regret that the Government did not take the responsibility of reducing Estimates which they themselves admit to be extravagant. We were told by the Treasurer that the several States, in view of the approach of Federation, had been largely increasing the public expenditure. The Ministry have adopted these swollen and inflated Estimates of the States, notably with reference to defence. The Treasurer said that he believes the Estimates as to defence to be extravagant, but that he will wait until the commandant arrives. If the Government wait until a military man cuts down the military Estimates, they will wait a very long time. It is for the Ministry who feel that there is extravagance, and it is especially for the Treasurer—because the position of the Treasurer is such that he ought to be almost equal with the Prime Minister himself in financial matters—not to bring down inflated Estimates, swollen in the manner described; but to insist upon them being put in the most economical shape possible, before being submitted to this committee. What does the course which has been taken mean? It means that the duty is thrown upon this committee of cutting these Estimates to pieces, which is work that ought to be done by Ministers themselves. But this is a matter which I shall deal with later on. The Treasurer to-night, and some other honorable members, spoke of the bookkeeping

system as if it involved a monstrous state of affairs. We were all opposed to the bookkeeping system if it could be avoided, and we made a number of efforts to avoid it. But it was found impossible to act justly towards each of the States, unless some accounts were kept, at any rate for a certain term of years. While the system is denounced as a monstrous injustice, let me point out, on the figures submitted by the Treasurer this afternoon, what would have happened if there had been no bookkeeping system. We will take the case of Western Australia, which was the most difficult case we had to deal with. In that case, if the *per capita* system of distribution had been adopted, it would have been possible, without the bookkeeping system, to place that State in a most extraordinary position.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—She would have been ruined.

Mr. REID.—My right honorable friend must agree with me here, because I am sure the matter gave him a great deal of anxious thought.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We should have lost half-a-million of money.

Mr. REID.—Under this Tariff it is proposed by a *per capita* distribution to give back £2 7s. 5½d. on account of each inhabitant of the Commonwealth. But Western Australia would contribute under the Tariff £3 17s. 7d. per head. In other words, Western Australia would contribute to the taxation through the Customs £691,000, and, on a *per capita* distribution, she would receive something like £400,000—a difference of about £300,000 to a small State of 180,000 inhabitants. So far from the bookkeeping provision being a monstrous state of things, the other state of things would be nothing more nor less than robbery; and I would not be a party to a robbery of that sort. In the case of New South Wales, we have had the advantage of being lightly taxed. Not only that, but we have the advantage of presenting a picture of prosperity accompanying light taxation which cannot be really equalled in this Commonwealth. I should have liked some of those who speak of the working-men of New South Wales as a pauper, down-trodden, miserable class, to see the 16,000 trades-unionists who marched through the streets of Sydney a day or two ago. It was a sight, the equal of which could not be

found in Australia. Under this light taxation, nevertheless, we have been able to increase the number of men—not the number of women and children, but the number of men—employed in our factories to a rate that is several thousands above the number in employment in similar factories in Victoria. These, however, are facts which I will not go into at present. They can be dealt with later on. But I wish to point this out before I sit down. I do not know that a protectionist Government could do it, but I say there is one thing the people of Australia made up their minds pretty clearly about, and that was that they did not want their money to go into the pockets of any favoured industries, that they wanted their money to go to meet the necessities of the Public Treasury. Now, the Minister for Customs, and I shall do him credit for that, has raised this issue before us with no uncertain sound. He has come before this committee and the country with this Tariff as a protectionist tariff, and he has challenged an issue upon it. I knew very well that it must come to that.

Mr. McCAY.—The right honorable gentleman said the opposite last month.

Mr. REID.—The Prime Minister at Maitland might say he was going to bring in some wonderful piebald sort of Tariff, which would be a revenue Tariff and a revenue-destroying Tariff in the same breath. I know the right honorable and learned gentleman managed, I will not say to deceive the people, because he deceived himself first, as this is a matter to which he has not given much attention; but it is contrary to common sense to say that the principle of raising revenue on imports is consistent with the policy of destroying imports. The two things will not hang together. I applaud the man who comes out straight as a protectionist and says—"I believe in protection. I believe that under that policy you may have a smaller Customs revenue, but you will have a wealthier people and a prosperous working class. You will have a multitude of new industries, and you will be altogether better able to bear the burdens of taxation when the effect of the taxation on these industries has disappeared from the Customs." I can understand a position of that sort. That is a position of principle, whether the principle be right or wrong. But how can we talk in the same breath of protecting industries, which means putting duties on

in such a form that imports are shut out, and of producing a Tariff of £9,000,000? I believe the figures are £8,940,000, but in round numbers that is £9,000,000. I believe that a £9,000,000 Tariff, under the most judicious proposals, is about the maximum we could raise in Australia. It is about the highest point we could reach under the most judicious proposals. We will deal with the proposals of the Government by and by when we have had time to analyze them, but I have already had the advantage of looking over a copy of the Tariff for a few moments, and I find that this Government, as we might expect they would, are playing the old game that brands all these Tariffs of protectionist countries. They put the heaviest duties upon articles which are in most ordinary consumption. They reserve the weightiest duties for articles which are most generally used by the poorer members of the community. Why is it necessary to have a composite rate on boots and shoes? My right honorable friend spoke of a "composite rate." It is a composite fraud. I shall just read the items I allude to. There is a plain straight-away duty for silks and satins, and it is not as much as the duty on blankets. I should think one of the main principles in adjusting, at any rate the revenue part of a Tariff, would be to put the higher duties on the articles which rise into the class of the luxuries in life. What an inhuman way of taxing is that which puts the heaviest duties on the poorest articles! I have not had time to go over this Tariff, which fills nineteen pages—nineteen pages of happiness for the people of Australia—but I shall just hurriedly point out what these composite rates mean. They had to fix upon boots and shoes—the common cheap boots and shoes that the masses wear—for this "composite rate." They were not satisfied with putting a duty of 1s. 8d. a pair on imported boots, worth, I suppose 4s. a pair, but they put on a "composite rate" of 20s. per dozen pairs, which is 1s. 8d. per pair for boots of men's size, and, as an additional luxury for the poor, 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. That is what my right honorable friend calls a "composite rate." When we turn to jewellery and to the luxuries of life we find no composite rates imposed there. I shall just give the committee at random one or two contrasts to show the way in which

this Tariff has been prepared. When my right honorable friend rebuked me for having so suddenly stated that there were duties on iron, he triumphantly referred me to division 6A. I turn to division 6 without the A, and I find that there is an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. on rolled iron or steel beams, channels, joists, girders, columns, trough and bridge iron or steel not drilled or further manufactured, shafting, and also on bolts and nuts and barbed wire. On rails, fish-plates, tie-plates, switches, points, crossings, and intersections for railways and tramways, there is 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. On iron galvanized, plain and corrugated, there is an *ad valorem* duty of from 10s. to 15s. per ton. So that after all my right honorable friend has forgotten his own Tariff. I confess I was not prepared to receive a Tariff which had a long heading which showed that these duties were not duties at all until the Governor-General inserted a proclamation in the *Gazette* making them duties. I thought we had not got quite to that yet. I never imagined in my wildest flights of readiness for any new proposals on the part of the Government that in a national Tariff they would put in a provisional scale of duties to be brought into force in the case of an iron industry starting. Let me say that it is a queer way of encouraging Australian industries to put a duty on iron. If one factory started in one little spot—it would be in my own State, clearly, or perhaps in Tasmania—if one iron industry were established in one quarter of Australia the raw material of a thousand industries would be taxed. That is the sort of protection proposed. What is raw material? Raw material is really a phrase to which we can give the most extensive signification; but take the case of any man in any trade, from the man of science down to the unskilled labourer, and his raw material includes everything he has to buy out of his wages; everything that is necessary to keep himself and his family in life, health, and comfort. That is his raw material, and these honorable gentlemen, with their superficial floating ideas of political economy, think they can speak of raw material as if it were only glucose or molasses or something of that sort. Every man's requirements are his raw material—the things that keep him alive, that keep him decently clothed, and that fill his home with

something like comfort. And then we come to these composite duties on boots and shoes of 20s. per dozen pairs and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. I take now one or two other things at random, and just as they come. Here we have on "Woollens or containing wool not elsewhere included," an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent.; on "Shirtings (fancy) not elsewhere included, coatings, vestings, trouserings not elsewhere included, flannels and flannelettes," an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. "Silk or containing silk, or having silk worked thereon," 15 per cent. "Velvets, velveteens, plushes, ribbons," 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. "Cotton and linen piece goods not elsewhere included," an *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent. Blankets, 20 per cent. "Furs and other skins, dressed or prepared, and hatters' fur"—articles of luxury in use in connexion with the dresses of those who are able to indulge in such luxuries, are subject to a duty of 15 per cent. instead of 20 per cent. A duty of 20 per cent. is proposed on blankets, but 15 per cent. only on furs and prepared or dressed fur. Then we come to hats and caps, upon which there is another composite rate. Every one must wear either a hat or a cap, but it is proposed to impose upon them a composite rate of 10s. per dozen and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. Then, on hats and caps sewn, a duty of 3s. per dozen is proposed. Tents and tarpaulins, necessary for pioneers—for men who go out into the rough wilds of Australia and live under the greatest hardships, and who are really creating fresh industrial strength for Australia—are subject to a duty of 10 per cent. Trimmings, mantles, dress bonnets and hats, including flowers, feathers, and embroideries, are subject to a duty of 15 per cent. How delicate is this rough, enthusiastic demagogue, who adopts such an entirely broken-up manner in order to win sympathy, I suppose, and who speaks on the reaper and binder question as though his heart were breaking. He charges an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. on tents used by the man who lives in the far wild bush, but a duty of 5 per cent. less on the trimmings worn by ladies who "do" Collins-street. This is the sort of democrat my right honorable and learned friend proves to be when he is panned out.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—Take the next item on the list—"Yarns."

Mr. REID.—I think the right honorable and learned gentleman has a right to be

light on "Yarns." After the "yarns" he has told us to-night I have not a word to say in regard to that item, because he has imported the biggest yarn of all from South Australia. The Minister ran three elections and won triumphant victory by managing to shed a tear over reapers and binders. The right honorable and learned gentleman actually captured the democracy of South Australia by weeping over this question of reapers and binders. But he knows as well as any business man here the secret of that charge. It is another result of the protected manufacturing ring of America.

Mr. WARSON.—That is the strongest argument I have heard.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend may laugh. He is very level-headed in most things, but I have received information on this subject from a competent authority. I am not like my right honorable and learned friend, the Minister of Trade and Customs, and I cannot cry over it. They do not reap me, neither do they bind me up. I have the advantage of information received from a competent business authority whom I respect. I suppose that I may mention that I allude to the honorable member for North Sydney, who is known to the committee as a business man. In regard to this matter over which the Minister was crying, he tells me that the manufacturers of America stipulate with their agents abroad for a certain selling price. They will not sell in America to an Australian.

Mr. WARSON.—The importers here made that arrangement with the manufacturers.

Mr. REID.—But does not my honorable friend see that if the maker in America would only consent to take a little of this great profit that the man in Australia is making, and would sell these machines to the ordinary enterprising merchant it would be different? Have we not got merchants enough here, even protected manufacturing merchants? What the Minister says of importers is the old gag with which protection was carried in Victoria 30 years ago. The people adopted that policy and converted the merchants into the sweaters of Victorians. What does it matter to a merchant whether he has his articles made here, or imports them? He simply wants to make money, and has made money out of articles which, perhaps, were the result of the sweater's labour in less happy lands. Our friends in Victoria, out of hatred of this state of affairs, put on protection,

with the result that some of the old free-traders of those days have well-lined pockets, and are thorough protectionists. They have made money out of the women and children of Victoria. These men of capital have no beastly prejudice about importing. They are quite ready to make their goods here if it pays them better to do so. Do honorable members think that any of these men would import these things if they could make an extra shilling by manufacturing them here? They are not built that way. And so it was that when the softgoods men in Flinders-lane were held up to execration as hated importers and duties were put on, they started to run the sweating factories, or some one ran them for them, and they got their profits all the same. Then our democratic friends had to go one better and pass another Act to establish wages boards in order to bring wages up. They go from one artificial thing to another, and now that their tails are jammed they are crying out to the other States to do the same.

Mr. ISAACS.—It was in England that the "Song of the Shirt" was written.

Mr. REID.—It always will be in England, I am afraid. It may not be loyal to say so, but if there is to be sweating I should rather have it in any country than the one in which I live, and I would not put 30 per cent. on apparel in order to bring sweating into existence here.

Mr. ISAACS.—But we intend to prevent sweating.

Mr. REID.—Our friends in Victoria are always intending to do so, but they do not succeed. I was looking at the census returns the other day, and I find that Victoria has not got a larger male population than she had ten years ago. Are the people struck blind, or what is the matter with them? Let us return to the consideration of these items. Fifteen per cent. is thought to be enough for trimmings and prepared furs; and 20 per cent. *ad valorem* is enough for gloves; but on mangles, clothes wringers and washing machines—highly aristocratic articles which no one ever uses for the purpose of making a living—there is an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. Mangles and wringers and washing machines, which some poor people have to use in order to make a living, are placed on the same plane as furs and other luxuries. A broad principle for an Australian Tariff is to put the highest duty

on luxuries; to put the moderate and middle rates upon articles which fluctuate between luxuries and necessities; and to put the lowest charges upon the necessities of life, and on articles and raw materials which our factories and people use. That is a broad principle of taxation which I can understand.

Mr. McCOLL.—But the right honorable and learned member did not carry it out when he had the chance.

Mr. REID.—I am not talking to my honorable friend to-night. I know that he reads a certain newspaper, and that he is where he was ten years ago. He will learn some years hence that in 1896 I reduced the Tariff of New South Wales, and made it much smaller than the Tariff of Great Britain.

Mr. CROUCH.—But kept the duty on sugar.

Mr. REID.—When I explain to my honorable friend that I made the free-trade sun to rise he mentions some little spot upon it in the shape of a sugar duty. I am not perfect yet. The Minister for Trade and Customs, while he was in this broken-up, emotional state, actually led most of us to believe that he was putting no duty on agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural machinery and implements.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did not do anything of the sort.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable gentleman went very near it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I said it was 15 per cent.

Mr. REID.—When the Government talked about having a free list of £6,000,000 and £5,000,000—

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; £6,000,000 and £2,000,000.

Mr. REID.—If the Australian Parliament can afford to have a free list of £8,000,000, it can afford to leave agricultural machinery free. It can afford to leave as free as possible articles which the men engaged in agricultural industries need—at least I should think so. There are a hundred other articles here. Why, sir, here is a humble little industry—the blacksmith's shop—and yet we have the enormous duty of 7s. per cwt. on horse-shoe nails. Here is a lively democratic proposition—it is a Victorian one. This is a Victorian Tariff.

Mr. CROUCH.—No.

Mr. REID.—It is a Victorian Tariff with a few of the rough edges pared off, and that is why my right honorable friend dare not mention a word about it. For the first time in the history of a financial exposition the Minister said everything about everything but what the duties were going to be.

Mr. CROUCH.—And that is why the right honorable and learned member is against it.

Mr. REID.—No; I had an opportunity of reading it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Misreading it.

Mr. CROUCH.—The right honorable and learned member is always against Victoria.

Mr. REID.—I am not at all against Victoria.

Mr. CROUCH.—On every occasion.

Mr. REID.—I believe that a free-trade and revenue Tariff is a good thing for a country. I was the first to give Victoria the benefit of our free borders, and if that is the way a man shows his hatred of the hard-working artisans of Victoria it is a very generous way of doing it. I did more for Victoria in that one generous act than the honorable and learned member will do in 1,000 years.

Mr. CROUCH.—The right honorable and learned member always insults Victoria.

Mr. REID.—No; it is because I do not appreciate the honorable member.

Mr. CROUCH.—The want of appreciation is mutual.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member must understand that the Victorians have a little better sense than he has. I guarantee that I can go through Victoria from end to end, and find myself among friends. They know that I am no enemy of theirs. I happen to have strong views, and, unlike too many public men in Victoria who are free-traders, I do not conceal them. If half the free-traders in Victoria had kept to their faith, and spoken up for it, they would have had precious little protection in the State to-day. I come back to this item of 7s. per cwt. on horse-shoe nails. Is not that a preposterous, cruel charge? What does it mean? There are a man and a boy somewhere in Melbourne to be provided for. Here again is another thing which the Minister concealed from the committee—in the midst of his emotion he forgot to tell the committee that he is charging a duty of 8s. a cwt. on twine.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is a very old duty.

Mr. REID.—It is in Victoria.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And in South Australia, too.

Mr. REID.—Oh! I wonder the right honorable and learned gentleman did not shed a tear over that, because the increased cost of this binding twine may take away half the profit from some farmers that do not have many bushels to the acre; 8s. a cwt. on this very necessary article of commerce—a real first-class high democratic duty! That sort of Tariff will not suit us a bit.

Mr. GLYNN.—That is the Victorian rate, not the South Australian.

Mr. REID.—Of course, and that is why they buried this paper until the last moment, and split it up into sixteen divisions. Why, they cannot even let blacking off under 20 per cent. Now we come to another proposal of this marvellous democratic Minister for Trade and Customs. I ask honorable members to look at item 84. This is really a high class luxury; this is a thing which only a few people can afford. The duty on china, parian and porcelain ware, and mosaic flooring is 20 per cent. *ad valorem*. I come now to a very humble member of the same family, though it would not be owned by the mosaic flooring. Earthenware, brown ware, and stone ware, 6d. per cubic foot—an asterisk—and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. That is what comes of this composite rate. I must look to see what the asterisk means.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Outside measurement.

Mr. REID.—It means measured outside. Stone, brown, and earthen ware must be measured outside the packages. Sixpence per cubic foot for the packages as well as the ware, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on the top of that! But I must admit that there is a free list for earthenware. I hope the committee will look at the free list of the earthenware which enters into the home of every person in Australia. These articles are exempt—spurs, stilts, and thimbles. My honorable and learned friend was on the stilts, and he was rigging the thimbles. Now we come to glassware. Thank Heaven, with the improved conditions now-a-days glassware is now common enough in the homes of the poorer classes. Glassware has another of these composite duties—they are composite like one

of the submarine destroyers; 8d. per cubic foot, another asterisk, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. Above that I observe seltzogenes and syphon bottles, 15 per cent. Do not let us forget that, while the commonest set of tumblers which comes into the poorest house will have to pay 8d. per cubic foot, measured outside the package, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, scientific instruments and apparatus, especially instruments for measuring the density of liquor, are on the free list. The brewer and the distiller can bring in free his scientific instruments for measuring the strength of his liquor, but the ordinary glass tumbler that goes into the home is to be taxed. What has glue done that it should be subject to a duty of 2d. a lb? What has starch done that it should be charged 2d. a lb? The Minister hides all these things away. Starch comes under the head of agricultural products. Starch wants to cling to the farmer. Starch and starch flours, including rice meal and rice, tapioca, and potato flours are charged a duty of 2d. a lb., which runs up to about 50 or 60 per cent. *ad valorem*. That is how these duties are hidden. I knew that this was the sort of proposal we should have. This clever schedule of averages is exactly what I predicted this Government would do. I said they would hide in some way the duties which are above what is called a moderate thing and this is the way they hide them—they put them into sixteen divisions, and give the average of the lot instead of stating what the duties really are. Under an average of 17 or 20 per cent. you may have duties of 100 per cent., but it is the average which the Minister takes. Silk goods and furs are to be subject to a duty of 15 per cent. I will come now to medicines. Some people laugh at these things, but I believe that if we can force a tear over the reapers and binders, we ought to show a little sympathy over these medicines, which the poorest of people use, and which sometimes they can ill afford to buy. Have we the silks and furs rate for medicines? Oh no. Medicines are put down at 25 per cent. What is the next item? Perfumery. Now we come to the tear of sympathy for the perfumery shops, for we have a 20 per cent. duty on perfumes. Just let us notice the duties on these delicacies and luxuries. We have 25 per cent. on medicines, patent and proprietary. We know that they

cannot be made in the Commonwealth, and that they must be imported. I suppose this is a revenue duty. Even medicines for animals come in under a duty of 25 per cent. Perfumery, including perfumed ammonia, camphor in blocks, toilet preparations, lanoline, glycerine, vaseline, and petroleum jelly not medicated are subject to a duty of 20 per cent. Now I come to the courageous attack of the democratic Minister for Trade and Customs on the newspapers. He took great credit to himself for having summoned up pluck enough to put a 10 per cent. duty on paper, and that is all he imposes on the newspaper supplies.

Mr. MAHON.—There is a duty on printers' ink.

Mr. REID.—Yes, but apart from that he lets them off everything else, even their linotype machines. Why should there be a 25 per cent. duty on medicines which are used by the poor, while linotype machines are allowed to come in free for the benefit of men who make great fortunes out of the people of this country? What sense or principle is there in that? I do not ask that the newspaper proprietors should be victimized in any way, but I do not understand the Tariff that imposes a duty of 10 per cent. on the paper used by the *Age*.

Mr. BARTON.—And by the *Argus*.

Mr. REID.—Yes; and by the *Argus* and by the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, too, for that matter, but it is the *Age* on which Ministers keep their eyes, for if David is out of temper they look very sour and glum. They know that they can depend on the honorable members behind them when he is all right, but they cannot depend upon them one moment afterwards. These linotype machines are brought in free—these machines which displace labour. Surely the printers have enough to struggle against in these scientific days without having machines which tend to restrict labour placed on the free list. Surely the Government might have put the starch and the mangle of the washerwoman on the free list alongside of the linotype. There are a number of other items here to which I might refer, but I will not detain the committee at present. There are heavy duties on a large number of machines, as detailed at page 7 of the Tariff, but I am always afraid that my right honorable friend, the Minister of Trade and Customs, may have some mysterious heading about a

proclamation somewhere. Here we find that engines, boilers, pumps, machines, machinery not elsewhere included, also screws not elsewhere included, axles, springs, and plated and mixed metalware, including plated cutlery is subject to a duty of 25 per cent *ad valorem*. I see that they have plated cutlery along with the boilers. Here again the Government are striking at the great leading pioneer industries of Australia when they place a duty on machinery. There are many other defects in the Tariff to which I shall have to refer later on. Take furniture, which covers a large number of necessities, and we find a duty of 20 per cent. on that. Talking about protection, I shall tell the committee later on the cost of transit of such articles as furniture between Europe and Australia, which represent 50 or 60 per cent. *ad valorem*. It costs persons who wish to send their furniture here 50 or 60 per cent. on the prime cost before it can be landed at our ports, and then there is to be a duty of 20 per cent. When we go into these matters and really work them out, we find that the obstacle of distance in itself affords tremendous protection, especially on things like earthenware and other brittle goods, and articles which take up great space in the ship's hold. These goods are all very expensive, and the cost of transit runs up to 60, 70, and 100 per cent. before they are landed here. There is no sound state of industry disclosed if these high duties on top of the heavy charges I have mentioned are warranted. We all wish, from our various points of view, to encourage local industry, and we all see the value of taking action in that direction, but we must pay some regard to the people who are already toiling in the industries now established here. We must not make living too dear for the people who are engaged in our great industries, because if we do we shall place them in such a position that they cannot compete with people employed in similar industries elsewhere. We have had some talk about bonuses from the Minister for Trade and Customs, who has told us of the things he is going to do at some other time, but what is the use of trying to bamboozle the public in that way? Why does the Minister not say he will put duties on at once, not upon the necessities of the poor, but upon those who have means? This Tariff, I venture to say, is a mean edition of the Victorian Tariff. There is

Mr. Reid,

not quite the same pluck evidenced—well, there was no pluck displayed in fixing a protectionist Tariff in Victoria, because all the people were running the same way, and the politicians were all on the safe side of the fence.

Mr. CROUCH.—I suppose that is why we are protectionists.

Mr. REID.—No, I do not say that.

Mr. CROUCH.—The right honorable member has said it before.

Mr. REID.—Well, if I did, I was probably right. I desire to say that I think it my duty to point out that this is not a revenue Tariff at all, but a thoroughly protectionist Tariff. I admit that the rates are a little lower than those provided for in the Victorian Tariff—some of them, but not all. I think there are a few 35 per cent. lines in the Victorian Tariff, but as far as the Ministry have gone, they have constructed a Victorian Tariff.

Mr. BARTON.—That is not a fact, and it has not the remotest relation to a fact.

Mr. REID.—I think it has. I admit I have not had the advantage of looking over the Tariff—

Mr. BARTON.—Then why does the right honorable member speak before he knows?

Mr. REID.—I wish the right honorable gentleman would allow me to finish my sentence—it was his rudeness that led him to make that remark.

Mr. BARTON.—Then I apologise; but the right honorable gentleman owes me a thousand apologies.

Mr. REID.—I was about to say I had not the opportunities of looking over the Tariff that the Prime Minister has had. I have had opportunities of looking over it, however—thanks to the right honorable gentleman's courtesy. The right honorable gentleman does not touch these things unless they come along his way, but I have made a study of them, and he must give me the credit of being tolerably familiar with the Victorian Tariff. I was able to recognise an old friend when I saw this Tariff. I do not say that the Government have slavishly copied the whole of it, but I say that the Tariff bears the impression of their having done that as far as they dared do it. It is a Tariff in regard to which I hold a very strong opinion, because it seems to me that it violates every principle which we should have in view. Of

course, I have not had the advantage of looking closely into all the items, but I feel confident that when honorable members have time to study this Tariff in the light of the duties of the other States it will be found that it approximates very closely to the Tariff of Victoria. I recognise in the composite rates some of the special features of the Victorian Tariff. But whether it is the Victorian Tariff or not, I have no doubt whatever that it is framed in such a way that it will involve Australia in all sorts of financial embarrassments. The Government themselves admit that they do not exactly know what its effect will be. I do not blame them for that, because there are a number of influences which will be at work when the whole of the Commonwealth is thrown open, and which no man can absolutely gauge. Consequently, I have no harsh words to use in reference to that aspect of the matter. But, so far as I can see at present, this Tariff is absolutely one which Parliament cannot accept if honorable members are true to their professions before the people. It is a Tariff which the people of Australia do not want. It is unmistakably protectionist. It is a Tariff which puts protection first and revenue last. Whilst it contains a thousand contrivances to destroy the revenue, there is no proper system shown to adjust even the revenue duties, in regard to which there is no temptation even to be a protectionist. There is not the slightest disposition shown to graduate the scale of the revenue duties in the order of necessities and luxuries. In the case of luxuries I think that we might well have a high duty, but in the case of necessities I would go as low as possible, whilst in regard to implements which are used by the agricultural classes, by the miners, and by those who are engaged in the pioneer industries of Australia, I would put them on the free list, if I had no other free list. This Tariff is, in my opinion, radically bad, and it seems to me that it is one which it will be impossible for this Parliament to accept. At the same time, I do not wish to say my last word upon the matter, because it is one which I shall take into careful consideration in the light of the material which has been furnished by the Government, and in the light of all the study which I have made of this subject.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—At this hour of the

evening I do not intend to trouble myself to reply to the speech of the leader of the Opposition, and the more so because honorable members, who may not be aware of it, may be assured that he has only given us a very small sample, and that he is going to appear in bulk next week. Moreover, whilst listening very carefully to all that he has said, I have found that the care which I bestowed upon his utterances is not at all reflected in any care which he has bestowed upon the Tariff, and that the evidences of an utter want of consideration, and indeed of ignorance of the whole subject which he has been debating are so plain that they may be left to the calm reading of honorable members in *Hansard*. I shall not trouble myself therefore except to say that, whilst the right honorable and learned member has been so very careful in pointing out how ill we have behaved to those who have to earn their money by the sweat of their brow, he has been particularly sympathetic towards the patent medicine vendor. He does not want him to be taxed, because he knows very well that the taxation falls to a certain extent—and perhaps to a larger extent—upon him than upon the poor washerwoman, whose troubles he wishes to champion for the first time. We are not very much concerned about the pathos with which he deals with pilules, the tears which he wastes upon tablets, the sympathy which he bestows upon salves, or the plaintive manner in which he speaks of poultices. We have had a sample of the right honorable and learned member, but not as much as we are going to get presently, because this rhodomontade—this waste of public time in cheap jokery instead of attention to public business—is going to be redoubled and multiplied over and over again, as honorable members will find when he speaks next week. It is not worth while troubling this committee with any further reply to his speech to-night, because there is not a point in the Tariff which he has shaken, for the plain reason that he has shown he has not understood the subject about which he was talking. He has shown no more understanding of that subject in his criticism than we shall get from him when he makes his more lengthy speech. I shall have time to canvass his criticisms when he makes them in earnest, if he ever does so. But we have not found him making his criticisms in earnest to-night, because it is

too uncharitable to suppose that he really meant half of what he said. As it is nearly half-past 10 o'clock I shall ask my honorable friend to report progress. Then we shall have time next Tuesday, when we resume, to digest the bulk sample in the same way that we have been amused by the small sample which we have had to-night.

Mr. THOMSON (North Sydney).—I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the importance of the Tariff, of the mass of material which the Ministry have laid before honorable members, and of the fact that a week's adjournment is a very ordinary one for a simple alteration in the Tariff of a State, he will consent to adjourn the debate for a day longer than is proposed.

Mr. BARTON.—I cannot do it.

Mr. THOMSON.—There is plenty of work for the House to go on with. That being so, I think that, under the circumstances, and especially as the matter will have to be discussed with a full knowledge, the Prime Minister might agree to adopt the course which I suggest. He has already complained of what he has called the errors of the leader of the Opposition, and I would point out that, to get a full knowledge of all the figures which have been placed before the committee, little enough time is offered by an adjournment till Wednesday of next week.

Mr. FISHER.—Why till Wednesday?

Mr. THOMSON.—One reason is that it will give honorable members, and especially those who have to go away, extra time to consider the matter at the beginning of next week.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable member is not bound to speak on Tuesday.

Mr. THOMSON.—But honorable members generally would thus have a fuller opportunity of considering the matter.

Mr. BARTON.—There will be plenty of members ready to speak on Tuesday.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Prime Minister does not know that. At any rate he would lose nothing by adjourning the debate till Wednesday of next week, because there is plenty of business to occupy the time of honorable members in the interim.

Progress reported.

ADJOURNMENT.

INTER-STATE COMMISSION BILL — TARIFF RECOMMENDATIONS OF CHAMBER OF MANUFACTURES.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

I would like to intimate that although leave has been given to sit to-morrow, we do not intend to bring on the resumption of the debate until Tuesday next.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Make it Wednesday.

Mr. BARTON.—I shall not make it Wednesday, because those who wish to see honest legislation accomplished before Christmas will certainly support us in trying to make the best use of our time. I am sure the honorable member for Macquarie will rejoice to hear that, subject to formal business, we propose to-morrow to go on with the third reading of the Immigration Restriction Bill, and after that, with the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH (Parkes).—I would like to ask the Prime Minister again when he intends to lay on the table of the House the proposed amendments in the Inter-State Commission Bill? The Prime Minister told the House some time ago that as soon as the second reading of the Bill came before us we should have those amendments.

Mr. BARTON.—I did not say that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I understood the right honorable gentleman to say so. At all events I would point out that it is impossible for an honorable member to make a second reading speech unless he knows the ultimate form the Bill is going to take. It may be that a line of criticism would be completely avoided by our knowing that the objectionable features of the Bill are to be removed.

Mr. BARTON.—I do not want to hold the amendments back unnecessarily.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—I should like to indorse the remarks of the honorable and learned member for Parkes. If I mistake not, I moved the adjournment of the debate on the Inter-State Commission Bill, and it seems to me a perfect farce to prepare a speech on the second reading of a Bill when probably there will be drastic amendments which, if carried, will remove all ground of complaint.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall try to let honorable members have the amendments to-morrow.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—I should like to draw the Prime Minister's attention to a promise which was practically made some six weeks ago, that, when the papers dealing with the Tariff were laid on the table of the House, he would also lay on the table the recommendations of the Chamber of Manufactures which the Minister for Trade and Customs received some time back. These recommendations have been asked for several times, and it would be interesting to have them in addition to all the useful information we now have?

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—With regard to the Inter-State Commission Bill, there is no desire to hold back any information, and I shall endeavour to have the amendments distributed amongst honorable members before the debate is resumed.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—To-morrow?

Mr. BARTON.—Possibly to-morrow; it is only a question of whether the amendments are ready for distribution.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Perhaps the Prime Minister would not mind giving some general intimation of the direction the amendments are going to take.

Mr. BARTON.—Honorable members will see the amendments to-morrow. They are, I think, in print, but a sufficient number will have to be prepared for distribution. As to laying on the table copies of amendments suggested by outside bodies, I am not disposed to accede to a request of the kind, because these are not public documents, and honorable members have the same opportunity of obtaining them as any one else. I understand, however, that something has taken place on the question in the other House, and before I make an answer, I shall confer with the honorable and learned senator who leads the business in the Senate.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.25 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 9 October, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITION.

Senator PLAYFORD presented a petition from 222 persons in the State of South

Australia, praying the Senate to take measures for placing the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Federal capital under the exclusive control of the Commonwealth.

Received, and read.

INTER-STATE FREE-TRADE.

Senator MILLEN.—In view of the statement made that from to-day Inter-State duties would cease, I desire to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council, without notice, if he is aware that the Customs officers at Wodonga are still searching passengers' luggage?

Senator O'CONNOR.—I was not aware of the fact; but now that the honorable member has mentioned it to me, I shall refer it to the proper authorities.

PAPERS.

Senator DRAKE laid upon the table—

Return to an order with regard to telegraphic rates.

Ordered to be printed.

Proposed Federal Tariff as laid on the table of the House of Representatives.

Index to statements in the Tariff.

Percentage of estimated revenue to value of estimated imports, &c.

Index to free goods.

Rates of duty under Federal Tariff; also rates of duty in the several States of the Commonwealth, and in Canada and New Zealand.

Papers distributed by the Right Honorable Sir George Turner on the occasion of opening the first Federal Budget.

Estimates of expenditure for the year ending 30th June, 1902.

Estimates of revenue for the year ending 30th June, 1902.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

The PRESIDENT.—I beg to lay on the table the third report of the Standing Orders Committee, the minutes of its proceedings, the proposed new standing orders, and a memorandum by the chairman stating what it has endeavoured—I hope, successfully—to do. I ask the Clerk to read the report.

Report read by the Clerk as follows—

The Standing Orders Committee have the honour to report to the Senate as follows:—

That they have held eleven meetings, and have very carefully considered the draft standing orders referred to them by the Senate.

That they have re-arranged the original draft of the proposed standing orders, and have re-drafted several of the chapters.

That, pursuant to leave granted, they have communicated with the Standing Orders Committee appointed by the House of Representatives, with a view to secure uniformity, so far as

possible, in the standing orders of the two Houses; and this result has been arrived at in most cases.

That they recommend the Senate to agree to the proposed standing orders as finally settled.

R. C. BAKER, Chairman.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).

—I move—

That the documents laid on the table by the President be printed.

I do not propose at present to give notice of any particular day for taking further action. I think it is better that the Senate should have time to carefully consider the standing orders, and then at a later date, when the state of public business permits, I intend to give notice of a motion which will give the Senate the opportunity of adopting the standing orders, after such discussion and in such way as it may think fit.

Senator SIR FREDERICK SARGOOD.—In the meantime we can give notice of any proposed amendments.

Senator O'CONNOR.—That may be done as in the case of a Bill.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

ASSENT TO BILLS.

Royal assent to the following Bills reported—

Excise on Beer Bill.

Distillation Bill.

Excise Bill.

BILL FILES.

Senator HIGGS.—I desire to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council, without notice, whether he does not think that the Government has exposed itself to a little quiet sarcasm in supplying the Chamber with Bill files made in Holland, when similar files might have been obtained of Australian manufacture?

Senator O'CONNOR.—I do not know anything about it. That is a matter which somebody else will attend to.

INTER-STATE FREE-TRADE.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia).—If this is the proper time I desire to make an observation on a matter of the very first importance, and which probably the Senate will agree with me, ought not to be passed over in silence, and to put myself in order I shall

conclude with the usual motion. I need hardly say that I refer particularly to the advent of Inter-State free-trade. There is no necessity for offering any explanation or apology for calling attention, in fact inviting, a recognition in this Chamber, even in this formal way, of the accomplishment of that great end, because the step which a few minutes ago was taken by the Postmaster-General accentuates the new position of the Senate in relation to all these financial questions. My honorable and learned friend has laid on the table, of what stands—if I may use the expression for this occasion only—in the position of an Upper Chamber certain papers thereby recognising, for the first time in history, its absolute, active power in relation to the financial ways and means of the Commonwealth, and of its interest in the taxation of the country. A remark that was made in my hearing, and in the hearing of Senator O'Connor at lunch, struck me very forcibly. A gentleman said—"I feel this morning that with the legal termination of border duties I am for the first time an Australian." That remark expressed a perfect truth. Whilst undoubtedly the people of Australia have united in a great Commonwealth, based upon freedom and equality over all its vast territory, that union in itself is merely the first step to the fulfilment of the national destiny which we all look forward to. It is in itself merely the outcome of the Australian aspiration to be one people. The assembling and the opening of Parliament was, so to speak, the first outward and visible sign of that union. But, after all, the Parliament is merely the instrument created by the people to work out their material and moral welfare, which is the harvest we all hope to reap, and the first-fruits of that harvest I regard as Inter-State free-trade. It is the first of the absolute material advantages which we hope to enjoy under federal union. Therefore, I think it behoves us to recognise the initiation of that great policy for which the Australian people hope to derive so much, and that from this day forth, I hope so long as the Constitution endures, we shall have free and unrestricted interchange throughout all these States. I think we can do no less on this occasion than congratulate the Ministry, as I do most sincerely, so far as that matter is concerned.

Senator HIGGS.—Protection against the world!

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am sure that my honorable friend will not expect me to assent to the latter part of his interjection; but what has been done to-day is a matter to which I think we may all assent without any reservation, so far as controversial views are concerned. I may also, as Senator Higgs has made that remark, congratulate the free-traders upon the triumph of their policy and their principles, and upon the culmination of struggles in the past—quite irrespective of federation—for absolute free-trade within our borders. Whilst congratulating the Ministry, I may say that I have never doubted myself that the introduction of the Tariff and the collection of duties under it, constitute an “Imposition” within the meaning of the Constitution, so as to bring in its train Inter-State free-trade. I am very glad, indeed, that the Ministry have followed that view, and that they have discarded what I venture to think was the narrower and more technical contention, that there could be no imposition without a legal enactment. We have had controversies on minor matters, and shall have controversies on greater matters in the future. The Tariff, to which reference has been made, affords a wide and rich field for controversy. But this particular matter of Inter-State free-trade is not, it seems to me, open to controversy; and I believe that it will be acclaimed everywhere and by all men as, using the expression I have already employed, the first fruits, materially speaking, of our union. To put myself in order, I move—

That the Senate at its rising adjourn until half-past 10 o'clock a.m. to-morrow.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—Perhaps it would not be quite courteous on my part if I were to allow the observations of the honorable and learned senator who has just resumed his seat, to pass without some comment. I desire to say at once that I accept, on behalf of the Government, his congratulations in the same spirit in which they have been offered. Probably honorable senators will recognise the difficulties that beset the Government in establishing Inter-State free-trade from the very commencement of the collection of the duties under the proposed new Tariff. We were placed in the position of either having to forego what we believed to be the universal desire of Australians, or to omit many of the technical precautions for the

protection of the revenue which are generally adopted in similar cases. We have trusted to Australians of every shade of opinion to support us in carrying out what we have rightly interpreted to be the desire of Australia, and we shall in the legislation which has to be passed expect—and I am certain we shall have—the full support of my honorable friends opposite of every section of fiscal opinion in giving us those powers which are necessary for the protection of the revenue in the face of the step which we have taken. Before I sit down I should like to say that I altogether object to the suggestion—perhaps implied—in the honorable and learned senator's observations that the free-traders of Australia have had a monopoly of the desire to bring about Inter-State free-trade. It has been one of the strongest desires on the part of those who advocate a protectionist policy for Australia, that it should be accompanied by free-trade amongst the States themselves; and they have never advocated protection with any other than the one object of securing the whole of Australia for the Australian producer and manufacturer, and placing such duties as we may think necessary for the protection of our industries and producers upon the foreigner who sends goods to us for sale. I do not desire, in saying this, to in any way throw the apple of discord into this assembly, or to detract in any way from the gracious words my honorable and learned friend has made use of; but I think it necessary to say now that the policy of Inter-State free-trade is just as much a part of our policy as of the policy of honorable senators who sit opposite.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—Before Senator Symon's motion is put to the Senate, I should like to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council whether it is to be understood that Inter-State free-trade includes free intercourse between one part of the Commonwealth and another?

Senator O'CONNOR.—I should like to understand what the honorable senator means.

Senator WALKER.—For instance, are Chinese to be at liberty to come into Victoria from New South Wales without let or hindrance? My reason for asking the question is, that at the time of the elections for the Federal Convention, I was waited upon by a deputation of Chinese who wished to know whether after federation was accomplished any Chinaman who came

into Australia at one port would be at liberty to travel all over the Commonwealth. I see that some correspondence has appeared in the newspapers on the subject, and it seems to me that this is a good opportunity for asking for an explanation from the Government in regard to it.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—I have seen in the newspapers the suggestion that under one section of the Constitution immediately on the imposition of uniform duties by collection under the Tariff just announced there is absolute freedom for Chinese and other coloured aliens to pass from one end of Australia to the other. That contention appears to my mind to be absolutely ludicrous. There is no ground whatever for it. On the contrary, my opinion—and it is also the opinion of my colleagues—is clearly this: that the State Acts now existing with regard to alien immigration remain in force until the Commonwealth displaces them by legislation covering the same field.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—As this matter has been brought up I desire to say that I also am pleased with the course the Government have adopted—a course which I fancy I was the only member of this Senate to suggest, though I never consulted a member of the Government about it. Contentions have been raised as to the legality of the procedure that has been followed by the Government. I always thought that the whole position, although unconstitutional, was constitutionally unconstitutional, and had become so recognised by long usage as to be as much a part of our law as if it were written in our statute-book.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I only rise to call attention to a small point which, if neglected, may perhaps derogate from that absolute Inter-State free-trade which our Constitution gives us. I understand that it has been brought under the notice of the Government, and that no notice has been taken of it. I feel it to be necessary on behalf of the producer of Tasmania to mention the matter, as, unless attention is given to it, that freedom of trade which we have a right to expect under the Constitution, will not be effected. I am referring to the question of the wharfage rates which are now charged in Victoria and in other States of the Commonwealth. If Melbourne

charges no wharfage whatever upon potatoes coming from Warrnambool, and 6d. or 1s. a ton upon those coming from the North-West Coast of Tasmania, there is a slight restriction upon the free interchange of goods. The people of Tasmania will, I am quite sure, think that they have no right to be taxed 1s. a ton wharfage on their potatoes if the potatoes from any other port of Victoria are charged nothing. All the States are now one under the Commonwealth, and I hope we shall always remain one and indissoluble. I therefore hope that the Vice-President of the Executive Council will see to this point, and arrange in some way that wharfage charges shall not be an exception to Inter-State free-trade.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Are not the wharfage dues levied by the States?

Senator DOBSON.—I believe that in Victoria part of the dues go to the Melbourne Harbor Trust and part to the State.

Senator BEST.—One-sixth go to the State of Victoria, and the balance to the Harbor Trust.

Senator DOBSON.—It appears to me that if that condition of things is allowed to remain we absolutely derogate from freedom of trade between the States. I think my honorable friend, Senator Symon, was right in moving the adjournment of the House to mark this historic occasion, and on behalf of my State I reciprocate the gracious words which have fallen from him. I hope that what has been done this day will inaugurate an era of wonderful prosperity for the whole Commonwealth of Australia.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

Senator DOBSON asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

Whether any correspondence has taken place between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies as to the position the Commonwealth will be placed in with regard to the most favoured nation clauses of commercial treaties between Great Britain and other nations, if the Commonwealth, in framing a Tariff, give a preference in the rate of duty to goods imported from Great Britain over goods imported from foreign countries?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The answer to the honorable member's question is as follows :—

Yes, such correspondence has taken place, from which it appears that the result of the action of

Canada in giving fiscal preference to British goods has been to deprive Canada of her former most favoured nation treatment by Germany, though this is still enjoyed by Great Britain.

Senator DOBSON.—I should like to point out that I have seen it contended most strongly, from a legal point of view, that the British Government were not quite correct in giving way to the German contention that Canada had lost her claim to the benefit of the most favoured nation clause by giving preference to Great Britain.

FEDERAL ELECTIONS BILL.

Senator HIGGS asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

1. Does the Government propose to first introduce the Federal Elections Bill in the Senate?
2. Will the Minister please state the probable date on which the Bill will be introduced?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The following are the answers to the honorable senator's questions:—

1. Yes.
2. As soon as the state of business will permit.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CUSTOMS DUTIES.

Senator MILLEN (for Senator PULSFORD) asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

With reference to the statement made by the Vice-President on 31st May, that suggestions for fixing Customs duties had been received from several quarters, and that "there will be no objection to laying the suggestions named on the table as soon as the Tariff resolutions have been introduced in the House of Representatives," will the Vice-President take the necessary steps to enable him to lay these suggestions on the table?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The answer to the honorable senator's question is as follows:—

Some 300 of these suggestions have been received, and are now being arranged with the view of laying on the table all those which can be of any public interest.

COMMONWEALTH FLAG AND SEAL.

Senator PEARCE asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

1. Whether it is the intention of the Government to officially recognise the flag and seal to which prizes were awarded at the recent competitions as the flag and seal of the Commonwealth?

2. Before such recognition, will the Government give the Senate an opportunity to give an opinion as to the suitability of such flag and seal?

Senator O'CONNOR.—In answer to the honorable senator, I have to say—

The Imperial Government, through the Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, requested this Government to suggest designs for the flag and seal. With the view of suggesting such designs, the recent competitions were held. The prize designs, and possibly others, will be forwarded to the Imperial Government. The final decision does not rest with the Commonwealth.

ELECTIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS COMMITTEE.

SPECIAL REPORT: CHAIRMAN'S VOTE.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—In accordance with the contingent notice I have given, I move—

That in the opinion of the Senate, the Chairman of the Elections and Qualifications Committee is entitled to exercise a deliberative, and not a casting vote.

The Committee of Elections and Qualifications have sent up to the Senate the following special report:—

The committee of Elections and Qualifications, to whom the petition of Henry John Saunders against the return of Alexander Percival Matheson as a Senator for the State of Western Australia has been referred, have the honour to report that, at a meeting of the committee held on Thursday, 3rd October, 1901, a division of opinion having taken place as to whether the chairman had a deliberative vote or only a casting vote, the following resolution was adopted, viz.:—

"That the question as to whether the chairman of the committee is entitled to a deliberative vote, be referred to the Senate."

The committee, therefore, respectfully submit the question contained in the resolution for the decision of the Senate.

That, as I take it, is the only matter that is before the Senate, but of course it may incidentally involve also the question of the position of the chairman of other committees which might more properly than this, I think, be called select. The point before us is whether or not the South Australian standing order referring to select committees and to the chairmen of such committees has application in this case. That standing order provides that in the case of select committees the chairman shall have a casting and not a deliberative vote. My motion is, that in the opinion of this Senate, the chairman has a deliberative and has not a casting

vote. When we adopted the standing orders of South Australia, except so far as they did not conform to the Constitution, we excepted amongst others this particular case, in which I am going to submit to the Senate that the provision is not conformable to the Constitution. I look upon this as a question of privilege concerning us very much, and it is for us to say whether by any power of our own we are able to deprive any member of the Senate of the vote which the Constitution gives him. The Constitution in this connexion makes different provisions in the case of the Senate and House of Representatives. In neither case, so far as I know, is there any provision at all recognising committees or referring to them. The Constitution refers to the House and its President, and to the House and its Speaker accordingly as it deals with the Senate or with the House of Representatives; but as far as all subsidiary machinery, taking the form of a committee of the whole House and select committees, is concerned, the Act is silent, leaving that to be worked out by the Houses themselves; but, as I submit, to be worked out so as to do justice under the Constitution and to sacrifice the right of no honorable member. My submission is that under the Constitution we have no power by any standing order to interfere with the right of any honorable senator to vote in any place in which he is exercising legislative functions under the Constitution, whether these legislative functions come from a direct grant under the Commonwealth Act, or through the delegation of authority from the Senate to a committee of the whole House, or to a select committee. From all I can read the rule is invariable: committees of the House and select committees follow the rule of the House. If the Speaker of a House has a casting and not a deliberative vote, so the Chairman of Committees has a casting and not a deliberative vote, and the chairman of any select committee, who is only the nominee of those whom the House has appointed, has also only a casting and not a deliberative vote. On the other hand, if the gentleman presiding in the chair has a deliberative and not a casting vote, so the Chairman of Committees has a deliberative and not a casting vote, and, following right through, the chairman of a select committee has a deliberative and

not a casting vote. There seems upon the face of it to be, as there always does in my experience, a good deal of reason and sense in the authority which is so well established. In the history of the Imperial law we all know what has occurred. It is an unwritten law, not depending upon standing orders, but depending on constitutional usage. When, in Queen Elizabeth's time, I think, it was determined by the House, there being a division in the House of Commons of 65 against 66, and the Speaker, proposing to vote with the 65 to make the numbers equal, it was held that he could not do that, and Cecil then said that, although he did not like it at all, yet he was afraid they would have to submit to it and say no more about it. So the rule has run right through the history of the House of Commons from then until now. It has never been disputed, and it is the rule that the Speaker has no original voting power but only a casting vote. So also they have carried the rule through to the subsidiary divisions of the House, extending it to the Chairman of Committees of the Whole, and to the Chairmen of Select Committees. On the other hand, the Lords' view is entirely contrary. The Lord Chancellor never had anything but a deliberative vote. The Chairmen of the Lords' Committee, following that analogy, never had anything but a deliberative vote. The Chairman of any Committee of the Lords, following the same analogy, never had anything but a deliberative vote. We shall go now to America to find out what they do there. In America, even in the House of Representatives, the Speaker's vote is deliberative when essential. The position in America is that the Speaker is not bound to vote unless in the case of equal voting or unless in the case where his vote will make the voting equal, and in which case the motion fails. Then let us go to Canada—because this matter is in a nutshell, which ever way we decide it—let us go to Canada, where the Constitution is more akin to our own, although of course I admit there are differences, because the Senate is not elected in the same way as here.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Nor with equal representation.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—But in Canada the same rule prevails. They all lay down the same rule whether we take *May* or *Bourinot*. It matters not what authority we take we always find this

invariable principle laid down, that committees, whether of the whole House or select committees, always follow the rule of the House. And surely that is logic? I do not want to discuss the reasons for the difference between the Houses on the question of the President being able to vote deliberatively in one place and not in another. I think they are the most haphazard sort of statements, and are not capable of a moment's very serious argument. The only thing we can say is that they have been sanctified by time, and have become a sort of common law by continual usage. But as for any reason in them, I have never been able to find any substantial reason why the Speaker of the House of Commons, because he sits in the chair, should lose his deliberative vote, or why the gentleman who sits under him as Chairman of Committees should lose his vote. Still that is the law, and we have to take it as it is. So we have made a law that in the House of Representatives the Speaker shall only have a casting, and not a deliberative vote. No doubt another place will, not because it is in any statute, but by mere analogy flowing from precedent, adopt the same rule with regard to the Chairman of Committees of the Whole, and of select committees. But with us it is exactly the opposite. We are, from this point of view, identically in the position taken by the House of Lords. The President has no casting vote, but he has a deliberative vote, and if the President voting makes the voting even, then everything is presumed in favour of the negative.

Senator GLASSEY.—They have no standing orders in the House of Lords.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—No.

Senator GLASSEY.—Just so. That makes all the difference.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I cannot talk about more than two or three things at a time.

Senator MILLEN.—It is a bit awkward.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It may be awkward, but I hope we are discussing this question fairly, and in order to arrive at a just conclusion, as it is a question affecting the government of the House. No doubt the House of Representatives in America has a standing order providing for it. In Canada they have not. There it is usage. But the standing order in America is only the writing down of that which was law already. The Commons' practice arises

from no standing order; for greater certainty they reduced it to a standing order, but it is like an immense number of statutes which are simply the affirmation of common law, and which, for greater certitude, and so that the people should know where to look for the law, have been reduced to writing and passed in a statute. The position was no different, and the result was the same. Senator GLASSEY says, "Yes, but here we have a standing order." True, we have a standing order that provides that the President shall not have a vote.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No; that was excepted. It is not one of our standing orders.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It was not excepted in words.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Yes; excepted in words.

Senator O'CONNOR.—And there is also a general exception.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is inconsistent with the Constitution.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—There was certainly no exception so far as the Chairman of the Committee of the whole Senate is concerned.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He is excepted by the standing order itself.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—If our laws are made by discussion not ending in resolution, then they are upon a very uncertain basis. The acceptance of the standing orders of the South Australian House of Assembly was done in a very hurried manner. There was very little discussion about it. The recommendation was for—

The temporary adoption by the Senate of the standing orders of the House of Assembly of South Australia, with the necessary verbal alterations, with the exception of Orders Nos. 2 to 35, 214, and 402 to 404, and such other order or portion of orders as are inconsistent with the Constitution.

The test is whether this standing order is inconsistent with the Constitution. My contention is that it is. We have, without any argument, absolutely ignored the standing order with regard to the Chairman of Committees.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That matter is in the same standing order.

Senator CLEMENS.—It is all provided for.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—In Standing Order 385.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Is it excepted?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It expressly provides that the matter shall be decided in the same way as in the Senate.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I thought Standing Order, number 385, was not expected. These standing orders were accepted hurriedly—but without any intention of curtailing any constitutional rights that we possess—at a time when we wanted to get something certain to work upon, and with a view of adapting them to our needs, so far as we could. Although we used the words, “so far as are not inconsistent with this Constitution,” we did not mean to go so far. We meant to say—“So far as the same are applicable to our Constitution.” And we meant no more. We showed that on the first occasion that the question whether the Chairman of Committees was to have a deliberative or casting vote came up, for we did not decide the matter at all. We ignored the standing order; we said it was not applicable to the Senate, as compared with the House of Assembly, and we went on as a matter of course, without passing any resolution about it. The chairman has exercised his deliberative vote, as a matter of course.

Senator O’CONNOR.—The question was raised, and the chairman gave his decision which has not been appealed against.

Senator HIGGS.—The President agreed with the chairman.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Of course, we did not mean to tie ourselves hand and foot under the standing orders. We were working under a new machine, to which numbers of the standing orders were inapplicable, and honorable senators did not dream for a moment that they were adopting anything else than standing orders that were suitable to the altered conditions of the Senate compared with those of the South Australian House of Assembly. We meant to go no further, and on the first occasion that we considered the matter the chairman said—“I propose to exercise a deliberative vote.” That was assented to, although entirely against the standing orders.

Senator CLEMONS.—The chairman exercised a casting vote, which was against the standing orders, and it was corrected at my suggestion.

Senator O’CONNOR.—It was not a casting vote.

The PRESIDENT.—Perhaps it would be more convenient to refer to page 58 of the

Journal where honorable senators will find the actual decision.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The minute is—

A question of order arising, Senator Harney objecting to the chairman having given a casting vote, and stating his objection in writing, viz.,—“I raise as a point of order that the votes having been declared to be equal, the question should have passed in the negative, and that the Chairman of Committees had no power to determine the question by a casting vote, and in so doing, acted contrary to the Constitution,”

The Senate resumed, and the President took the chair.

And the Chairman of Committees having made his report,

The President ruled that the Chairman of Committees had voted in a way which did not conflict with the Constitution Act.

and so on. Since then the chairman has exercised a deliberative vote in all cases.

Senator CLEMONS.—He must do so. He cannot be in the Senate without exercising it.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Very well, we are agreed on that point. The chairman has always exercised a deliberative vote, and it has never been suggested that he should exercise a casting vote. I do not know whether he has had the chance of doing so or not.

Senator PEARCE.—Yes, there was one occasion when the votes were equal.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—When we were considering the South Australia Standing Orders, we considered them in reference to the Constitution to which they are applied. Anything in them which would have the effect of negating the right of any honorable senator to vote on any occasion on which he may exercise his legislative functions is essentially an attack on the Constitution, and an invasion of our rights. This is a question that concerns our rights and privileges equally, and it should be considered quite apart from feeling or prejudice. It is a question of absolute constitutional right. In the Standing Orders Committee, of which I was a member, and of which the President was chairman, the chairman always exercised a deliberative, and never a casting vote. Not that that can prove anything. I only mention it—

Senator CLEMONS.—For what it is worth.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I mention it as one of the circumstances showing inconsistency.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There is no inconsistency.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I mention it because it is worth very much.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable and learned senator said a moment ago that it was worth nothing.

Senator KEATING.—No; that it was not conclusive.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I said it was inconclusive. I never expect Senator Clemons to quote me exactly. I am arguing a pure question of law; but it is of very great importance to us, because it may be some time yet before we get our standing orders carried through. Really it comes to this, that having declared by the Constitution that there shall be no casting vote for the President, and having declared that, in spite of the standing orders, that applies not merely to the President but to the chairman as well, we are going to make the majority a mere matter of accident in select committees, depending on whether one honorable senator or another is voted to the chair. Why do we refer matters to select committees? Why do we appoint honorable senators on select committees? We do so because we have confidence in them. We ask them to inquire, but we do not necessarily ask them to agree. Their disagreement may be more creditable to them than too intense a concurrence. We ask them simply to inquire into the matter referred to them, and to give us the best of their opinion. If they cannot agree, and there is an equal division, then they should send the matter up to us and ask what is to be done. We can discharge a jury just as well as a Judge, if it cannot agree. We do not insist upon an improper verdict being given in order that a conclusion may be arrived at. We want them to advise us as to a right conclusion, but failing that, to give us the next best thing to it. I am treating this matter purely from an abstract point of view. I care not what the result may be. I cannot find any reference to it in *May*, but all the American and Canadian writers state that if a committee are evenly divided, it is their business to refer the matter to the House. It may be as much their business to be equally divided as to be agreed. There is no compulsion on them to arrive at a conclusion. They might be very dishonest members if they did. If they are unable to agree, they must report to the House from whom all their power is derived, and without whom they have no

authority. If this rule is to apply, when we have by our Constitution so emphatically laid down the cardinal principle that we will not follow the practice of the House of Commons, or the House of Assembly of any colony, but that the President shall have a deliberative and not a casting vote; if we are to refuse to recognise that principle, as running right through the Constitution, in each and every form in which the House may be resolved, by delegation or otherwise, whether in committee of the whole or a committee of a few, then we are going, by the incidental adoption for purposes of convenience, of standing orders inapplicable to our Constitution, to defeat the very first principle of the Commonwealth Act which distinguishes the position of the two Houses. That Act provides that in one House the presiding officer shall only have a deliberative vote, whilst in the other the vote shall be a casting one. I have the authorities here. I will quote them if necessary, but they merely state the proposition I mention. The point seems to me to be not a very difficult one, but it is a highly important one in considering whether under any circumstances, where the Constitution has so clearly laid down that every senator shall have his right wherever he is—the very position of dignity conferred incidentally on a senator should prevent the committee from having the advantage of his vote. I ask the Senate to remember the cardinal principle on which it depends. Are the resolutions of the committee to be dependent on the accident of what man is in the chair? Put one man in the chair, and there is a majority one way; put another man in the chair, and there is a majority the other way. And so this committee appointed to inquire into, and give its most serious attention to this business, and to advise the House carefully and deliberately, is to have superadded by its own initiation and its own internal dealing among itself, the wiping out of one of its number, and the man who happens to be selected for the position of greatest dignity in that particular meeting. Supposing that the chairman of the committee, finding himself in a position like this, should say—"I resign; perhaps you will appoint somebody else." I do not know anything to prevent him from resigning or from saying—"I shall not act any longer, appoint some one else." We might have a pretty pitch-and-toss sort of business, an up-and-down

sort of thing, dependent upon which chairman insisted upon remaining in his post.

Senator PLAYFORD.—You should have had a committee of seven.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It is a great pity that we did not appoint a seventh member the other day, and it would be a good thing to do it now. I hate to be in the position I am in. It has been very painful to me all through. I should be very glad to have a committee of seven.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why did not the honorable senator suggest it before? He approved of my amendment.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I did not.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator did not oppose it.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I am very glad that my honorable and learned friend mentions that, because he must have seen what occurred. He was not so far from me as not to see Senators Drake and O'Connor speak to me, and he must have heard me say—for I said it loudly—"my position is judicial."

Senator CLEMONS.—I heard nothing.

The PRESIDENT.—I think it would be better if Senator Downer took no notice of interjections.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—So far as the authorities are concerned *May's* proposition is clear enough.

Every question is determined in a Select Committee in the manner of the House to which it belongs.

He gives the different instances of the Lords and Commons. Bourinot, speaking of the Canadian rule, which is analagous to ours, says—

Every question is determined in a Select Committee in the same manner as in the House to which it belongs. . . . The rules that govern the conduct of the members in the House should govern them in committee. . . . It is the rule of the Lords that in their committees the chairman votes like any other Peer, and if the numbers be equal on a division, the question is negatived. *Semper presumitur pro negante*. It is the rule of the English Commons that the chairman of a select committee can only vote when there is an equality of voices. The practice of the English Houses prevails in the Senate and Commons. The same rules in fact obtain with respect to divisions in committee and in the House itself. . . . The Chairman signs the report only by way of authentication.

In the United States it is done by a special standing order, which was made so long ago

as 1789, but in which they followed the analogy of the place from which they came. It provides—and they have acted on it up to the present time—that the Speaker is not bound to vote except in elections by ballot, or except where the numbers are equal, or except where his vote would make the numbers equal, supposing that he voted with the minority. We have the precedent of the constitutional practice of every English-speaking nation under any circumstances in the least degree analagous to our own. We have the fact that we have adopted the usage of the House of Lords, that is in giving the President a deliberative and not a casting vote. We have the authority of every text writer, that that rule when established runs right through every committee from top to bottom—that is, that delegates are just in the same position as those who delegate. We have above all the high and true principle of justice to support us, and we have the strong common sense view that where we refer any inquiries to a committee, we should have the opinion of every member of it, and not allow the opinion of any one of them, however unworthy, to be shelved by some rule made by that body. The Senate cannot deprive me of my vote; it has no authority. The committee of the Senate cannot deprive me of my vote; it has no authority. In the same way a select committee is in no different position. Under these circumstances, I submit that the motion should be agreed to.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia).—This question, which was referred on my motion to the Senate is one which Senator Downer quite truly said is not very difficult, but is highly important. It is to me as plain as the daylight. It really seems to me on the material which he has very carefully and with great industry submitted, not to be arguable. He has argued it on general principles as though we have no standing orders, and as though there are no rules governing this question. With a great deal of what he said theoretically we may agree, and it satisfies me—and I think this is the conclusion which most honorable senators would draw from his speech—that it is a matter entirely to be dealt with by standing order. I have no doubt that, when we come to deal with the standing orders, we shall find that the subject is dealt with expressly. We have a standing order which does expressly

deal with it, and which has been acted upon by the Senate and by the committee itself during the long months it has existed. This is really an endeavour to repeal or to suspend the operation of that express standing order by an indirect motion which in terms—I do not know whether it is intentional or not—seems to confine it to this particular committee.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—This is not a select committee—that is what I mean.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—My honorable and learned friend has not suggested that, but he has said that incidentally it may involve the chairmen of other select committees, and the expression used in the motion confines its operation to this committee. That, of course, is not what we are discussing, and I wish to confine the matter as closely as possible to the settlement of the question which is remitted to the Senate for determination. Senator Downer said quite truly that it may be the duty of the select committee to disagree. Undoubtedly it may. He said—What do we send matters to select committees for? Matters are sent to select committees in order that they may investigate, and, to the best of their conscience and judgment, determine them by inquiry and report. My honorable and learned friend said that disagreement may be an advantage. Undoubtedly it may. He also said that if there is disagreement the Senate may discharge the jury as well as the judge. With that I agree, but we are not to invite disagreement. The Senate, undoubtedly, would have no recourse but to discharge the order appointing the committee after there was hopeless disagreement, and inasmuch as the committee has positively disagreed if the claim of the chairman to a deliberative vote and his exercise of that deliberative vote is maintained, it may be the duty of the Senate to settle the dead-lock. I say that is a serious consideration. A committee has been acting for months and months, making patient investigation into matters of very great difficulty and importance; and the question underlying this motion is whether at this stage it is to serve any useful purpose or not. That is the difficulty in which we are placed, and it led to our respectfully coming to the Senate—because the motion which embodies the question on which we are soliciting the direction of the Senate was my own motion, proposed in order, if possible, to extricate ourselves

from this position of dead-lock. If this position had not arisen, we might ten days ago have furnished a report on which the Senate would have been asked to express its opinion, and to finally determine the issues which have been under investigation by the committee. That is the situation. I agree with my honorable and learned friend that it may be the duty of a select committee to disagree; but there would have been no disagreement resulting in dead-lock had it not been for Senator Downer's contention which we first became aware of when the committee deliberated. So far as I am concerned I should gladly have withdrawn my own vote if that would have facilitated a settlement. But that would have produced no result, because if I had done so there would have been no report. The question has only arisen in regard to one committee, although there is another committee of the Senate sitting in addition to the standing committees. The question will no doubt be settled finally by the Senate in regard to all committees at a later stage.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Did the chairman of the committee ever ask for a deliberative vote?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Never. Perhaps my honorable friend will allow me to deal with that point now. The first time that the chairman suggested that he had a deliberative vote was on or about the 10th September, when my honorable and learned friend proposed a motion which would have resulted in a report being brought up, with reasons. On the 13th August we had this very question discussed.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I rise to a point of order. I purposely discussed this question simply from the point of view of whether or not I was or was not entitled to a deliberative vote, and I purposely avoided all reference to everything that has taken place in the committee. There is a report of the committee before the Senate, but my honorable and learned friend is going into something which is not before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT.—I think the point of order is well taken. I am of opinion that Senator Symon should discuss the question that is before the Senate. We have not before us the proceedings of the select committee. The committee has not reported its proceedings; and allegations from one honorable senator contradicted by

another certainly will not conduce to the elucidation of the question which we ought to consider.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I of course accept, as it is my bounden duty to do, the ruling of the President, with the greatest pleasure; but I would point out that the statement I made was in answer to a question put to me by my honorable friend Senator Playford.

Senator PLAYFORD.—It is rather important.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is of vital importance. I did not once interrupt my honorable and learned friend Senator Downer, when he was addressing the Senate, because I did not wish to have any element introduced into this discussion that would cause irritation. But I think honorable senators may well ask themselves whether, in the case of a committee appointed in June, it is not remarkable that this point has not been raised until the middle of October.

Senator CHARLESTON.—The necessity for it never arose before.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Surely that is the question on which Senator Symon has been ruled out of order.

The PRESIDENT.—My ruling was that the honorable and learned senator should not refer to the proceedings of the committee.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I think Senator O'Connor is mistaken in saying that what I have been referring to is the same matter. I ask the Senate—is it not a singular thing that in the case of a matter remitted to the committee on the 27th June, this question has never arisen until the middle of October?

Senator CHARLESTON.—Not at all; because the committee consisted of six at one time, and of seven at another.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Exactly so! I leave honorable senators to draw the inference from that sagacious interjection. The committee now consists of six; it consisted of seven before. Consequently no dead-lock could have arisen before. Does not my honorable friend Senator Charleston see the position in which he places himself by that interjection? My honorable and learned friend Senator Downer said that a chairman might say—"I decline to remain any longer in the chair; I am going to insist upon the decision of this committee being given the other

way." That situation took place in connexion with a committee of the House of Commons on one occasion. Honorable senators will find the instance recorded in a foot-note on page 389 of the 10th edition of *May*. Mr. Horsfall, the chairman of the committee, had prepared the report, which was negatived by a majority of one. Mr. Cardwell then prepared a report embodying the opinions of the majority. But, says *May*—

At the next meeting of the committee, Mr. Horsfall declined to resume the chair, and proposed that Mr. Cardwell should take it, his object being to obtain a majority in favour of his own views. The matter being referred to Mr. Speaker, he expressed an opinion that the course proposed was contrary to the spirit of parliamentary proceedings;

whereupon Mr. Horsfall dropped his contention and resumed the chair. If Senator Charleston says that the point could only arise when there were six members of the committee, the position in which he puts the matter is one from which I leave him to draw the inference he suggests. For two months or more the committee have been doing very little.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I again rise to a point of order. Has the honorable senator the right to refer to any matter relating to the committee which is not now before the Senate?

The PRESIDENT.—I do not know that the point Senator Symon is making is very relevant, but I cannot say that he is out of order in saying that the proceedings of the committee have not been brought before the Senate for two months.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am sure that I am arguing the point with all moderation. I am not seeking to reflect on Senator Downer in any way whatever. I am endeavouring to point out that for two months the committee has not been very much in evidence. By this motion, submitting a point for the consideration of the Senate, the committee undergoes a process of resurrection.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable and learned senator think that is relevant?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do; and it will be a very improper thing if this committee should die by its own resurrection.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Would not the committee be in a position of absolute dead lock if this motion were carried?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I tell my honorable friend that there will be an absolute dead-lock. We shall die. I am accepting the view which our respected chairman puts when he says that it may be the duty of a committee to disagree. While accepting that view absolutely, I am pointing out that the effect of the motion would be that, in the very act of bringing ourselves into daylight once more, we should expire for all useful purposes.

Senator CHARLESTON.—Then the Senate will deal with the committee.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is like discharging the jury and the Judge as well. I understand the suggestion has been made that the Senate should discharge the committee, and bring the matter to an end.

Senator DOBSON.—Is it not contrary to the Constitution to take away the chairman's deliberative vote?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am clearing away the points referred to by Senator Downer before I argue the main question, pointing out those arguments with which I agree and those from which I dissent. The question to be determined is whether the chairman has the deliberative vote which he claims to have, or only a casting vote.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—The standing orders cannot override the Constitution.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not say that they can. If the Constitution contained a provision for the creation of select committees, and provided that the chairman of a select committee should have a deliberative, not a casting vote, the matter would be at an end. But, unfortunately, the Constitution does not prescribe for the condition of things which exists, whereas the standing orders do prescribe for that condition of things. We should abide by them, not play fast and loose—or, as Senator Downer expressed it, pitch-and-toss—with standing orders under which we have been working for nearly six months.

Senator DOBSON.—Then the honorable and learned senator would make the standing orders override the Constitution?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No, indeed. If my honorable and learned friend will follow me, he will see that it is not so at all. First of all, is there a standing

order bearing upon this question? Undoubtedly there is. What does it say?—

Every committee previous to the commencement of business shall elect one of its members to be chairman, who shall only have a casting vote.

Now, I say that that standing order is absolutely decisive of this question.

Senator HIGGS.—If not inconsistent with the Constitution.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I wish to deal with the matter as fairly and exhaustively as I can. It is a matter of indifference to me which way the question is decided. I do not feel any irritation at all in regard to it. It is not as on a former occasion, when there were in the discussion certain elements which do not arise here at all, and which certainly do not suggest themselves in the same way to one's mind.

Senator DOBSON.—We all like to win.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I tell the honorable and learned senator that I should like to win, but simply for the reason that I believe the view I take is right. I believe that this standing order governs the case, is decisive of it, and is not inconsistent in any respect with our Constitution. First of all, Standing Order No. 354 provides that the chairman of a select committee shall only have a casting vote. That was adopted on the report of the special committee chosen for the purpose of recommending to us a form of standing orders, in which they excepted standing orders that were contrary to the Constitution, and one in particular, Standing Order No. 214, to which I call the special attention of honorable senators. It provided—

In the case of an equality of votes, the Speaker shall give a casting vote, and any reasons stated by him shall be entered in the votes and proceedings.

That, of course, was absolutely in conflict with section 23 of the Constitution, which expressly states—

Questions arising in the Senate—

Honorable senators will mark the expression "in the Senate." It is not in committees—

shall be determined by a majority of votes, and each senator shall have one vote. The President shall in all cases be entitled to a vote.

Of course a standing order which said that the Speaker, and by analogy the President, should not have a vote, but should only

have a casting vote, was wholly contradictory of the Constitution, and the committee who recommended the adoption of these standing orders excepted Standing Order 214, giving the reasons "because it would give the President a casting, and not a deliberative vote, and it is contrary to the Constitution."

Senator DOBSON.—Then we have grafted the spirit and practice of it into the proceedings of Committee of the Whole.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—My honorable and learned friend is right, and with his quickness he anticipates the next point to which I wish to refer. There is no getting over that standing order, but there are two ways in which it is attempted to be got over. First it is said to be inconsistent with the Constitution, and, secondly, the practice laid down in *May*—not with reference to the House of Commons, but with reference to the House of Lords, a totally different institution from this—is said to be applicable to our procedure. Let us deal with these propositions one by one. Is it inconsistent with the Constitution? Two instances are given which my honorable and learned friend says are parallel, and if they are there is a great deal of force in the honorable and learned senator's argument. The first is the case of the President, but I have read the section of the Constitution in regard to the President, and it is as clear as language can make it that the President shall have a vote, and therefore, as my honorable and learned friend admitted, any standing order which overrules that provision of the Constitution is absolutely so much waste paper. It is for that reason that the committee to which these standing orders were referred expressly excepted it, on the ground that the President was given a deliberative vote by the Constitution. In addition to that, the honorable and learned senator will observe that section 23 provides for voting in the Senate.

Senator KEATING.—That matter was discussed when the position of the Chairman of Committees was considered.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—My honorable and learned friend is just as quick as Senator Dobson, but he is not dealing with the point with which we are now concerned. We get no light thrown upon this matter by the fact that the President, under section 23, is given a deliberative vote, and a deliberative vote "in the Senate." The provision, it has been agreed

by most of us, is probably due, not to any analogy with the House of Lords, but because in this Senate and in deliberations here each State has equal representation, and it would be fatal to that equal representation in the Senate, and, by analogy, in the Committee of the Whole, if every senator did not have a vote.

Senator DOBSON.—And, by analogy, in a select committee.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why? A select committee consists, not of equal representation of the States, and not of representation of the States at all under these standing orders; it is unequal representation. Take the case of a select committee of seven members. Senator Keating presides over a committee of seven members appointed by this Senate, and including two members from Tasmania. Is that equal representation?

Senator FRASER.—It is not attempted.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I have disposed of the position of the President. There is no analogy there. There is an express section in the Constitution which says that questions shall be determined in the Senate by a majority, that each member shall have a vote, and that the President shall have a deliberative vote. That rests probably upon the principle of equal representation of the States in the Senate, and not upon any analogy with the House of Lords. Then the Chairman of Committees of the Whole has a vote. We have recognised that. The Senate, through the exponent and custodian of its procedure, Mr. President, subject to the decision of the Senate, has decided the vote which the Chairman of Committees gives. But that is absolutely in conformity with the standing order under which we are working. The standing order under which we are working gives the Chairman of a Committee of the Whole a deliberative vote. The standing order is No 385, and it says—

Every question in committee shall be decided in the same manner as in the House itself.

Is not that conclusive enough? That is the controlling part of the standing order, because that incorporates section 23 of the Constitution. The standing order says "the chairman having only a casting vote," but that is dominated and controlled by the part of the standing order which says that the question shall be determined "as in the House itself." There are no such words in Standing Order 354, which deals with select

committees. There is no statement there that questions shall be decided in the same manner as in the House itself. The difference is clear. In the one case the standing order expressly incorporates the provision of the Constitution giving a deliberative vote to every member of the Senate including the President, and applies it also to the Chairman of Committees of the Whole. Standing Order 354 omits all these words necessary to incorporate the procedure in the House itself in dealing with the proceedings of the select committee, and establishes a rule, perfectly consistent with the Constitution, that the chairman of a select committee shall only have a casting vote. Where is there anything inconsistent with the Constitution in that standing order. Is there a word in the Constitution dealing with select committees? Is there a word from beginning to end of this Constitution of ours, of which we are naturally proud, which declares that select committees must be constituted of one member from each State?

Senator MILLEN.—It would destroy the value of the committee.

Senator FRASER.—It might be a committee on small-pox.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—In which case it ought to consist of men who have had small-pox, and not necessarily of representatives of each State.

Senator FRASER.—What has a State to do with that?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Absolutely nothing. On a select committee we appoint the most competent men to inquire into a subject. They are not there representing the States, but as representing the best intelligence and experience which can be brought to bear upon the subject. Surely there is no principle of that kind involved. I appeal to the President himself. I am told to go to the House of Lords. I will have nothing to do with the House of Lords. I decline to recognise the House of Lords as having any procedure to govern us in this Senate. If I may use the expression, they are on an inferior plane to this Senate altogether. When I want guidance in procedure, I am willing to go to the House of Commons. I am willing to go to our own Legislative Assemblies, and willing even to go, Mr. President, to the Legislative Council, over which you presided with so much dignity and honour for a number of years.

In the Legislative Council of South Australia there is exactly the same standing order as to select committees.

Senator DOBSON.—What about other Federal Constitutions? Can we get any authority there?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—My honorable and learned friend knows that in America there are no committees like ours at all. The chairman of committees there is a sort of Minister. Canada has an imperfect so-called Federal Constitution. It is not really federal at all, because they have no equal representation in the Senate. The Senate as constituted is a kind of House of Lords. The members are nominated for life, and they have accepted the analogy with the House of Lords, and follow the House of Lords' practice.

Senator DOBSON.—Does not equal representation run through everything, even to a select committee?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No; how can it? Supposing it were a committee for the purpose of inquiring into an abstruse legal Bill, surely some honorable senators, my honorable and learned friend included, would be very suitably placed upon that committee, and why should the personnel of that committee be determined merely by the fact that there are six States in the Commonwealth?

Senator DOBSON.—I did not quite mean that; but in every case we give him a deliberative vote, and do not shut his mouth.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—How do we shut his mouth? Take seven men on a committee for example. That suggestion might be all very well if we were dealing with the repeal of these standing orders, but it is as we lawyers say, when talking to a jury, a suggestion of prejudice, and it is inapplicable when we come to deal with the interpretation of the standing orders which we have got, and which depends not upon the question of how he shall vote, but upon the question of what is the nature of the vote that the chairman has got. We have six instead of seven members. If there were seven the chairman would have no vote unless there was an equal division.

Senator DOBSON.—That is what we say is contrary to the Constitution.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—All the members need not be present. If there were four present they could deliberate. Does

not the same state of things exist in Legislative Assemblies? What about the Speaker? He has no deliberative vote.

Senator DOBSON.—There is no analogy there.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Surely, as Senator Downer has put it very forcibly, the fact that a man is raised to a position of dignity should not deprive him of his vote? We have in the case of every deliberative assembly, except the House of Lords, exactly the same position.

Senator DOBSON. — This is not an ordinary committee, it is a kind of judicial committee with judicial functions.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am glad my honorable and learned friend has said that. Not very long ago he gave his vote with the majority which decided that we were not a judicial body.

Senator DOBSON.—Although the committee can only report to the Senate it is a twenty to one chance that, on a question of fact, we should accept their finding.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The strong language used by us on the occasion referred to, was due to the fact that that very point was raised. I accepted, with the utmost completeness, the decision of the Senate—I did not even question the smallness of its majority—in deciding that we were not a judicial body; that we were a select committee to inquire and report, appointed by the Senate, not by ballot, but on the nomination of Mr. President. Mr. President placed a list of the names on the table, and the resolution was that, after the expiration of a certain time, that committee should be deemed to have been appointed by the Senate. I accepted the decision of the Senate on that occasion, although I fought and felt very strongly against it. In a select committee the same reasons do not in any respect apply. The principle which gives to an honorable senator a vote in the Senate, or in the committee of the House, does not apply at all either to the constitution of a select committee or to the method of its voting. It is drawing a subtle inference to assume that there is one word in the Constitution to the effect that a select committee appointed for special purposes, in order to inquire and report, is on the same footing as the Senate—whether in the House itself or in Committee of the Whole—which is supposed to exist on the footing of equal representation of the States. We are

here six representatives from each State. A select committee may consist of six representatives of one State, and only one from another. On this very committee, to put it hypothetically, or on any other committee, so as not to raise any personal element, we give two votes to one State and none to others, if we give the chairman a deliberative as well as a casting vote. On this very committee, while there are two representatives of South Australia, there are none from Victoria.

Senator DOBSON.—The Victorian representative resigned.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am aware of that. I am merely mentioning the fact. We are dealing with the position, and that is exactly how it stands.

Senator DOBSON.—In the Committee of the Whole, where the votes are equal, the question passes in the negative. Why not follow that out in committee?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We cannot apply that rule to a select committee, because in the Committee of the Whole the chairman has his deliberative vote given to him by the Constitution, and by Standing Order No. 385. That settles the question so far as regards the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole; but is there anything in the Constitution which gives the same right to the chairman of a select committee? Is there one word showing that a select committee must consist of one representative from each State, and that it must be founded on the same rule as to representation of the States as the Senate is?

Senator DOBSON.—Oh, no; but no member of it must be deprived of a deliberative vote.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Chairman of Committees is not deprived of it, because the standing order gives it to him. Is Standing Order 354 inconsistent with the Constitution? Even if we have done wrong—and I think we are right—the standing order clearly gives the Chairman of Committees a vote, because it says that questions are to be decided in the same way as in the Senate itself. So in cases of select committees. In the Senate we vote by States, or according to equality of representation of the States, on matters which affect the States. Then again, as I have said, it is distinctly a matter to be dealt with by standing orders. If the Senate chooses to give, as it has chosen to

give, a casting vote only to the chairman of a select committee, we must be governed by it. If the Senate chooses to alter that standing order, when it comes to settle the permanent standing orders for the guidance of the Senate, it may do so.

Senator DOBSON.—We could alter it to-night or to-morrow morning if we desired.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does that proposal reconcile itself with the honorable and learned senator's sense of propriety or justice?

Senator DOBSON.—If it is wrong we should.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But a wrong standing order might be altered to convert a minority into a majority. Is that a wise suggestion to make on an occasion like this? So long as there are seven members or a less number, and so long as our select committees are founded, as they must be, not upon equal representation of the States, but on the basis of the selection of the men who are supposed to be most familiar with the particular subject delegated to it—whether it be small pox or any other question—there is not the slightest reason why we should depart from the House of Commons practice. That practice is that the chairman has a casting vote, and not a deliberative vote. We are not, however, driven to the House of Commons. We have our own standing order, which is absolutely clear. The committee has existed all these months under this and other standing orders applicable to its procedure, without the slightest hint or question of their inapplicability. If we are to deal with this matter upon a large constitutional basis, and if we are to say this standing order of our Senate amounts to nothing, then we turn to section 48 of the Constitution Act, which provides that—

The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and of the members of the committees of each House, shall be such as are declared by the Parliament, and until declared shall be those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom . . .

If we desire an analogy upon which we can rest the practice, supposing the standing order is not satisfactory, then, under our own Constitution it is the House of Commons by which we are to be guided, not merely in relation to the powers, privileges, and procedure of the Senate itself, but in relation to committees. Then my honorable and

learned friend referred to *May*, giving the go-by to the standing order upon which we rely. First of all *May*, and the practice of Parliament in England, have nothing to do with this matter, because we have clearly standing orders of our own. Are we likely to put them on one side, and to go rambling about in the mazes of other parliamentary practices when we have a distinct rule of guidance of our own? The practice of the Imperial Parliament only applies, under the very first preamble of our own standing orders, to cases where we have no applicable standing orders. The standing orders are prefaced with this paragraph—

In all cases not provided for hereinafter, or by sessional or other orders, resort shall be had to the rules, forms, and practice of the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, which shall be followed as far as they can be applied to the proceedings of this House.

So that we have there a distinct declaration that we are not to go to the Imperial Parliament unless we find there is no standing order applicable to the matter in question. What is *May* quoted for? Not for the sake of the House of Commons practice, which is exactly the same as our own—that the Chairman of Committees has a casting vote and not a deliberative vote—but for the sake of incorporating the practice of the House of Lords, which has no standing order at all. It is merely the practice of a House which bears no analogy to the Senate of which we have the honour to be members. I think these are the points, so far as they affect the interpretation of these standing orders. It seems to me that we have a sheet anchor in Standing Order 354. Are we likely, by some subtle and refined inferences drawn from the Constitution, to say that the standing orders under which we have been acting are not to be a guide to our proceedings? Are we to arrive at that conclusion with the result of that praiseworthy—it may be, as my honorable and learned friend says—but unfortunate division of opinion which brings about an absolute dead-lock? That is the question with which we have to deal. Senator Downer has referred to the position of the committee and the fact that, on the resignation of Senator Fraser, it remained with six members. My honorable friend took no objection on that occasion, and I do ask him why he did not point out then the possibility of either this contention or this difficulty arising?

The PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable and learned senator think that that has anything to do with this question?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Yes, I do, with great respect. My honorable and learned friend has alluded to it.

The PRESIDENT.—Only when he was drawn away by an interjection.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No, he dealt with it after that by referring to the debate which took place.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Never, except in answer to Senator Clemons.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not want to elaborate for one instant, but Senator O'Connor, I think every one will admit, took a most wise view of the position when he said that he understood the chairman was not unwilling—

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—No.

The PRESIDENT.—I ask the honorable and learned senator to confine himself to the question, which is whether the chairman shall have a deliberative vote or not? If we refer to a former vote it will lengthen this discussion, and really drag in a lot of matters of prejudice which really has nothing to do with the question.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I have no desire to do anything of that kind. Therefore I will not go into details. A reference has been made, as it has been made in several quarters, to the committee being a committee of six. I do not wish to make any suggestion, either as regards the raising of this question in that connexion or in regard to the contention that might be made on the other side. I entirely approved of the constitution of the committee for the reason that I believed it would save a great deal of time, and for other reasons which I recollect were then stated here. It was an awkward position, and so far as it affected members of the committee the stronger side, speaking of it numerically, was losing one of its members, and so had to take the responsibility of continuing the business of the committee with a reduced number. Of course the difficulty as to the equal division of opinion, and the dead-lock could not have arisen but for the fact that there are only five members and a chairman. The claim to exercise and the exercise of this vote have rendered it necessary that we should have a final direction from the Senate, not as to whether we should repeal the standing order, but as to whether the chairman has a right, under Standing Order 354,

taken in connexion with the Constitution and with all the other standing orders, to the deliberative vote which brings about this unfortunate and deplorable position of affairs. I shall be glad to see any way out of it. I should willingly have withdrawn my own vote if it would have brought about a report which could have come before the Senate to be dealt with, but to have done so would have prevented anything of the kind from happening. Therefore we are left in that serious and difficult position to which allusion has been made on both sides, and the first step at any rate to its solution is the determination of the point by the Senate. That the question may be clearly and distinctly raised, it is necessary that an amendment shall be moved. I move—

That the word “not” be inserted before the word “entitled.”

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Negative the motion.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No, because that would still leave it open. If that amendment is carried I intend to move the omission of the words “and not” with a view to inserting in their place the words “but only.”

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—I do not think Senator Downer in any way overrated the importance of this discussion, and Senator Symon seems to me not to have quite realized the very broad scope and effect which our decision must have, because a deliberative body, when it has to pronounce itself solemnly on questions of procedure, especially when those questions have arisen for the first time, and they involve an interpretation of the Constitution, must be prepared to give a decision which it can stand by, and apply under similar circumstances. We are not dealing now with the question of whether the chairman of this particular committee should or should not have a casting vote. The Senate, in pronouncing its judgment on this issue, will pronounce a decision as to whether the chairman of any select committee is to have, under the Constitution, a deliberative vote and not a casting vote.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Under the standing order.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I shall come to that in a moment. I am speaking now of what the decision to-day involves, and I believe I am not stating the matter one

whit too strongly. I would point out to certain honorable senators, who by their interjections seem to think that the matter is one to be decided on the particular incidents of this committee only, that they are exercising a responsibility here of a very much wider application than anything connected with the immediate circumstances. Senator Symon seems to be confusing two things. The reason why matters in the committee have been brought to a dead-lock is not necessarily because this deliberative vote has been given, but because the committee is one short of its proper number. If the proper number is made up, there is no reason why a dead-lock should arise.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Really, sir, I was stopped from dealing with the question of the reduction of the number to six.

The PRESIDENT.—I tried to stop the honorable and learned senator.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And you succeeded, with great respect.

The PRESIDENT.—I did to a certain extent.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I was going to quote what took place, and as I was stopped, I do not think the matter ought to be re-opened.

The PRESIDENT.—I gave two rulings—first, that the proceedings of the committee not having been brought up, could not be commented upon, and secondly, I asked Senator Symon to confine his remarks to the question at issue, which did not appear to me to depend on the particular manner in which the committee is constituted. Senator Symon said he would bow to my ruling, but I think he did discuss the matter a little afterwards.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I do not propose to say anything as to the details of what took place in the committee. I was only referring to that argument for the purpose of showing that the remedy is not to do something that is against the constitution, but to appoint another member to the committee, and it is perfectly open to the Senate now if it thinks fit to rescind the resolution, which was come to at a time when I must admit I had not the least idea that any such position as this would arise, and I do not suppose anyone else had.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why did not the chairman point out this possibility?

Senator O'CONNOR.—We have nothing whatever to do with that; I do not want

to say anything about it, because it would be transgressing the ruling of the President. My honorable and learned friend has dealt with the matter in the light and practised manner of an advocate, though I do not mean to say that he did not believe every word he said.

Senator CHARLESTON.—The honorable senator has no right to say that.

Senator O'CONNOR.—What have I said that is offensive in any way?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is taken by Senator Charleston as offensive to me.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I never intended it to be offensive. An argument may be conveyed in a suggestion, and the suggestion that the only way out of the difficulty is to carry the amendment only confuses things, because the real way out of that difficulty is to appoint another member of the committee.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Discharge the committee.

Senator O'CONNOR.—We are dealing now with quite a different question, and that is whether the standing order is or is not inconsistent with the Constitution. I would first of all draw the attention of the Senate to the motion adopting the standing orders which was carried on the 6th June. A committee which was appointed to inquire into the question of the adoption of standing orders made these recommendations—

Your committee have not had time to inquire into and report on the relative merits of the various standing orders in force in the Houses of the State Parliament; but, for the reasons hereafter set forth, they recommend the temporary adoption by the Senate of the standing orders of the House of Assembly of South Australia, with the necessary verbal alterations—

Then they proceeded to pick out certain standing orders which were obviously contrary to the Constitution, and they picked these out because apparently they commended themselves to them at the time as rules which should be specially dealt with, and to show that they did not confine the resolution to them they said—

with the exception of orders Nos. 2 to 35, 214, and 502 to 404, and such other orders or portion of orders as are inconsistent with the Constitution.

The standing order, therefore, seems to me not to stand necessarily in the position of a standing order which has been properly adopted after discussion by the Senate; but it is a standing order amongst a body of standing orders which it was contemplated

might not all be applicable, and which were adopted by the Senate with the express reservation that if they turned out to be contrary to the Constitution they did not apply. That report was adopted without any qualification whatever. Why am I putting this position to the Senate? For this reason—that the standing order cannot be treated as having the same deliberate force as a standing order which has been considered and adopted by the Senate itself. Of course, if it is applicable and consistent with the Constitution it has as much force as any other standing order, but it must not be taken to be the deliberate judgment of the Senate that it is consistent with the Constitution. Therefore, the standing order is to be treated just as if we were considering it for the first time. Is that standing order inconsistent with the Constitution? The answer to that question seems to me to be involved in a consideration of a very narrow compass. We start with the 23rd section of the Constitution itself. But, before I deal with that, I should like to get rid of the argument that was put forward strongly by Senator Symon as to the application of section 49 of the Constitution. It appears to me that section 49 has absolutely nothing to do with this question. It provides that—

The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Senate and of the House of Representatives and of the members and the committees of each House shall be such as are declared by the Parliament, and until declared shall be those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the establishment of the Commonwealth.

In the first place my view is that the phrase, "powers, privileges and immunities" as used there, does not refer to questions of procedure at all; but supposing that the words do refer to questions of procedure, they would not make applicable a standing order which was inconsistent with the Constitution. So that we come back to the question of whether or not the standing order in question is consistent with the Constitution. The only section of the Constitution we have to do with is section 23. The section is very short, and perhaps the Senate will pardon me if I read the whole of it.

Questions arising in the Senate shall be determined by a majority of votes, and each senator shall have one vote. The President shall in all cases be entitled to a vote; and when the votes are equal, the question shall pass in the negative.

Senator O'Connor.

It is not an uncommon thing in Constitutions to provide such a method. For instance, the Constitution of the United States makes no provision as to the House of Representatives, but there is a standing order of the House of Representatives itself which enables the Speaker to exercise a casting vote. It is rule 7 which says—

In all cases of ballot by the House, the Speaker shall vote; in other cases he shall not be required to vote, unless the House be equally divided, or unless his vote, if given to the minority, will make the division equal; and in case of such equal division, the question shall be lost.

There is a note to this rule by the editor of *Wilson's Digest of Parliamentary Law*, from which I am quoting. He says—

The right of the Speaker, as a member of the House, to vote on all questions is secured by the Constitution. No Act of the House can take it from him when he chooses to exercise it.

So that the only effect of that standing order is to compel the Speaker to vote in all cases of ballot; and in other cases he is not compelled to vote unless the House is equally divided, in which case the question shall be lost. It does not take away provides that when he does vote the question his right to vote as a member, but only gives that method of arriving at finality. There are instances in other Constitutions which will occur to honorable senators, under which a casting vote is given by the chairman when the votes are equal, and in that case the motion is lost. That is what the Constitution has done in our case. It is a method of finality which is just as efficacious in the case of a select committee as the other method. The Constitution has chosen to adopt this method. Coming to the interpretation of this section itself, I should think that if there is one thing more evident than another, it is that in the first place the interpretation of the section must be by the Senate itself; and in the second place that interpretation ought to be in a broad spirit, and with a recognition, wherever possible, of the underlying spirit of the Constitution. We should not be tied down to a merely narrow and legal interpretation, but should wherever possible endeavour to carry out to the fullest extent the spirit of the Constitution itself. It is in that spirit that we have already interpreted this section, and under that interpretation we have been sitting for five months. If my honorable and learned friend Senator Symon is right, and we are to interpret this section in its literal

meaning, it applies only to divisions in the Senate and not to divisions in Committee of the Whole.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Under Standing Order 385 it also applies to Committee of the Whole.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I am dealing with the interpretation of the Constitution, and if as I say that if we are to adopt the narrow legal interpretation put upon this section by my honorable and learned friend, the section will only apply to divisions in the Senate itself. The Senate has already decided the matter, not under the narrow use of the word Senate, but has interpreted it to mean the Senate, whether sitting with the President or with the Chairman of Committees in the chair.

Senator PLAYFORD.—There is no difference.

Senator O'CONNOR.—There is no difference as to the members, but there is a great deal of difference if we apply the narrow interpretation, when it means the Senate with the President in the chair. But if we employ the broad interpretation, it applies equally to committees of the whole. It will be remembered that when the section was previously raised a question had arisen in committee and was reported to the Senate, whereupon the President ruled that the Chairman was right. It was held by the President that, whether the vote exercised by the Chairman was called a casting vote or a deliberative vote, he had a vote, and certainly should not be deprived of it.

Senator CLEMONS.—The President ordered the *Journals* to be altered.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Senator Clemons very properly called attention to that matter at the time, and it is because he seemed to state, in a very few words, the constitutional position which then arose, that I am going to quote what he said. It is reported in *Hansard*, page 2012—

I wish to draw your attention to the *Journals* of the Senate for to-day, where you will see that it is stated that in committee last night "The number of the ayes being equal, the chairman gave his casting vote with the ayes." I submit, sir, that in accordance with your ruling on that question, the chairman did not give a casting vote. If this statement is allowed to remain on the *Journals* it may create a very bad precedent on the subject, which was thoroughly thrashed out and decided yesterday. I think you will agree with me that that vote—however it may have been designated by the chairman—could only have been such a vote as it was within his power to give, namely, a deliberative vote. Therefore, the

statement in the *Journals* that the chairman gave a casting vote is not strictly accurate.

The PRESIDENT.—I think the best way to avoid all difficulty will be to strike out the word "casting." I will see that it is done.

It is necessary to have recourse to that speech of the honorable and learned senator to show how it is that the record comes to be in its present form. Therefore, the Senate deliberately adopted a reading of section 23 of the Constitution that would apply not only to the sittings of the Senate, but to sittings in Committee of the Whole; and that rule has been followed ever since.

Senator MCGREGOR.—We could not do anything else.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I am glad to hear the honorable senator say that, because I hope I shall be able, with unanswerable force, to point out that exactly the same principle ought to drive honorable senators to the conclusion that the same rule should apply to select committees. In addition to that I would direct attention to another precedent, not of the same kind, but which I think is worthy of consideration. The Standing Orders Committee have met on many occasions and have done very important work.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I submit that that has nothing to do with the question.

The PRESIDENT.—The Standing Orders Committee have brought up their report and laid it on the table.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—What has been done by another committee of this Senate has no relevancy as a precedent or an illustration. I submit that it is quite irrelevant, because other honorable senators cannot deal with it as it is not within their knowledge. We shall enlarge the scope of this question indefinitely if other matters are brought in.

The PRESIDENT.—As to whether the argument of the Vice-President of the Executive Council has any weight or not, I am not the judge. The only question for me to decide is whether the honorable and learned senator can quote from the proceedings of a select committee which has brought up its report and laid it on the table. I do not see that I can stop him from doing so.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I submit that we have not seen the report.

The PRESIDENT.—Are not quotations constantly made from papers which the Senate has not seen?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We cannot possibly debate this question of whether the Standing Orders Committee are right or not. They may have been perfectly wrong. We do not know whether or not they have so reported at all, except that the papers have been laid on the table, and a day has been fixed for their consideration. I submit that Senator O'Connor is anticipating a debate upon the standing orders.

Senator O'CONNOR.—On the point of order I submit that I am fairly entitled to make this reference to a document which is before the Senate. Honorable senators are aware that the minutes of proceedings of the Standing Orders Committee were to-day laid upon the table of the Senate, and they are now open to honorable senators opposite, as well as to myself. I submit that I am in order in referring to passages in these minutes.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think I can stop any honorable senator from quoting from a paper laid upon the table of the Senate, if it has anything to do with the question at issue. Whether it has or has not in this case I do not know, because I have not heard the quotation.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I submit that the proceedings of another committee are totally irrelevant to the question before us, which is as to the power of this particular committee to do a certain thing. What we are engaged upon is the question of the interpretation of this standing order, and whether it is or is not inconsistent with the Constitution. That another committee has adopted a different interpretation of it cannot affect the judgment of the Senate at all. A decision of the Senate is a precedent for the Senate, but a decision of a select committee is not.

The PRESIDENT.—The honorable and learned senator will see that he is addressing his remarks to the value and weight of the reference intended to be made. I am not the judge of that. That is for the Senate to decide.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Of course it is quite open to the honorable and learned senator to argue that the precedent is of no value whatever. At the same time, I submit that we are dealing with the interpretation which the Senate is to put upon this section of the Constitution, and I am entitled to point out that the Senate has already adopted a certain interpretation of

it in dealing with the Chairman of Committees of the Whole, and that it has adopted also a certain view by a select committee appointed to deal with this particular question.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Another select committee has adopted another view.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Exactly, but if I could show that it had been the universal practice of committees of the Senate for, say, ten years—had the Constitution been in existence so long—the honorable and learned senator would admit at once that that would be a very strong argument indeed.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But one swallow does not make a summer.

Senator Major GOULD.—This is something which is suggested for future practice.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The honorable and learned senator has not understood. What I am pointing out is that the value of the precedent I am to submit is really that it is part of the transactions of the Senate by one of its committees. I find that on the 4th July votes were given on a question which arose in the committee by Senators Downer, Gould, and Higgs on one side, and by the President and Senator Dobson on the other. On the 5th September, a question arose on which a division was taken, and there were on one side Senators Best, Dobson, Gould, and Higgs, and on the other side the President and Senator Downer. On the 26th September there was a division in which Senators Best, Dobson, Gould, and Higgs voted on one side, and the President and Senator Downer on the other. There are other references, which honorable senators may find for themselves. These votes took place without any objection so far as I can find from any record of these proceedings. I say this is a circumstance which must and which ought to be considered in the interpretation which we are to put upon this section 23. What is the reason? It is the reason which underlies this section of the Constitution itself, that this is the House which expressly represents, and whose chief function it is to represent, the interests of the State. Of what moment is it to tell us to-day that, on this particular committee, members may have been selected or may not have been selected as representing States or State interests?

Senator FRASER.—Why should they be?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Or that, in dealing with some other questions, they need

not be appointed as representing States? But does Senator Fraser mean to tell me that we may not have questions arising in the future in which State interests will necessarily be involved, and in connexion with which it will be necessary to have an inquiry, and that on that inquiry every State should not be represented. We can quite understand that in these committees, as they will cover the whole field which the Senate itself will have cognisance of, cases may arise in connexion with which justice could not be done, and the public opinion of Australia could not be satisfied unless we had an equality of representation in the select committee reflecting the equality of representation in the Senate itself. We are setting a precedent, which is not to apply to this committee only, but to every committee which may be appointed.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Only so long as this standing order prevails.

Senator O'CONNOR.—We have nothing to do with whether this standing order prevails or not.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is the essence of it.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I beg the honorable and learned senator's pardon, because, not only is this standing order *ultra vires*, because inconsistent with the Constitution, but there can never be in a standing orders committee, or even in the Senate itself, any power to pass or approve of any standing order which takes away from any senator whether he sits in the Senate, in a committee of the whole Senate, or in a select committee of the Senate, the right of voting. That is the principle which underlies all this. It is idle to say that we are settling the question of this particular committee, because we are practically settling for all time the rights of members of the Senate, and we have to decide whether in this or in any other committee we may or may not have the States equally represented.

Senator FRASER.—That applies to the Committee of the Whole, not to select committees.

Senator O'CONNOR,—With all due respect to the honorable senator, his observation shows that he has not apprehended the position I am stating. It is this: we have no doubt about what applies to the whole House, but I say that in future, many questions may arise in which the States must be represented, even on select committees, in accordance with the numbers from each

State, and unless we have this principle of equality of representation of the States running all through our proceedings we shall not carry out the spirit of the Constitution.

Senator FRASER.—Then such matters should be dealt with in committees of the whole House.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Or by a special standing order.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Senator Fraser's observation is rather a hasty one. After all, what is the reason for selecting the method of finality provided for in this standing order? Finality there is obtained by giving a casting vote to the chairman, a method which takes away a vote from a senator of a State. The method which the Constitution provides in the Senate, in committees of the whole, and I say also in select committees of the Senate, is that a system of obtaining finality shall be adopted, which shall have regard to the very end for which this Senate has been appointed, and shall take care that under no circumstances in any deliberations where members of the Senate are called together shall any member representing a State be deprived of his vote. In interpreting this Constitution we must have regard to the future. We must have regard, not only to this question, but to the wide questions which must be involved in many subjects which will come before us for discussion; and we must always remember the end and object of this Senate, which is an equal representation of the States, and the end and object of the section of the Constitution we are dealing with here, which is that each State shall be equally represented, and no Senator shall be deprived of his vote. I say that the principle must run through every sitting of members of the Senate, whether in the Senate itself, in Committee of the Whole, or in any of these select committees. I am not dealing merely with the question of expediency, I am dealing with the question of the interpretation of the Constitution. I say that interpretation should be no narrow one, and that it should be in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution itself. I say that if it is dealt with in that spirit the Senate can come to only one conclusion, and that is that this by-law is *ultra vires*, and that under no circumstances should this section 23 be interpreted so as to take away from any member of the Senate

even in the proceedings of a select committee, the right, which it is intended by the Constitution he should have, of giving a deliberative vote upon any public question which comes before the Senate or any of its committees. I hope that the amendment will not be carried. I feel sure that if the importance of the matter is realized, and it is remembered that we are deciding now what will be a precedent for other occasions, perhaps more important than this, we shall come to the conclusion that the only sound and constitutional course to take is that which will follow not only this Constitution, but the precedent of all Constitutions; and that is that where we have a committee of the House, it is a delegation of the House, and its powers and authorities, and procedure follow the powers, authorities, and procedure of the House which delegates it. Senator Symon made some reference to the House of Lords, as if we were asking honorable senators to follow a particular precedent, because it happened to be followed by the House of Lords.

Senator MILLEN.—It was Senator Downer who did that.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Then Senator Downer's argument was misunderstood. The honorable and learned senator never argued that.

Senator SYMON.—Yes; the honorable and learned senator expressly quoted the House of Lords' practice.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I know the honorable and learned senator did, but for what reason? I shall quote now, in order to put the matter beyond all doubt, from *Cushing's Law and Practice of Legislative Assemblies*—a book which is of high authority, and lays down general principles, illustrated by all Constitutions which are known. The general principle there laid down with regard to this question is this—

Questions are determined in select committees by the voices and by divisions in the same manner as in the House to which they belong. In the Lords Committees the chairman votes like any other Peer, and if the numbers on a division are equal, the question is negatived. In the Commons the practice is similar to what takes place in the House on divisions, the chairman voting only when the numbers are equal, and then giving the casting vote.

I do not cite that, nor was it cited by Senator Downer as being any authority upon this question whatever, but only in support of the general usage that wherever a

committee sits by delegation of the House, it follows the procedure of that House.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And where there is no standing order.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Of course if there is a standing order expressly in accordance with the Constitution, it is a different matter altogether, but where the committee sits by delegation of the House its procedure follows that of the House delegating it. I do not desire to attach any more weight to that argument than it is entitled to, and I am sure that Senator Downer did not do so. I think it is entitled to this weight, that if we were in any doubt as to the manner of interpreting this Constitution that would be a safe and constitutional rule to follow. I do not, however, put it upon that ground at all, and I make no use of that precedent, because I say we can decide this matter entirely on the principles underlying the section of the Constitution, I ask honorable senators to come to the conclusion that Senator Downer's motion should be carried just as it is, because that is the only way in which we can preserve to every member of the Senate the rights which the Constitution has given him.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I entirely agree with the remarks addressed to the Senate by Senator Downer, and those just uttered—with some unusual emphasis, may I say?—by Senator O'Connor, as to the desirability of every honorable senator having a vote, whether in the Senate or in the Committee of the Whole. It has never been held, however, that because a law is undesirable or absurd that that is a justification for breaking it. Therefore the remarks made by the honorable and learned senators to whom I have referred, seem to me to constitute a magnificent argument for the repeal of the standing order, but not for a breach of it. I agree that it is extremely desirable that every member of the committee should have an opportunity to express his opinion, by voting, on the subject delegated to that body. It is quite another matter, however, to say that because it is desirable that he should have a vote, therefore he has it. The question we have to decide is whether the Senate has adopted the standing order which deals with the point, does that standing order bind the committee, and is it outside the Constitution? There can be no disputing the fact that if the standing order does not violate the Constitutions it simply means

that the Chairman of the Select Committee can only have a casting vote, but it remains to be determined whether or not that is within or outside the Constitution. Section 49 of the Constitution Act, which Senator O'Connor seemed to pass away from with rather suspicious haste, reads—

The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and of the members and the committees of each House shall be such as are declared by Parliament, and until declared shall be those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees at the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Senator O'CONNOR.—If the honorable senator is right, then this standing order has no applicability at all, because it has not been declared by the Parliament.

Senator MILLEN.—I am quite prepared to meet that. I am thankful to the Vice-President of the Executive Council for his interjection. I was going to point out that Parliament consists of two Houses and not of one. If Senator O'Connor likes to take refuge in that, and we determine that the standing order is *ultra vires*, then we fall back on the practice of the House of Commons. That is not the only point on which we have to take the House of Commons as our guide. Either the standing order is good and valid or it is not. If it is not, we have to adopt the practice of the House of Commons, and no other, which means that the Chairman of the Select Committee is to have a casting vote only. Section 23 of the Constitution Act is a very proper provision to make in view of the fact that the Federal Constitution proceeds on the basis of equal State representation, but it did appear to me that it was almost unnecessary to refer to this question again after Senator Symon had spoken. We have Senator O'Connor returning to the charge, however, and practically affirming that because equal representation has been accorded, and because each senator is to have his vote, which means that each State is to have equal voting power, the principle is to be carried into select committees. Let us see how utterly impossible that would be. Our standing orders provide that select committees shall consist of seven members. Will some honorable senator who is a better arithmetician than I am, show how it is possible to get equal State representation on a committee composed of seven members, when there are only six States in the

Federation? Where is the equality of voting power if we give two votes to one State?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—If the six States appoint seven representatives, those seven represent the six States.

Senator MILLEN.—I would ask Senator Downer to recall some of the splendid orations he made upon the question of equal State representation when the Constitution Bill was in the crucible.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Would it be possible to appoint a committee of six?

Senator MILLEN.—The Senate has made it possible by passing standing orders which provide that the committee shall consist of seven members, unless otherwise provided. It seems to me to be absurd to talk about equal State representation on the committee, or to suppose that any State interest is involved in a matter of this kind, or that members would vote from that point of view. If State interests are involved, then the sooner we abolish the idea of having select committees the better it will be. Senator O'Connor appealed to honorable senators to give the broadest interpretation to the Constitution, because the vote we were about to give on this question would not only determine the matter for this particular occasion, but for all time. I disagree with him. We are simply asked to determine the validity or otherwise of this particular standing order. If the Senate determines that it is a valid one, and that under it the Chairman of the Select Committee can give a casting vote it is open to the Senate by constitutional means to repeal the standing order tomorrow. It is idle, therefore, to say that our decision on this question to-day is going to be an interpretation of the Constitution for all time, or that it will bind us in any action we may choose to take at some future date.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It will not bind us in the slightest degree.

Senator MILLEN.—That is my opinion. Another argument put forward by Senator O'Connor was that the committee, being a delegated body, had the same power as that given by the appointing body. If I may say so, with all respect, I have never heard a more absurd statement. If I delegate a power to anyone, I delegate just so much power as I choose to transfer to that person, and not necessarily the whole power that I myself possess. The suggestion has been made that the appointment of a seventh

member of this committee would overcome the difficulty.

Senator PLAYFORD.—So it would.

Senator MILLEN.—It would leave us in the same position. On the particular occasion in question, it might have prevented the difficulty, but it does not get rid of it. It is a mere ostrich-like method of procedure. Assuming that we had seven members on the committee, and the question came up, then it might be said at once "it does not matter whether you call it a casting vote or a deliberative vote." It would make all the difference, however, if one member of the committee were absent.

Senator PLAYFORD.—But a member of the committee never absents himself from a meeting when there is important business to be considered.

Senator MILLEN.—I have known very important matters to go through committee with only a bare quorum present.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The quorum of this committee is four.

Senator MILLEN. — Exactly. There might be only six members present and thus the difficulty would still remain. By appointing a seventh member we do not get over it. The point we have to consider is whether the standing order is a valid one, and whether it proposes to give the chairman of a select committee a deliberative or casting vote. If we appointed one or 100 members the difficulty would still exist and might crop up at any time that an equal division of votes took place. I do not know whether the argument was put forward seriously or not, but I trust that the Senate will not agree with the view that that proposal would be a solution of the difficulty.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania). — It seems to me that this question must be decided either by reference to the standing orders, or, as Senator O'Connor prefers, by reference to the Constitution. If that honorable and learned senator thinks that the standing order quoted governs this case, then he can have no doubt as to how he should vote. But there is apparently very considerable doubt in the minds of other honorable senators who will not have this question governed by the standing order which seems so explicitly to meet the case. I want them to see with what consistency they will be forced to vote. They ask for two things. They ask first of all that the chairman shall have a deliberative vote;

they also ask that the spirit of the Constitution shall be carried into select committees. They cannot join these two things. If they are going to have the spirit of the Constitution carried into select committee—and I do not see any reason why we should—they will admit at once that they must have in all select committees either six members or a multiple of the number six. There is no other way by which we could carry equal State representation into select committee. That, I think, is agreed. What then would be the position? The demand is first of all that the chairman shall have a deliberative vote, and secondly that there shall be six members of the committee. The chairman is to exercise his deliberative vote while the committee is six in number, and the obvious result of that will be a dead-lock.

Senator DRAKE.—Not a dead-lock.

Senator CLEMONS.—I mean to say that the obvious possibility that must arise from six persons forming a committee, and each having a deliberative vote, is a dead-lock. I may anticipate the Postmaster-General's solution of the difficulty by saying that we might have a standing order providing that, when the voting is equal, the motion shall pass in the negative.

Senator DRAKE.—The Constitution provides that.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No, it does not.

Senator CLEMONS.—Such a provision is not to be found in the Constitution. I recognise at once that the Postmaster-General might say we could get over the difficulty by providing that in such cases the question shall pass in the negative. Is that a position that we want to see? Does not every honorable senator see that a position of that kind induces clever juggling; that as a matter of fact it would bring about a state of things in which the parties, being equally divided, would never move anything? Would not that be the inevitable result of having a committee of six, every member of which possessed a deliberative vote?

Senator DRAKE.—Would not the same thing thing apply to a Senate of 36 members?

Senator CLEMONS.—It may be the rule in a Senate of 36, but it is not therefore desirable on a select committee of six members only. I am sorry that Senator O'Connor is not present, but I shall have

equal pleasure in pointing out to the Postmaster-General what that honorable and learned gentleman has done already. The contention that has been put forward is that we should carry into our select committee the spirit of the Constitution, which gives equal representation to every State. That being so, it is a deplorable thing that in every appointment of a committee the Postmaster-General and the leader of the Government have violated the spirit of the Constitution. I submit that not a single committee has yet been appointed which has carried out the spirit of the Constitution, which demands equal representation if it is to be demanded.

Senator DRAKE.—We put on one representative for each State.

Senator CLEMONS.—Even the Postmaster-General will be arithmetically capable of understanding this simple proposition that unless you appoint six, or a multiple of six, you do not carry out the spirit of State representation, which he says is absolutely necessary in the constitution of select committees. Those which have been appointed have been invariably committees of seven.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And that gives at least two votes to one State.

Senator CLEMONS.—If honorable senators support the amendment, that is the position in which they will always be placed, and, difficult as it is, *primâ facie* it is made more difficult in my opinion, and more objectionable still if you attempt to solve it by saying—"in terms of equality, the motion passes in the negative." Is there one honorable senator who wants to see that sort of thing? Do we want to see select committees so formed that where there is an equal division of opinion, each side will be juggling and practically refusing to move a motion, because if they take the initiative, they will be defeated? We should never get finality. I happen, most unfortunately, to have taken some steps in connexion with the committee. For two reasons I moved that amendment that the committee should be deemed fully constituted without the President appointing a successor to Senator Fraser. One reason was because I regarded it—and I believe every honorable senator will concur with me in that opinion—as a most invidious thing for you, sir, to have to select a member from the Senate, in which every one, to the best of my belief,

had expressed himself by voice and vote on the question.

Senator CHARLESTON.—No one expressed an opinion upon the subject the committee were investigating.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am going to meet this thing fairly and squarely, and not try to quibble. I know that every honorable senator felt very strongly and spoke with great force on the question. I shall now give my other reason for moving the amendment. I recognised that there had been a division, and that, if the chairman were to exercise a casting vote, we should be in no way doing an injustice, or interfering with the constitution of the select committee by leaving the vacant seat unfilled.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Except that the majority suffered because they had lost one man.

Senator CLEMONS.—Precisely as I said at the time—if either party in the committee is to suffer, obviously it is the majority. But at the same time I frankly say, assuming that the chairman was going to exercise a deliberative vote—

The PRESIDENT.—I have allowed the honorable senator to proceed because he was discussing a personal question, but I must now ask him not to continue the debate any longer on those lines.

Senator CLEMONS.—The one thing we do desire is finality.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We want a report from the committee.

Senator CLEMONS.—Of course we do, and it is obvious to every honorable senator that if the chairman has a deliberative vote and not a casting vote, we shall not get finality. We shall only have finality under one of two circumstances. We shall only get finality either by discharging the committee or by adding one to its number.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Would adding one to its number be a fair thing?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Filling up the vacancy is a better expression than adding one to its number.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not going to quibble about words. I am not discussing the matter in that quibbling style. Which of these two methods does Senator O'Connor want? Does he think it desirable that we should fill the vacancy? If we filled the vacancy, we should be practically asking

one man to decide a question of momentous issue.

Senator PLAYFORD.—No ; Senator Fraser might go back and take his old place.

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not know whether Senator Fraser would consent, and I am not going to ask him. If the vacancy were filled by the appointment of another senator he would be placed in a position of extreme importance—and a position which no honorable senator, in my opinion, would care to occupy. The other solution seems to me preferable. I should prefer to see the committee discharged, and yet if it is discharged Western Australia, which has been five months without full representation, will in all probability be five months more, and the session will have ended. I remember the remarks which were made, especially by Senator Drake, when leave of absence was asked for Senator Matheson. He said the matter would be decided in a short time, and he laughed at the idea of granting six weeks' leave of absence. It is now three months since the last report was brought up. My contention is that if the Senate appoints a new committee the session will expire before Western Australia can be properly represented. In the interests of the Commonwealth and of the Senate, whatever else we do, we ought to do our utmost to enable the committee to bring in a report and to get this matter settled as soon as possible. I entirely disagree with the contention that the chairman has a deliberative vote. I think he has a casting vote, because I believe the standing orders govern it, and if they do not govern it, I cannot see that the spirit of the Constitution is in any way carried into select committees. I am addressing my remarks now to those honorable senators who feel some doubt as to whether they are right or wrong in voting. To any one who has a doubt as to the issue here, I say—"If you have a doubt, you should do something to enable the committee to bring in a report, and the Senate to come to a final decision on a question of great importance to Western Australia." If you decide that the chairman has a deliberative vote, and not a casting vote, you will keep Western Australia without a representative for many months more.

Senator DRAKE (Queensland—Postmaster-General).—I do not think I have at any time expressed an opinion as to the length of time which would be occupied by

the committee in investigating the matter at issue. Leave of absence for six weeks was asked for Senator Matheson, and when that notice of motion went off the paper, and another one was substituted asking for an indefinite time, I suggested that it would be as well that the term of six weeks should be restored, and if necessary further leave of absence obtained. I do not think I expressed any opinion as to the length of time which would be taken up by the investigation.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Yes ; the Minister deprecated giving leave of absence to the end of the session on the ground that it might delay the decision of the committee.

Senator DRAKE.—That has nothing to do with what Senator Clemons said just now—that I made some forecast as to the time which would be occupied in investigating the matter. I think he will find that I said nothing of the kind. I wish to say a word on the question, which, very properly, has seemed to be of considerable importance to speakers on both sides, of the extent to which the representative character of the Senate extends to the Committee of the Whole, and also to select committees. I had a good deal to do with the selection of the names for the select committees, and each committee was framed with the idea of including a representative from each State. In the early days of the session the Vice-President of the Executive Council brought down certain standing orders, one of which provided that these committees should consist of five members. While the standing orders were lying on the table, waiting for adoption, certain committees were formed on that basis, but after the notice of motion was given, objection was taken by Senator Neild in these words, which will be found at page 678 of *Hansard*—

There are other proposed rules for governing the numbers on certain committees, and I find on the business-paper some proposals to appoint sectional committees under the standing orders.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think that the Minister is, except by leave, entitled to refer to another debate of this session.

Senator CLEMONS.—If the honorable and learned senator will look at the back of *Hansard*, where a list of our committees is printed, he will see that a representative of each State does not sit on each committee.

The PRESIDENT.—We have a standing order which distinctly says that no honorable senator shall refer to another debate of the present session. That standing order binds us, and unless the Senate gives leave to the Postmaster-General I do not think he can refer to the speeches of honorable senators delivered in another debate.

Senator DRAKE.—I can speak from memory. I remember that Senator Neild pointed out that it was very undesirable that a committee should be formed in such a way that each State would not have a representative upon it, and he pointed out that under the standing orders, which had been laid on the table of the Senate, the number of members of a select committee was so restricted that it would be impossible for each State to be represented. Subsequently the standing orders which were submitted by the Vice-President of the Executive Council were not adopted, but those under which we are now working were adopted, under circumstances which have been mentioned this afternoon. A small committee was appointed to consider them, and bring up a report the next day. That committee, of which I was one, had very little time within which to compare the standing orders of the different States. We could only hastily prepare a report, and bring it down next day, proposing the adoption of these standing orders, with certain qualifications. That is to say, it was recommended that certain standing orders were only to apply if they were not contrary to the Constitution. One of the standing orders adopted was No. 345—

All Select Committees shall, unless the House shall otherwise direct, consist of seven members, whereof one shall be the mover.

Senator Major GOULD.—Is that a valid standing order?

Senator DRAKE.—Yes.

Senator Major GOULD.—Is it in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution?

Senator DRAKE.—Certainly. The Vice-President of the Executive Council being away at that time, I considered that it was open for me to agree to increase the number from five to seven. I consulted with one or two honorable senators and arranged deliberately that there should be a representative of each State on each committee. When the motions came before the Senate, I asked leave to amend them in such a way that

each State should have one representative on each committee. Several honorable senators spoke on the subject, and I think they all approved of the action I was taking. That shows very clearly that the number seven was adopted as a matter of principle—not as some honorable senators have insisted, that there should be an equal representation of each State upon each committee, because, there being seven members appointed, there must of necessity be one State with two representatives; but the principle deliberately adopted was that there should be one representative of each State on each committee, which shows perfectly clearly that at that time it was the intention of the Senate that the representative character of the Senate should be continued not only as regards the committee of the whole Senate, but also as regards select committees. That to my mind makes it as clear as daylight that the principle of equal representation of the States, requiring that the President should have a deliberative vote, and requiring also that the Chairman of Committees in committee of the whole should have a deliberative vote as a senator, was intended to be continued so far as concerns select committees. That principle Senator Clemons himself contended for, because when he asked that the *Journals* of the Senate should be amended, he did so on the specific ground that the vote given by Senator Best, as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, was a deliberative and not a casting vote. Following out the same principle, the representative character of the Senate requires that any standing orders to the contrary should be overruled by section 23 of the Constitution Act; and I think it is perfectly clear that the same principle applies not only to committees of the whole, but to select committees.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—The matter before the Chamber is of so exceedingly simple a character, that one almost wonders that we have been able to take up so much time in considering it. It seems to me that we should carry Senator Downer's motion, and should proceed to fill up the vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Fraser. If that is done none of the dreadful consequences prophesied by Senator Clemons will happen. I think I have been slightly misunderstood by Senator Symon when I said that I thought the equal representation of the States in the Senate to some extent governed

this question. I fancy that when the Constitution builders put it in the Constitution that the President should have a deliberative vote, but made no provision for a casting vote, providing that if the votes were equal the question should pass in the negative, they had regard to the question of equal representation, and also had regard to the fact that each State should have the benefit of the representation of its six senators. The object was that no vote should be lost to a State even if one of its representatives was put in the President's chair. Rightly and justly following out that principle of the Constitution, the same practice has been adopted with regard to the Chairman of Committees; that no matter whether the Chairman of Committees—as was the case for some few weeks—came from Tasmania or whether he came from Victoria, his vote was never to be lost. Equal representation of the States is therefore carried out, and in every case the Chairman or the President has a deliberative vote and not a casting vote. The simple question is—Is it logical and just, or in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, to carry out that practice which we have adopted with regard to the President and Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, so far as concerns chairmen of special committees? Nobody, I should have thought, could argue that that was not the only logical and rightful way of interpreting our Constitution. Let me put a case to Senator Millen and Senator Gould with reference to the large State they represent. Suppose one of their representatives was fighting for his seat in the Senate, and suppose that the side represented by the honorable senators was exceedingly interested in the decision. It might be that upon that decision might hang the fate of a Government. If we conduct the affairs of our select committees in the way honorable senators opposite wish there might be some amount of juggling—if I may use that word—in deciding an issue which ought to be decided as a judicial matter. It might be that one of the members of the committee was very ill, and could not attend the meetings. The members of the committee who wanted to secure a certain result might say—"We will put so-and-so in the chair, and then there will be three members on the one side and two on the other." In that way they would absolutely take away the vote of the Chairman of the Committee, which the

Constitution has refused to do with regard to whoever may be President of the Senate. The point seems to me to be unanswerable; and I say at once that any standing order which shuts the mouth of an honorable senator in any position whatever is absolutely contrary, not to the letter, but to the spirit, of the Constitution. If there is the slightest difficulty about the matter, either the Ministry or Senator Downer should give notice of motion that the standing orders be suspended if necessary. If the words of any standing order override the spirit of the Constitution, it had better be suspended than that we should shut the mouth of the chairman of a select committee. We ought not to be asked to violate the spirit of the Constitution. I think the difficulty can be got over in the way I have suggested, and that we can preserve intact the principle of equal representation which we have been contending for.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—The speech of Senator Dobson has been addressed more to the point of what is desirable with regard to the duties and powers of the chairman than to the actual facts before us. In the first place, I should like to take the opportunity of observing that I think this is a most inconvenient time at which to raise a question of this character. The Vice-President of the Executive Council has—erroneously, I think,—sought to show that we may create a precedent in this matter, from which it will be doubtful if we can escape without a great deal of difficulty. I do not agree with the honorable senator in that respect; but, certainly, this is a most inopportune time to decide the matter. It has been pointed out to us that the select committee are equally divided. There are three members of the committee who intend to vote one way, and three who will vote in another. If a deliberative vote is given to the chairman his vote will therefore determine whether the matter is to be carried one way or the other. We cannot really give a clear and unbiased vote on the matter as we have to look at the whole of the surrounding circumstances. We have adopted certain standing orders and in one of them we have dealt with this question of the chairman's vote. If that standing order is a good one there is an end of the whole matter; but if it is not we should look to section 49 of the Constitution for guidance,

because we are there told in broad terms that the powers, privileges, and immunities of a committee shall be the same as those of a committee of the House of Commons.

Senator DOBSON.—That does not apply to practice.

Senator Major GOULD.—We will assume that it does not. Then I say that our standing order is perfectly valid. It cannot be *ultra vires*, because it is not in conflict with the spirit of the Constitution so far as the voting of the President is concerned. We clearly have power to regulate the proceedings of our own committees. We can regulate them as we think fit, so long as we do not violate the strict letter of the Constitution.

Senator DOBSON.—Which we do by shutting the mouth of one member of the committee altogether.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The mouth of the Speaker of the House of Representatives is not shut, although he has not a deliberative vote.

Senator Major GOULD.—The Speaker has only a casting vote.

Senator DOBSON.—Did the honorable and learned senator compare the House of Representatives with the Senate? They cannot be compared.

Senator Major GOULD.—Under the standing order, if it is a good one, Senator Downer is entitled to a casting vote. It may be that the standing order is absolutely wrong, and ought to be repealed immediately, and that the honorable senator should have his deliberative vote; but we have to recognise that there is that standing order staring us in the face, and we must decide according to that. If that standing order is *ultra vires*, it must be by virtue of some portion of the Constitution, and, so far, no part of the Constitution has been pointed out which will show that it is *ultra vires*. So far as equal State representation on these committees is concerned, the very proposal made in the first instance by Senator Drake to have only five senators on the committee shows that to his mind and to the mind of the Government it was not considered necessary to have equal State representation upon these committees. We did not carry out the spirit of the Constitution as laid down by the Vice-President of the Executive Council in the appointment of these committees.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We gave one State two votes on this committee.

Senator Major GOULD.—We gave one State two votes, but the reason why seven honorable senators were appointed to the committee was to secure that with an unequal number of members a dead-lock in the proceedings of the committee would be prevented. It is now suggested that we should make this a full committee, but I do not know that Senator Fraser, who retired from the committee some time ago, in consequence of ill health, will be prepared to go back to it again. I do not think any senator would care to take the position of seventh man on that committee at the present time, know-how it is divided. We have nearly all formed some opinion on the matter already, and it would be an unfair thing to do to put another honorable senator on that committee. Personally I should bring to bear as impartial a mind to the consideration of the case as possible, but I feel that to a certain extent I might be regarded as prejudiced.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Why should the honorable and learned senator be prejudiced when he does not know anything about the case?

Senator Major GOULD.—I do not; but if I were appointed as a member of the committee, and my voice and vote happened to go in the same way as Senator Symon, it might be said that I was sitting on the same side of the House with Senator Symon, and had voted in the same way as that honorable and learned senator a little time before. It would put any honorable senator who took the vacant seat in an invidious position. So far as I can see it would be far better to accept the amendment proposed by Senator Symon in this instance, it being clearly understood that it is only in consequence of the standing order that exists at the present moment, and not in consequence of our opinion as to whether it is wise or unwise to give the chairman of a committee of that kind a casting vote or only a deliberative vote.

Senator DOBSON.—The Senate should pass an Act appointing a Judge to decide.

Senator Major GOULD.—I think it would be far better if a Judge were to determine matters of this kind connected with disputed elections.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But that is not the question now before the Senate.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—By this time honorable

senators must have come to the conclusion that it is very much to be regretted that the number of members of this committee has been reduced to six. I believe still that the simplest solution of the difficulty will be to increase the number by one, and ask Senator Fraser to again accept the position, which he had unfortunately to give up through ill health. It has been stated that that would place the honorable senator in an awkward position. I do not think so at all, because honorable senators know nothing about the case up to the present. No evidence has been taken, and all that has been done is to have a discussion as to the mode of procedure in presenting petitions. There has been an expression of opinion from many honorable senators upon that point, but as to the merits of the petition I do not suppose there is a member of the Senate who knows anything about it. When I first saw this motion of Senator Downer's I thought section 49 of the Constitution governed it, and that we should have to follow the rules of the House of Commons. Looking more closely into the matter I do not think that section affects the question one iota. The section provides that until certain powers are declared by Parliament, a certain course shall be followed, namely, the practice of the House of Commons. But it does not, so far as I can see, relate in any way whatever to the order and conduct of business in each House. Each House, under the following section, has, of course, the necessary power and right to deal with standing orders which do relate to the conduct of its business. We are then thrown back upon section 23, and the whole question is as to whether our Standing Order 354 is *ultra vires* or not. Before we can arrive at a conclusion on that point we must decide on what is the meaning of section 23, and whether every member of the Senate has an absolute right to a deliberative vote. If under the Constitution every member has an absolute right to a deliberative vote, no standing order, and not even the Senate itself, can alter that. It may be said that section 23 deals with the matter a little ambiguously, and I think a wrong interpretation of the section has been given by interpreting the phrase "in the Senate" as having the ordinary technical parliamentary meaning of the term "in the House." I do not think it means anything of the kind. The more I look at the section the more I

am convinced that the phrase "in the Senate" is used in the fullest and widest sense. The section provides that on all questions arising "in the Senate," each senator shall have one vote, and I say that that covers all committees, whether committees of the whole House or select committees, because they are part and parcel of the Senate, and in those committees under that section of the Constitution every member must have a deliberative vote.

Senator FRASER.—What about the Standing Orders Committee where there are nine of them?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—If there were 90 it would not alter my argument.

Senator FRASER.—It clearly proves that no State rights are involved in it.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I am not speaking of State rights at all. Section 23 says nothing about State rights. It simply says that every senator shall have a vote.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—"In the Senate."

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—That is where I think honorable senators go wrong, because the phrase is not intended to be read in the ordinary Parliamentary sense of "in the House," it simply means "in the Senate," in a committee of the whole House, which is part of the Senate, or a select committee which is part of the Senate.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is part of it, but it is not the Senate; while a committee of the whole is the Senate.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I confess I am not able to agree with the honorable and learned senator in his reading of it. I think the honorable and learned senator's reading is too limited, and my conviction is that in a select committee of the Senate every man has an absolute right to a deliberative vote, and if my view be correct, no standing order can possibly override the Constitution. A great deal has been said on the subject of giving equal representative power to the States in each committee, but that, I think, has nothing whatever to do with this matter.

Senator MILLEN.—That is the only object of giving each senator one vote.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I do not think so. On my reading of the section, each senator would have one vote, and no standing order could alter that.

We have been referred to the House of Lords, but we have nothing to do with the House of Lords or its practice. We can work within the four corners of the Constitution Act, and under any standing orders we may pass in accordance with that Constitution. Anything which is not in accordance with the Constitution is *perforce u'tra vires*. It does happen that Standing Order 354 states that the chairman of a select committee shall have a casting vote "only." But for the use of that word I should have been inclined to say that the standing order was perfectly right, because we might have given a casting vote in addition to a deliberative vote. I am not certain whether we could not by a slight stretch strike out that word, and say that the intention of the Constitution is to give every member a deliberative vote, and that by the standing order we also give the chairman a casting vote. The matter has been fully debated, and I simply wish to call attention to the particular point to which I have referred. I again urge that, really, the simplest plan to follow would be to make the committee up to the full number of seven, if the honorable senator, who, unfortunately, had to retire, is willing to accept the position again.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I cannot understand honorable senators making use of the argument about equal representation of the States on committees, at the same time supporting the proposition of Senator Sir John Downer for a deliberative vote, because that proposition would give an unequal vote to the States on the committee. At present we have two South Australian senators there, one of whom has a vote, but it so happens that the other is chairman of the committee, and, according to the present standing orders, has a casting vote. That is about as near as it is possible for us to form the committee on the principle of equal representation of States. To depart from that, as Senator Downer proposes, is to get away from equal representation, and senators who are in favour of equal representation must vote against the motion submitted by Senator Downer. There is a very much graver aspect of this question than that. We must remember that this committee has been investigating this case for a very long time. At all events, it has been going about its business for a long

time. When we have been under the impression that we had a certain basis of voting on that committee. No doubt the committee has had a somewhat chequered career, but surely there is no reason whatever for altering the basis of voting of the members of the committee. The very fact that it has not been a very happy family is the best reason for retaining the basis on which we set out. To alter it would be for the Senate to take sides, and if we do alter it, I hold that we shall stultify a decision which the Senate came to some time ago, when, on the retirement of Senator Fraser, we decided that we should have six senators on the committee. To alter the basis of voting on the committee now would be to set aside the mandate we had from the Senate at that time. The very fact of altering this would cause us to arrive at a dead-lock. There is no reason why we should make any variation.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—That was because we did not go on.

Senator DE LARGIE.—If we did go on with the business of the committee, and carried out Senator Downer's motion, we should arrive at a dead-lock. The Senate has given us its mandate to proceed with the case, but Senator Downer's motion would put an end to our business at once. I think the Senate would be acting unwisely if it departed from what has been the general understanding from the first.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—After the long debate which has taken place this afternoon, the Senate will have some sympathy with members of the committee. The whole House has been engaged for nearly four hours in considering this matter, and as similar debates take place on the occasion of the meetings of the committee which, as a rule, do not extend over a period of more than two hours, honorable senators will be able to form some idea of the great progress we are making. It seems to me to be a most extraordinary state of affairs, that the gentleman whom we honour by electing as the chairman of our committee, should have less power in dealing with the business of the committee than that possessed by any other member of it.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—What about the position of Mr. Speaker?

Senator WALKER.—I agree with Senator O'Connor, that that is not an

analogous case. The members of the committee are delegated, not by the House of Representatives, but by the Senate. I trust that the Senate will support Senator Downer's motion, and that it will see its way clear, thereafter, to appoint a seventh member of the committee. At the present time the great State of Victoria is not represented on it, while the less important State of South Australia has two representatives. Curiously enough that model State has a plurality of representation on no less than four of the six committees appointed by the Senate. Fortunately, or unfortunately, its two representatives on the Elections and Qualifications Committee are lawyers. The remaining members are laymen and we defer to their professional knowledge. But when the two men of law only negative each others views what are we to do? We must perforce rely upon our own judgment, and my judgment has always been that section 47 of the Constitution settles this matter. I hope that a seventh member of the committee will be appointed. Any honorable senator joining us now will not be placed at any great disadvantage, and I trust that Senator Fraser will see his way clear to return to the committee. I would only say in conclusion that in my opinion the chairman, Senator Downer, deserves very great credit for the excellent spirit he has shown right through.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—Some rather peculiar arguments have been put forward this afternoon upon this question. It has been contended that those who support the amendment moved by Senator Symon would practically silence certain members of this committee, and would deprive them of some of their constitutional rights. That has been urged with some degree of vehemence in certain instances. I do not share that opinion, nor do I think that the question involved is a constitutional one. It may be regarded with some degree of amusement that a layman should dare to venture an opinion on matters of this kind, but I say with all humility and sincerity that this question has in no way a constitutional aspect. It is merely a question whether the particular standing order, to which such frequent allusion has been made, has any existence in fact or is a dead letter. If it has no force, then the members of the committee should have been informed of that fact long ago. I have always acted with that degree of liberality which I think

should actuate every honorable senator on the committee, and I should decline to take up any position which would deprive an honorable senator of his legitimate rights. If it is agreed that the chairman of the committee has a deliberative and not a casting vote as provided in this standing order, then that fact should have been conveyed to us. The matter has come before the committee on one or two occasions, and we have never had any doubt until quite recently that the chairman did not possess a deliberative vote. I have held that belief, and have been guided by it, from the first.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think the honorable senator should refer to the proceedings of the committee until they report.

Senator GLASSEY.—Very well, Mr. President. It has been contended that if the amendment be carried it will form a precedent for all time. I cannot view the matter in that light. Either we have these standing orders to guide us or we have not. I hope this amendment will be carried, not because I wish to deprive the chairman of the committee of any constitutional right he possesses, but because I believe he is setting up a claim to a right which the standing orders do not give him. I fail to see that if carried it will constitute a precedent, for I presume we shall have shortly a new set of standing orders, which will guide our future proceedings. It has been said by Senator Symon that if we had no standing orders the rules of the House of Commons would operate, but that we have for our guidance in this matter the standing order to which reference has been made. If the House of Commons procedure guided us, we should stand on exceptionally safe ground, because the chairmen of select committees of that House possess only a casting vote. So long as we have this standing order to guide us, however, I do not see that there can be any difficulty. I do not hold the opinion that it is inoperative. When was any resolution passed in the Senate providing that it should be silent? If my memory is not exceptionally defective, no such resolution has been passed, and if the rule remains good, the claim put forward by the Chairman of the Select Committee is one which cannot be granted. I speak absolutely free from prejudice, bias, or partisanship. There is no partisanship or

prejudice in this matter. I take my stand in defence of the standing order which has guided the committee during its existence. Either it has vital force, or it has not. If it is valid, as I believe it is, any resolution contrary to it will be entirely wrong. I know nothing of the merits of the petition. I know that some members of the committee are acting with perfect good faith, and with a firm belief that the standing order is binding. If it is binding, then the amendment ought to be carried, and the claim put forward by Senator Downer disallowed. I have the highest possible respect for the honor and the integrity of Senator Downer, but I certainly think that in this instance he is wrong in his view of the standing order. In my opinion the amendment in no way involves any Constitutional question; nor does it attempt, in the slightest degree, to silence any honorable senator. If it is carried the chairman of the committee will be able to talk with the utmost freedom, but he will be deprived of a deliberative vote. If there has been a tacit understanding that the standing order should not operate, there may be something said in opposition to the amendment, but I know of no such understanding. I have been fairly regular in my attendance, and I can remember no resolution being passed to set aside the standing order. I shall vote for the amendment, not to deprive any honorable senator of a right, but to vindicate and maintain intact the standing orders.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—On the 25th July last, the Senate asked the committee to make further inquiry, and report. I hope that the blame of the delay will be put on the right shoulders. We have had a great deal of discussion, but have really made no progress.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think the honorable senator ought to refer to what has been done in the committee.

Senator MACFARLANE.—I hope that the amendment will not be carried, and that the chairman will not be deprived of a deliberative vote. He has exercised that vote already. I do not think any reason has been shown for over-riding section 23 of the Constitution. I understand that the chairman of the select committee on standing orders has exercised a deliberative vote several times. That is a very good precedent for us to follow in this case. I have heard on good authority that we are not a select committee at all. We have

not been appointed in the ordinary way by vote of the Senate, but under a warrant.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No; the warrant nominated the members, but they were appointed by the Senate. The resolution says that it shall be deemed an appointment by the Senate.

Senator MACFARLANE.—I understand on good legal authority that we are not a select committee in the ordinary meaning of the term. If that is so, I think section 23 of the Constitution Act must apply, and our chairman should not be deprived of a deliberative vote.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH (Western Australia).—I have listened very carefully to the debate, and it seems to me very clear that we should be guided by the standing orders, which say that the chairman has only a casting vote. It has been argued very learnedly by many legal gentlemen that these standing orders are *ultra vires*, because they conflict with the Constitution. If that is the case, section 49 of the Constitution says that if the powers and privileges of the Senate are not defined, it has to be guided by the House of Commons procedure, and that, I think, is the general rule in the State Parliaments. If we refer to the procedure of the House of Commons, we shall find that the chairman has only a casting vote. Senators Downer, Dobson, and O'Connor have said that such a provision in our standing orders, if legal, would be most unjust; that it was contemplated that every honorable senator should have a deliberative vote, and that it would be most unjust to give the chairman only a casting vote. Some honorable senators have endeavoured to insist that each State should be represented on the committee. With great respect, I think that argument is absurd. When we appoint a committee to ascertain certain facts we appoint those who we think are most competent to come to a correct decision, and there is no question of State rights at all. I have taken the trouble to turn up the draft, standing orders, which were introduced by the Government for provisional use.

Senator SIR JOHN DOWNER.—On a point of order, sir, I ask you to what extent the debate will extend if we have every document which has been laid on the table considered with the view of saying whether or not the chairman of this committee has a deliberative vote?

The PRESIDENT.—I think any honorable senator can quote from any document on the table which is relevant to the discussion. These proposed standing orders were laid upon the table, therefore I think Senator Smith is in order in quoting from them, but whether they have any bearing or not on the question at issue is another matter.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—In these standing orders, introduced by the representative of the Government and settled after revision by the Prime Minister, I find the following rule :—

Every committee, previous to the commencement of business, shall elect one of its members to be chairman, who shall only have a casting vote.

These are the standing orders which the Government asked us to agree to instead of having the South Australian ones.

Senator DRAKE.—They were objected to on the ground of that particular standing order.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No; we adopted it in the South Australian rules.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—I think Senator Drake is mistaken there. This rule was never discussed.

Senator DRAKE.—Yes it was, because it bore on the appointment of a chairman of committees.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—There is exactly the same provision in the South Australian standing orders which we adopted for temporary use.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And it does not bear on the appointment of a chairman of committees.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—The Government clearly contemplated that the chairmen of all our select committees should have only a casting vote. That was the Government proposal then; but in this particular case it is exactly the opposite. However, it was not to discuss legal questions that I rose. What I want to speak about strongly is the great injustice which has been and is being done to Western Australia by this protracted discussion as to the qualifications of one of its representatives.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—What does the honorable senator want to have done?

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—I want the matter settled one way or the other; I do not care which way it is.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Appoint another member to the committee.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—I am not going to suggest how it can be done.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The committee have tried for four months to settle the matter.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—Their efforts have been very ineffectual.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The committee do not know what the petition is all about yet.

The PRESIDENT.—I will ask Senator Smith not to be led away by interjections. Does he think his remarks are relevant to the question at issue as to the vote of the Chairman of the Elections and Qualifications Committee?

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—I am speaking of the injustice of prolonging this discussion with a view of ascertaining whether some means cannot be taken for settling the matter as quickly as possible. I think an argument to that effect is relevant. The Constitution clearly contemplates that very State shall be equally represented in the Senate. That is one of the basic principles of our Constitution, and yet, ever since this Parliament has been sitting, that principle has not been carried out. Western Australia, instead of having six representatives, has only had five. We have had many important questions before the Senate. Some of them vitally affecting Western Australia have been carried by narrow majorities, or lost by one or two votes. Yet we have had only five representatives from Western Australia instead of the six to which we are entitled. I do not care how the committee is constituted, or whether the whole committee is swept aside and the matter is decided by the Senate, but I say that a gross injustice has been done and is being done to Western Australia, and as a representative of that State I claim that we are undoubtedly entitled to have our six members, and should not be deprived of one of them in consequence of differences of opinion and bickerings amongst members of the committee. What will be the position if Senator Downer's motion is carried? We shall have three members of the committee on each side, and there will be all kinds of manœuvring as to who shall propose the resolution, because the others will be ready to negative it.

The PRESIDENT.—I must ask the honorable senator not to refer to what has

been or what is taking place in the committee.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—I am only speaking of what might happen. If this motion is carried it will mean that there will be six members on the committee, each of whom will have a deliberative vote. As there is a dead-lock at present, that will be accentuated by the fact that if one member proposes a motion the others can negative it. The result will be that because of these dissensions in the committee Western Australia will continue in her present invidious position, and will not have the representation to which the Constitution entitles her. I am going to vote against the motion, simply because I believe it will perpetuate the present difficulty.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Because the honorable senator is sitting on that side of the Chamber, that is why.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—That is an imputation which the honorable and learned senator should not have made. I am not actuated by the fact that I sit on the Opposition side. If the honorable and learned senator cares to look at the whole of my votes throughout this Parliament, he will see that I have voted as often with the Government as with the Opposition. I am not actuated by party spirit in these matters, but I take the view which I think is the correct one. The point upon which I feel strongly is that as long as these bickerings continue. Western Australia will not have her full voting power. There are many important questions coming on, such as the Alien Immigration Restriction Bill, the Tariff, and other proposals.

The PRESIDENT.—The honorable senator should not refer to those matters, which have nothing to do with the question.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—On any of the important questions which will come before the Senate, Western Australia will have insufficient voting power. Therefore I trust we shall adopt some procedure by means of which finality may be arrived at, and speedy justice will be insured. It seems to me that, if Senator Downer's motion is carried, that injustice will be continued, and Western Australia will be imperfectly represented in the Senate.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—There will be absolute finality within a month.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—If there is not, I hope the Senate will sweep away this committee as one which is not competent to decide the matter, and that the subject will be settled by the Senate itself.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—It appears to me that, during the course of this debate, though it started off so well, there has been a tendency on the part of several honorable senators who have addressed themselves to the motion to get away from the main question to a number of side issues. We are asked to deal with a question of principle, and we ought to endeavour to decide it in a judicial way. We should apply our consideration to the matter without regard to any of the incidental consequences that may arise by reason of the personnel of the committee affected, or by reason of the position of the State concerned. I think the principle laid down by Senator Downer in support of his motion was agreed to by honorable senators on both sides of the Chamber, namely, that—standing orders apart—the case should be governed by the general principle that governs Legislatures in the United Kingdom, in the United States, in Canada, and elsewhere; and that the procedure of a committee appointed by a House of Legislature should be analogous to the procedure of the House itself of which that committee is a creature. As against that argument, Senator Symon has urged, with a great deal of force and emphasis, that we are not to determine the matter by the general procedure which governs the proceedings of Legislatures and committees of a House, but that it is a matter purely for the standing orders. I traverse that statement. We are, in my opinion, bound by the principle of section 23 of the Constitution, which says—

Questions arising in the Senate shall be determined by a majority of votes, and each senator shall have one vote.

I doubt very much whether we can call our Elections and Qualifications Committee a select committee within the meaning of the standing orders.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—Another side issue!

Senator KEATING.—It is not a side issue, but an important point, as I think I shall be able to show directly. The argument which has been addressed most forcibly to this issue is that Standing Order 354 applies to the procedure of this committee. That

standing order, governing the proceedings of select committees, is as follows—

Every committee previous to the commencement of business shall elect one of its members to be chairman, who shall only have a casting vote.

It is contended that that standing order will override the principle which it is held by other honorable senators is contained in section 23 of the Constitution. But I wish to point out that Standing Order 345 says—

All select committees shall, unless the House shall otherwise direct, consist of seven members, whereof one shall be the mover ;

clearly showing that select committees are to be the creation of the Senate, and are not to be appointed by warrant of the President, as this Elections and Qualifications Committee was. Standing Order No. 348 provides that—

Select committees shall be formed in the following manner :

I will ask honorable senators to pay particular attention to the manner in which these select committees are to be formed. The standing order says—

Each member present shall give to the Clerk a list of the names of any six members, not including the mover, whom he may think fit and proper to be upon such committee ; and if any list contains a larger or lesser number of names, it shall be void and rejected.

That is the procedure laid down by the standing orders for the appointment of select committees. Will any honorable senator say that in the appointment of the Elections and Qualifications Committee such procedure was adopted ? If that procedure was not followed, I contend that this committee is not a select committee within the meaning of our standing orders, and that clearly Standing Order 354, which governs the procedure of select committees, cannot be called in to assist those who say that the chairman of this committee can only exercise a casting vote. Of course I am not going to say that this committee is to be regarded as a committee of the whole House, but I ask honorable senators to pay particular attention to Standing Order 385, which governs the procedure of Committees of the Whole. It is as follows—

Every question in committee shall be decided in the same manner as in the House itself, the chairman only having a casting vote, and any reasons stated by him shall be entered in the Votes and Proceedings.

Honorable senators are well aware that under that standing order it was contended by the chairman of the committee, Senator

Senator Keating.

Best, on one occasion, that he was entitled to exercise a casting vote, and when his decision upon that matter was disagreed with, and the point was referred to the Senate, the President decided that the Chairman of Committees, notwithstanding the explicit terms of Standing Order 385, had given a deliberative vote. Ever since then the Chairman of Committees has exercised, not a casting vote, but a deliberative vote.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But the standing orders expressly say that matters shall be decided in the committee in the same way as in the Senate.

Senator KEATING.—I am now directing attention to Standing Order 385. Does my honorable and learned friend wish to contend that we are to obliterate from that standing order the words “having only a casting vote” ?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Certainly.

Senator KEATING.—Then the words are not only unnecessary, but they are absolutely meaningless.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—They are dominated by the other words. No such words occur in Standing Order 354.

Senator KEATING.—That can have no application to this case, because I am contending that this is not a select committee.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—If it is not a select committee, there is an end of the matter.

Senator KEATING.—Will the honorable and learned senator contend that it is a select committee ?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Certainly.

Senator KEATING.—Then how was it that the committee was appointed in the way it was appointed ?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Because the Senate chose to have the committee appointed in that particular way.

Senator KEATING.—The committee was not appointed in the manner prescribed by the standing order, but by warrant of the President. As I have already indicated Standing Order 355 sets forth—

All select committees shall, unless the House shall otherwise direct, consist of seven members, whereof one shall be the mover.

Clearly under that standing order the Senate has power to direct that a select committee shall consist of other than seven members. But under Standing Order 348 there is no such provision or reservation as “unless the House shall otherwise direct.” It is

absolutely mandatory that select committees shall be formed in the manner prescribed. We cannot go behind that order in the appointment of a select committee.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Some of the other committees were appointed by nomination.

Senator KEATING.—Then they have not been appointed as select committees under these standing orders, which, therefore, are not applicable to them as select committees.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That remark would apply to all committees.

Senator KEATING.—It would apply to all committees not appointed under Standing Order 348.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Then what kind of committee would the honorable and learned senator call the Elections and Qualifications Committee?

Senator KEATING.—It is a committee appointed by warrant of the President. With reference to the power of the chairman of committees of the whole Senate to give a casting or deliberative vote, I should like to read from the ruling given by the President on that occasion.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Can the honorable and learned senator quote from a ruling given in another debate?

The PRESIDENT.—Several honorable senators have already referred to that ruling and have quoted it.

Senator KEATING.—I think, under the circumstances, I might be permitted to quote from the ruling of the President. He said—

But the first question is—What does section 23 of the Constitution mean? It says—"Questions arising in the Senate shall be determined by a majority of votes, and each senator shall have one vote. The President shall, in all cases, be entitled to a vote, and when the votes are equal the question shall pass in the negative." Does that apply to every committee appointed by the Senate? If it applies to a committee of the whole, it will also apply to a select committee; because a committee of the whole is in no different position to a select committee. It is a committee appointed by the Senate.

Senator FRASER.—Does that apply to the Standing Orders Committee?

Senator KEATING.—If it applies to a committee of the whole House, I hold, according to this ruling, that it will apply to every committee which is the creation of the Senate. There is no doubt about it that it applies to the Senate itself. I do not think any one says for a moment that

in the Senate, as a Senate, any honorable senator is not entitled at all times to exercise a deliberative vote. That it applies to a committee of the whole Senate we all know. Since that decision was given our Chairman of Committees has constantly exercised a deliberative vote, and not a casting vote. If that ruling applies to a committee of the whole it will apply to a select committee, or any other committee, because such a committee is in no different position from the committee of the whole. I contend that section 23 of the Constitution applies not merely to the Senate itself, but to every committee appointed by the Senate, and that the Elections and Qualifications Committee—call it a select committee or what honorable senators will—is accordingly governed in its proceedings by the principle of section 23. I cannot find myself in accord with some honorable senators, who have laid it down as a principle that we are to preserve not only in the Senate itself, but in every committee of the Senate, the principle of the equality of the States, and that for reasons of that kind we ought to be loth on the present occasion to accept the amendment of Senator Symon. I think that, seeing that section 23 governs procedure in the Senate, and—according to my contention—the procedure of all committees, any standing order in conflict with that section of the Constitution cannot be valid, but must be *ultra vires*. No standing order can override the principles of the Constitution. The Standing Order itself is an emanation from the Constitution through the medium of this House of the Parliament, which exists under the Constitution, Senator Symon has in his zeal been led a little away from the real issue before the Senate in this debate. The honorable and learned senator has pointed out that if Senator Downer's motion is carried, the constitution and personnel of the committee is such that it shall come to a deadlock. I do not see that that should enter into the consideration of this question.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—No. If there is a delay it does not matter to the State represented by the honorable and learned senator.

Senator KEATING.—I say that that is absolutely beside the issue before us. We are not called upon here to ask whether an injustice is being done to Western

Australia, but whether the chairman of a committee of this Senate has a deliberative vote or a casting vote.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The honorable and learned senator said it ought not to be called a committee.

Senator KEATING.—I said the principles I was contending for would apply to this committee by whatever name we might choose to call it. This is not a question as to whether Western Australia or any other State is suffering injustice, but it is a question as to whether the chairman of a committee of the Senate has or has not a deliberative vote. We have to approach such a question as a Judge would approach a question of law coming before him on the bench, and upon which he would arrive at a decision which would be applicable in determining hundreds of other like cases, whatever might be the accidental circumstances connected with the particular case upon which his decision is asked. There is, therefore, in this case no force in Senator Symon's contention that by agreeing to the motion we shall be creating a condition of dead-lock in the committee. These are circumstances which may or may not be purely accidental. It may be purely an accident of the occasion characteristic of this particular committee, but it should not in any way determine the vote we shall give upon the principle submitted to us. Similarly with regard to the contention put forward by Senator Smith, that by delaying the absolute determination of the matter before the committee Western Australia is suffering, that contention should not be taken into consideration. Western Australia is not suffering, nor will it suffer, by reason of the action of the Senate in deciding this question of principle, but it is suffering by reason of the inability or the reluctance of the committee to come to a decision. We have delegated to the committee the duty of reporting upon this matter. If they are not in the position to report to us on the matter, we are not upon a question such as this to take the whole matter out of their hands, and determining something apart altogether from the question of principle submitted to us, come to a decision with a view to forcing the committee to arrive at a conclusion. Senator Symon has referred to the circumstance that such a claim as this is of quite recent origin, and

that although the committee have been in existence for a considerable time such a claim has not previously been put forward. A similar argument has been used by Senator Glassey, but I submit that it does not matter if it were twelve months hence, and the committee was still sitting, if the principle is correct no acquiescence in a wrong practice on the part of the chairman of the committee for any length of time can make the principle incorrect.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Is it not against the principle of the Constitution that Western Australia should not be represented by six senators?

Senator KEATING.—I grant that, but the honorable senator must see that that is not the fault of the Senate, and it is not a question affecting the Senate. It is not because of any proceedings of the Senate. It may be the fault of the committee, or it may not, and we are now asked to determine a question of principle, and not the question which the honorable senator has raised. Are we to go beyond the question of principle, and go into the question of the personnel of the committee, and the possibility or impossibility of their arriving at a unanimous conclusion at an early date, in order to put the committee into such a position that it shall be forced to hurry to a conclusion? I think Senator Stanforth Smith has determined that he is not going to confine his attention to the principle, but to matters incidental and purely accidental circumstances connected with this particular case. What I have said with regard to the standing order, that it is out of harmony with and in conflict with section 23 of the Constitution, would apply equally well to the other standing order referred to by Senator Symon—Standing Order No. 1—which provides that in all cases not otherwise provided for in the standing orders the standing orders of the House of Commons should govern the procedure. If that Standing Order No. 1 is valid, its validity must be determined by precisely the same test as the validity of Standing Orders 354 and 384, and we must ask how far Standing Order No. 1 is, or is not, in conflict with the terms and spirit of the Constitution. If Standing Order No. 1, by what I should call its value of import, imports into these standing orders others—not written therein, but which to any extent are in conflict with the terms of the Constitution—it is *pro tanto* invalid. Any standing orders of the House of Commons which

would be in conflict with the Constitution, could not be imported into our standing orders by Standing Order No. 1. The latter would be inoperative to that extent, and to that extent invalid, because it would be so far in conflict with the Constitution, and it cannot—any more than any other standing order—to any extent whatever override the Constitution. Another argument put forward is, that as the committee is at present constituted, we would have an actual equality of votes, and an absolute dead-lock. As I have said before, that is not a matter which should determine us in coming to a decision upon the principle involved in this question. The same consideration will apply equally well to the whole body of the Senate, as pointed out in an interjection by the Postmaster-General. There is only one other matter to which I should like to refer, and in that I have been anticipated to a certain extent by Senator Sargood. Senator Symon, and Senator Millen, following him, dwelt rather emphatically upon section 49 of the Constitution, which says :—

The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and of the members, and of the committees of each House shall be such as are declared by Parliament, and until declared shall be those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the establishment of the Commonwealth.

I take it that these words “powers, privileges and immunities” do not cover procedure. They do not cover the practice and the order of business. They are simply intended to cover the aggregation of rights and privileges which attach to members of the House of Commons as members of the House of Commons. There are certain immunities from certain proceedings which apply to them. There are certain powers which committees have with respect to the taking of evidence and other matters of a cognate character, and I take it that the words “powers, privileges, and immunities” are intended to cover the aggregation of rights and powers to which I have referred. Senator Millen, I think, accused the Vice-President of the Executive Council of skipping this provision rather hurriedly, because it might provide a dangerous argument against himself, but if Senator Symon and Senator Millen had gone further, they would have seen that in the Constitution itself this very distinction is implied, because under clause 49 the “powers, privileges,

and immunities” of the Senate and House of Representatives and the committee of each House are to be such as are “declared by the Parliament.” Senator Millen pointed out that this had only been declared by the Senate, and suggested that, therefore, it might be argued that clause 49 would not cover the particular matter we had under discussion. If the honorable and learned senator had gone further, he would have seen, by section 50, that—

Each House of the Parliament may make rules and orders with respect to—

- (1) The mode in which its powers, privileges, and immunities may be exercised and upheld.
- (2) The order and conduct of its business and proceedings, either separately, or jointly with the other House ;

so that we have section 50, empowering each House to make standing orders governing the conduct of its own business.

Senator PLAYFORD.—We did that, and we adopted the standing orders of South Australia.

Senator KEATING.—I do not for one moment deny the statement of Senator Playford, but I am pointing out that the argument used by honorable senators opposite, with respect to the powers, privileges, and immunities of members under section 49 was absolutely erroneous, because section 50 deals with matters of this kind, and not section 49 at all. It behoves us on this occasion not to be led away from the issues before us, and not to take into account the fact that this committee has been in existence for a certain time, and unable to come to an agreement ; not to take into consideration the various matters that come to our ears, directly or indirectly, during the course of this debate or otherwise, as to what would actually be the outcome of passing either the motion or the amendment. We should confine ourselves absolutely to the principle involved and decide whether or not—apart altogether from what may be the actual concrete circumstances in this case—this Elections and Qualifications Committee—or any other appointed for the purpose of inquiring into any other case—the Chairman of the Committee has or has not a deliberative vote. We have to decide the principle which shall govern all our committees in similar cases under existing circumstances with our standing orders as they are, and under the Constitution under which we are working. For the reasons I have given,

based purely upon technical or legal grounds, I am compelled to support the motion moved by Senator Downer.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I intend only to say a few words. We have adopted the standing orders of the South Australian Parliament.

Senator HIGGS.—With certain exceptions.

Senator FRASER.—With certain exceptions, but we have adopted specially this rule No. 345, and we have adopted it in consequence of section 49 of the Constitution.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—No, no.

Senator FRASER.—Oh, yes, and under that section the powers and privileges of the Senate are to be in accordance with the privileges of the members of the House of Commons, unless we have adopted some other provision. We have not adopted some other provision, but we have adopted this standing order.

Senator HIGGS.—Which is *ultra vires*?

Senator FRASER.—It is preposterous to say that it is *ultra vires*. If this standing order which we have adopted is *ultra vires*, it is because of section 23 of the Constitution.

Senator GLASSEY.—When was it discovered that the rule was *ultra vires*?

Senator FRASER.—A very apt interjection. Why make the discovery now, when the committee has been sitting for months and months? Section 23 of the Constitution is a section which deals with State rights, and where State rights are involved it would never do to take the vote of any senator away. But can any honorable senators say that a State right is involved in this question? Is any State right involved in the constitution of the Standing Orders Committee, of whom there are nine; of the temporary Standing Orders Committee, of whom there are seven; or of the Printing Committee, and the House Committee, of whom there are seven? No one contends that these committees affect State rights, and in my opinion it is preposterous to think of a select committee dealing with elections and qualifications, or dealing with a thousand and one matters, which I could name if I chose to waste the time of the House, as involving questions of State rights. Where questions of State rights come in, the proper place in which to deal with them is on the floor of the Senate Chamber,

when every honorable senator may be supposed to be in his place, and when we are guided by the Constitution. Section 23 was put in purposely to conserve State rights, and it would not be there at all but for that. I remember well the discussion which took place in the Convention on the matter, and it was said that the smaller States would never come into the federation unless they were protected by having eight senators each, as the proposal then was, to maintain their State rights. State rights are not involved in connexion with the Elections and Qualifications Committee, the Standing Orders Committee, or the House Committee. Surely we shall not descend to such ridiculous arguments as these. I say that the proper thing to do is to support Senator Symon's amendment, and let the committee deal with the matter submitted to them, and bring up a report speedily, that Western Australia may have the justice she is entitled to, and which she demands.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—It appears to me that a great deal of the argument we have heard has been a little beside the question which I opened. I assure the House that after much thought I certainly did try, with much care and very studiously, to restrict the discussion to the simple practical question before us, without dragging in all these considerations about Western Australia being kept out of a member. We are simply dealing with the question of whether or not the chairman of a certain committee had a right to a deliberative vote or whether he was restricted to a casting vote. If he had not had a deliberative vote, we all know what the result would have been.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—What would it have been?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—If there were three against two, and three were one way, and two the other way, we know what the result would have been. Then my honorable friend says Western Australia would have had a member. It might or it might not, but that is scarcely the question which was before us. It was a great principle, which, speaking generally, has been argued fairly and reasonably, and without the introduction of side issues, such as Senators Smith and Fraser introduced, which, in my opinion, have nothing to do with the question.

Senator FRASER.—How so?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—My honorable friend was not here or did not hear, otherwise I think he would have spoken differently. The simple point which I made, and which I appeal to Senator Fraser about at the last moment, was that when the Senate appointed a number of honorable senators as a select committee to consider and take evidence and advise, it wanted all of them not only to exercise their judgments, but to give it the benefit of their opinions, and the question was whether in practice a standing order adopted from South Australia would prevent that result from being obtained, and would stultify the chairman in his position and exclude him from expressing his opinion equally with the others. That was the whole point that I opened. There was no question of unfairness, one way or another. I was avoiding all argumentative questions. I pointed out that our Constitution gave the President a deliberative and not a casting vote, and I argued by analogy that it gave the Chairman of Committees also a deliberative and not a casting vote.

Senator FRASER.—Why did not the honorable and learned senator raise that question at first, when there were four to two?

Senator PLAYFORD.—Because he never thought of it.

Senator FRASER.—He did not think of it until he was driven into a corner.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I am rather obliged for that interruption, because it enables me to take a different tone. What had I done that I should be driven into a corner—a quiet, peaceful man, wonderfully enduring in this committee, as my honorable friend must know, what very few men would have stood? As my honorable friend talks about my being driven into a corner, let me say that he sat and listened—

Senator FRASER.—I never uttered a word until the honorable and learned senator reflected upon me. If an honorable senator reflects on me, he will have it with interest.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I have never reflected on my honorable friend in my life, and I never shall.

Senator FRASER.—If I did wrong, I apologize.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I am not reflecting on my honorable friend now.

When he gets a little irritable, which we all do some times, and tells me that when driven into a corner I did certain things, I ask him how he would like any one to tell him that?

Senator FRASER.—The honorable and learned senator hurt my feelings first.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I do not think so. I have always received the greatest consideration from my honorable friend, and we always agree, and he may be quite sure that he will always obtain the same consideration from me. While there was a majority, and there was no question of my deliberative vote having any effect, the point never arose. It was only later on, when, by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances—all done accidentally, and mostly, I understand, in the best interests of you, Mr. President, and with the kindest inclination to save you any trouble or anxiety—it was arranged that the number should be only six, and should not be seven.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—On a point of order, sir, is it correct for the honorable and learned senator to speak of it being arranged that the number should be six instead of seven, when it was the result of a resolution of the Senate? It was not the result of any arrangement.

The PRESIDENT.—I understood the honorable and learned senator to mean that it was arranged by the Senate.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He did not say it was arranged by the Senate. It was the result of a resolution of the Senate made in his presence.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not see any point of order.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Who can say that a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances is an arrangement? When I saw three members of the committee struggling one way and three the other, I began to wonder.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is this in order, sir?

The PRESIDENT.—I have stopped several honorable senators, as far as I could, from referring to the proceedings in the committee, because we do not know anything about them.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I always bow to the Chair, but still, when I am told that it was only when I was driven into a corner that I found this out, I reply

that I never had to consider the matter until the occasion arose, and, when it arose, I thought it was as much my duty to vote, if it was my constitutional right to vote, as it is yours, sir, when it is your constitutional right to vote. I brought this matter before the Senate, not with reference to this passing thing, which is of no consequence compared to the principle involved, but for the purpose of establishing the rule that in committees of the whole and in select committees we should follow the great cardinal principle that no honorable senator loses his vote anywhere.

The PRESIDENT.—The amendment is to insert the word “not” before the word “entitled.” As a general rule a distinct negative is not an amendment, and ought not to be put. I had some doubt as to whether I ought to put this amendment, but as the committee require instructions from the Senate, I think I ought to deviate from the ordinary rule. Of course, the general rule will still hold good, that a direct negative cannot be moved as an amendment.

Question—That the word proposed to be inserted be so inserted—put. The Senate divided.

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|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | ... | 10 |
| Noes | ... | ... | ... | 11 |
| Majority | ... | ... | ... | 1 |

AYES.

De Largie, H.
Ferguson, J.
Fraser, S.
Glassey, T.
Gould, A. J.
Millen, E. D.

Pearce, G. F.
Playford, T.
Smith, M. S. C.

Teller.

Symon, Sir J. H.

NOES.

Barrett, J. G.
Charleston, D. M.
Higgs, W. G.
Keating, J. H.
Macfarlane, J.
McGregor, G.

O'Connor, R. E.
O'Keefe, D. J.
Sargood, Sir F. T.
Walker, J. T.
Teller.
Downer, Sir J. W.

PAIR.

Neild, J. C.

Drake, J. G.

Question so resolved in the negative.
Amendment negatived.

Question—That the motion be agreed to—put. The Senate divided.

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | .. | ... | ... | 11 |
| Noes | ... | ... | ... | 10 |
| Majority | ... | ... | ... | 1 |

AYES.

Barrett, J. G.
Charleston, D. M.
Higgs, W. G.
Keating, J. H.
Macfarlane, J.
McGregor, G.

O'Connor, R. E.
O'Keefe, D. J.
Sargood, Sir F. T.
Walker, J. T.
Teller.
Downer, Sir J. W.

NOES.

De Largie, H.
Ferguson, J.
Fraser, S.
Glassey, T.
Gould, A. J.
Millen, E. D.

Pearce, G. F.
Playford, T.
Smith, M. S. C.

Teller.

Symon, Sir J. H.

PAIR.

Drake, J. G.

Neild, J. C.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL.

Bill received from the House of Representatives, and (on motion by Senator O'CONNOR) read a first time.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

In Committee (consideration of amendments of House of Representatives resumed from 4 October, *vide* page 5641) :

Clause 19—(Governor-General to fix rate of postage &c.).

Senator DRAKE (Queensland—Postmaster-General).—When we sent this Bill to the House of Representatives, it contained a provision in clause 19 that the alteration of rates should be by means of regulations laid upon the table of both Houses of Parliament. The House of Representatives have struck out that clause, and have altered another clause so as to provide that an alteration of rates must be made by Act of Parliament. We discussed the subject on a previous clause, and there was a general agreement amongst honorable senators that we should consent to the alteration made by the House of Representatives. I therefore move—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives omitting clause 19.

Motion agreed to.

Senator DRAKE.—The House of Representatives have inserted new clauses 25A and 25B. The object of these two clauses is to make provision for the payment of postage, not by the person posting the postal matter, but by a State. Some States have adopted the principle of voting by post, and they desire that the voter who intends to vote by post should be allowed to put his ballot-paper into the letter-box without

affixing a postage stamp to it, and that the paper should be delivered to the electoral officer. We do not want to prevent any State from carrying out an Electoral Act of this description, if it desires to do so. The two clauses in question have been very carefully prepared by the Parliamentary Draftsman.

Senator MILLEN.—I do not propose to offer any opposition to these proposed new clauses, but there should be some reciprocity if the Commonwealth is to exercise services for the States gratuitously.

Senator DRAKE.—The States are going to pay for the service. The only difference is that, instead of the person posting the letter putting stamps upon it, it will be carried to its destination, and the officer who receives it will pay, or the postage will be debited to the State affected. That is to say, we put the State in this position—that if it likes to carry postal matter free it may do so, so far as concerns the individual who posts the matter, but the Federal Post-office will require to be paid all the same. I move—

That the committee agree with the House of Representatives in inserting new clauses 25A and 25B.

Motion agreed to.

Clause 26—(Definition of newspaper and supplement).

Senator DRAKE.—This is the newspaper definition clause to which the committee devoted a great deal of attention when the Bill was being dealt with here. I propose to say a word or two about the clause generally, and then I propose to move that the amendment of the House of Representatives be accepted. Several amendments were made in another place, and eventually the clause was withdrawn, and another one was provided so as to embody the different amendments. It will be remembered that when the Bill was first introduced the newspaper definition restricted a newspaper to a publication which was issued at intervals of not more than seven days. An amendment was moved in the Senate to strike out seven days, and substitute 30. That was the period which had been accepted in all the different States up to that time. The effect of that amendment was to let in under the definition of "newspaper" a whole lot of monthly publications of various kinds. Since the Bill has been before the House of Representatives, various amendments have been

made in it, all of which have been in the direction of opening the door wider and wider. I strongly protested, when the Bill was being dealt with by the Senate, against the alteration which was made having the effect of letting in all these monthly periodicals. As I have just said, the amendments since made in another place have been in the direction of opening the door wider, and of allowing a very great deal of printed matter to come in at the lower rate, which matter, under the old definition, would have had to go through the post as printed matter, and not as newspaper matter. The effect will be that the Postal department will have to carry as newspapers a vast amount of postal matter which previously went through the post as printed matter and paid a higher rate. I do not see, unless we are going to retrace our steps altogether and get back to the point we started from, that we can reject the amendments made by the House of Representatives.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Can we not adhere to our own clause?

Senator DRAKE.—It is important that this Bill should be got through without loss of time.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The Senate has to come down on everything.

Senator DRAKE.—I strongly opposed the amendment proposed here, but it was carried against me. Senator Sargood suggests we should go back to the original clause as we sent it down to the House of Representatives, but the amendments made in the clause of the Bill as originally introduced into the Senate encouraged the House of Representatives to go on in the same path, and to open the door wider. I hope that as soon as the Bill is passed through Parliament, and before it comes into operation, I shall be able to introduce a Rating Bill. That will be necessary before we can make any alteration in any of the rates affecting either letters, newspapers, or telegrams.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—There will be the same fight over that.

Senator DRAKE.—If we accept this definition which allows printed matter to come in as newspaper matter, we must take that into account when we bring in our Rating Bill. We want to insure that the Government will get something like a fair remuneration for the carrying of postal matter.

Senator MILLEN.—Does the Postmaster-General propose to charge newspapers?

Senator DRAKE.—I think it is generally admitted that there should be a reasonable charge for newspapers. I have endeavoured usually not to forecast what is coming on, but it is a generally accepted proposition that there must be some charge, at all events. I do not desire that there shall be any unnecessary delay in dealing with this Bill. It must be borne in mind that the second reading of the measure was moved on the 6th June. It is now October, and I am very anxious that we should get the measure into operation by the 1st December, for the reason that it is very desirable that we should get our Rating Bill passed before the end of the year, and that the regulations should be framed and laid upon the table of Parliament. I hope to have the regulations ready to lay upon the table as soon as this measure becomes law.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—What about paragraph (b), sub-clause (2) of the new clause?

Senator DRAKE.—That paragraph provides that a publication shall be deemed to be a supplement if its letterpress other than any title or short description of any engraving, print, lithograph, or coloured supplement is printed within the Commonwealth, or from stereotypes or electrotypes made therefrom. That provision was inserted in the House of Representatives, and the object of it is, I believe, to insure that in the first place the work will be done within the Commonwealth, and in the second place it has the effect that the letterpress is more likely to be Australian in character if it is produced here than if produced in some other country. There is a similar provision in the Queensland Act. I move—

That the committee agree with the amendment of the House of Representatives, omitting clause 26 and inserting the following new clause—

26A. (1) For the purposes of this Act a newspaper shall mean any publication known and recognised as a newspaper in the generally accepted sense of the world, and printed and published within the Commonwealth for sale, if—

- (a) It consists in substantial part of news and articles relating to current topics, or of religious, technical or practical information; and
- (b) It is published in numbers at intervals of not more than one month; and
- (c) The full title and date of publication are printed at the top of the first page, and the whole or part of the title and the date

of publication are printed at the top of every subsequent page.

(2) A publication printed on paper and issued as a supplement to a newspaper, shall be deemed to be a supplement and to be a part of the newspaper if—

- (a) It consists in substantial part of reading matter other than advertisements, or of engravings, prints, lithographs or coloured supplements; and
- (b) Its letterpress, other than any title or short description on any engraving, print, lithograph or coloured supplement, or the title and date of the newspaper thereon, is printed within the Commonwealth from type set up within the Commonwealth, or from stereotypes or electrotypes made therefrom; and
- (c) It is enclosed in each posted copy of the newspaper with which it is issued; and
- (d) It has the title of the newspaper with which it is issued printed on the top of each page of letterpress; and
- (e) It is not of a size or form which makes it inconvenient for carriage or delivery by post.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—If Senator Drake is so very anxious to get this Bill through with the greatest possible expedition, the simplest course would be that he should suggest that the committee should accept the whole of the amendments of the House of Representatives *in globo*.

Senator DRAKE.—We have dissented from some of their amendments, and I propose to ask the committee to dissent from others.

Senator Major GOULD.—The Senate has already performed a kind of double-backed somersault as gracefully as possible with regard to another provision. As far as this definition is concerned, in some respects it is rather better than that proposed by the Senate, but, at the same time, honorable senators will observe that there are some provisions in this proposed new clause that we did not agree with when we were dealing with it in the Senate previously. I may refer particularly to paragraph (b) of sub-clause (2) with regard to the printing of letterpress on supplements. We find, amongst other things, that a newspaper supplement must be printed within the Commonwealth, from type set up within the Commonwealth, or from stereotypes or electrotypes made therefrom. I want to know whether, as far as concerns coloured supplements, they have to be produced within the Commonwealth, or whether they can be introduced from outside?

Senator DRAKE.—Undoubtedly they can.

Senator Major GOULD.—The lithographs or engravings may be introduced from outside so long as the description of them are printed within the Commonwealth. I ask honorable senators whether it is desirable to incorporate in a measure of this kind such a proposal? I do not quarrel with the definition of a newspaper—that it shall be a publication “printed and published within the Commonwealth for sale;” because we recognise the fact that a newspaper in the ordinary sense of the term is a document produced in the country, containing news regarding current events. It would be absurd to say that a paper like the *Age*, the *Argus*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, or the *Daily Telegraph* might be printed anywhere else than within the Commonwealth. The news must be fresh from the community, and the paper would naturally be printed here. Therefore this measure is regarded as a fair definition of a newspaper in the ordinary sense of the term. But many papers, more particularly country papers, issue supplements. I do not suppose that this clause would interfere with the great daily papers. But the country newspapers we know are largely dependent for their weekly supplements upon papers printed and produced, not in the printing office which issues the country newspaper itself, but somewhere else. Thousands of them are sent from Melbourne to the country press.

Senator DRAKE.—They can do that still.

Senator Major GOULD.—I know they can; but there may be valuable supplements printed outside the Commonwealth and brought here from the other end of the world. Why should we say that these supplements should not be circulated with our newspapers, provided that the newspapers are themselves printed and published in the Commonwealth? We go to a certain distance and permit a picture, print, or lithograph to be produced outside and circulated with a newspaper; but the moment one single word of letterpress descriptive of the print or picture is printed on the supplement, it is not to be regarded as a supplement. Is that not drawing an absurd distinction, and is there any necessity for it at all? Whether it is introduced as a sort of protection to the printing trade in the States, or not I do not know, but assuming that it is put in for that purpose, what is the value of

it? Will it add one tittle to the employment of people in the country? That must be the reason why it is introduced, otherwise it would not matter where the supplement was produced so long as the person receiving it was satisfied with it. Is it reasonable that we should disfigure this Bill with such a provision? If the Government desire to introduce a Bill dealing specifically with matters of this kind, and saying that these supplements shall be printed here, well and good. A book may be printed in New York or in London, and it comes into the Commonwealth and is distributed on exactly the same terms as a book printed in the Commonwealth itself. Why this difference with regard to the supplement of a newspaper? I submit there is no reason for a provision of this character. I am perfectly prepared to have a definition here as to what may be regarded as a supplement to a newspaper. I do not object to paragraphs (a), (c), (d) or (e), but I believe paragraph (b) is unnecessary, and would be much better left out of the Postal Bill. The object of this Bill is to deal with the postal service so as to secure that our letters, newspapers, packets, and parcels shall be carried from one end of the Commonwealth to the other under as favorable terms as possible in justice to the Commonwealth and the individuals in the community. The object is not to bolster up any particular class of industry. It becomes necessary, as newspapers are going to be permitted to pass through the Post-office at lower rates than books and parcels, that we should define what a newspaper is, so as to make sure that we are not going to be defrauded of our revenue. But once we have done that we have done all that is required, and we have no right to put in a provision of this kind, which is foreign to the scope and object of the Bill. I do not desire to anticipate any amendment which honorable senators may desire to propose, but if there is no prior amendment, I am prepared to move the omission of paragraph (b).

Motion by leave withdrawn.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—I move—

That paragraph (b), of sub-clause (2), of new clause 26A, be omitted.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I am sure Senator Gould does not belong to the profession of the compositor, editor, or newspaper man generally, or he would not object

to this provision, which, as he has stated, is for the protection of the poor printer.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Is this a Bill to introduce protection?

Senator HIGGS.—No. I take it that the intent of the Bill is not necessarily to protect anybody in particular, but when certain newspaper proprietors are given concessions in the way of lower postal rates than are allowed to other people—

Senator Major GOULD.—The public should have some little benefit from it.

Senator HIGGS.—Does the honorable and learned senator deny that the public would be benefited from the production in Australian newspapers of literature of the type of which I had the honour to give the Senate a sample of the other evening—by the publication of local productions?

Senator Major GOULD.—It need not be a local production. The supplement may be written in any part of the world, so long as it is set up here.

Senator DRAKE.—It is more likely to be written here if it is set up here.

Senator HIGGS.—I am sure that the honorable and learned senator recognises what the clause is aimed at. It is aimed at the circulation by our postal service of supplements which are set up in type and printed in other parts of the world. Those of us who come specially in contact with the industrial classes know that the linotype machine in the printing trade has done havoc enough in the ranks of the compositors. No less than 55 men out of 70 have been displaced in some offices by the introduction of the linotype, and we know that in Australia at the present time the ranks of compositors are overcrowded. When we propose to give newspaper proprietors special concessions, as provided in this Bill, we have a right to ask that they shall not introduce, in competition with Australian printers, supplements prepared and set up by the cheap labour of other parts of the world.

Senator Major GOULD.—Would the honorable senator abolish the linotype and send it out of the Commonwealth?

Senator HIGGS.—No representative who specially claims to represent the interests of the poorer paid and working classes of the community has any desire to block progress in the way of invention. We know that all attempts in the past to do away with labour-saving machinery have been a mistake. I am not saying a word

against the introduction of machinery into the Commonwealth, but I do wish to say a word against machinery and low paid labour in other parts of the world being brought into competition with our Australian compositors. I take a special interest in this because for many years worked as a compositor myself, and I know the hardship which members of the craft have to suffer under.

Senator CHARLESTON.—Then the honorable senator will try to put linotypes on the taxable list?

Senator HIGGS.—Linotypes are in use in nearly all the States of the Commonwealth at the present time. But if supplements are permitted to come here from abroad, and to come under the concessions provided in the Bill, there is no reason why we should not have printed matter introduced which has been set up by compositors in Japan, who work for a ls. a day.

Senator Major GOULD.—That is very far fetched.

Senator HIGGS.—I may tell the honorable and learned senator that printed matter now comes into the Commonwealth from Japan, set up by men who are paid about one-eighth of the wages paid to Australian compositors and printers generally. If one effect of the provision is of a protective character, we cannot help that. We are desirous of giving newspaper proprietors certain concessions, but we say that Australian compositors and printers generally shall not be brought into unfair competition with people outside. I am sure honorable senators do not wish to give concessions to printers outside the Commonwealth to compete with their own citizens, who furnish the taxes to carry on the Federal Parliament and the Federal services generally.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I object to paragraph (b) of sub-clause (2) for two reasons. I object to the proposition itself, and I object to its finding a place in a Postal Bill. We have had a very frank declaration by the last speaker, that he supports the proposal because it coincides with his ideas as a protectionist. Surely the honorable senator, under the circumstances, can see that the proper place for such a proposal is a Tariff Bill, and we should not use any other department than that of the Customs as a means of carrying out any particular set of fiscal ideas. Matters of this kind should be left until

the Senate is invited to enter upon a full discussion of the whole fiscal question. Senator HIGGS, in his remarks about machinery, seemed to carry us back a very long way indeed. The honorable senator was careful to explain that he did not wish to speak in opposition to labour-saving appliances, but my impression is that if the honorable senator could have his way he would very soon abolish the linotype machines. The honorable senator said that as we make a concession to newspaper proprietors, it is only fair that they should be called on to use printing material which is the work of the people of the Commonwealth. But what concessions are we making?

Senator HIGGS.—We give them low postal rates.

Senator MILLEN.—We have not yet fixed the rates, and we do not yet know whether any concessions will be represented by the rates as fixed. The Post-office is to be made to pay itself, and there is no concession in it, as it is a payment for services rendered.

Senator HIGGS.—Is there any State in which the Post-office department pays itself?

Senator MILLEN.—It must pay itself under any sound system of finance, and I have no doubt the Postmaster-General would say that the Post-office will have to pay its way. If that be so, we are making no concessions to newspaper proprietors or to anybody else. I should like to point out that the measure of protection represented by this provision, amounts to something like 100 per cent. *ad valorem*. Supplements consisting only of lithographs, prints or pictures, are to be carried at the ordinary newspaper rates. We can buy ordinary deny supplements for from 6s. to 7s. and 8s. per thousand. That is the price for them complete, with engravings and letter-press, and if we desire to obtain them without the letter-press, we should have to pay just the same price, and we should require to pay 7s. or 8s. more per thousand for getting the letter-press and machining done here, because it would involve double machining. The proposal is, therefore, equivalent to an *ad valorem* duty of 100 per cent. Whatever may be said in favour of a protective duty of this kind, I submit that 100 per cent. *ad valorem* is exorbitant and altogether out of proportion to the object aimed at. If it is intended that this shall

be a distinct proposal for the imposition of an *ad valorem* duty of 100 per cent., the proper place for it is a Tariff Bill.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I think we should have some proper definition of what a newspaper is in this clause, and though it may be debating old ground over again, we are not going to pass the clause in a hurry, and we should not leave a simple matter in the doubt and uncertainty in which it is left by the clause as it stands. If we leave in the words "one month," we shall include the *Review of Reviews* and other monthly periodicals as newspapers. To use the words that for the purpose of the Act a newspaper shall mean "any publication known and recognised as a newspaper in the generally accepted sense of the word," and to use also the words "published at intervals of not more than one month," appears to me to be grossly inconsistent. I think that before the Bill leaves the Senate, we should make up our minds whether a newspaper is to be a publication recognised as a newspaper in the ordinary sense of the word, and if we decide that we should strike out the words "one month" and insert in lieu thereof the words "seven days." The Postmaster-General and the Government will have the work of interpreting the clause, but in spite of the words "one month" my common sense would lead me not to regard the *Review of Reviews*, and other monthly periodicals, as newspapers in the ordinary sense of the word. I do not think that a publication published once a month, and weighing as much as ten or fifteen newspapers, should be allowed to pass through the Commonwealth at the same rate as a penny newspaper. Speaking subject to the opinion of my honorable friends in the labour corner, because the question is one I know very little about, it appears to me that by striking out paragraph (b) we shall absolutely benefit the compositor. I am exceedingly sorry to hear that compositors have had a bad time in consequence of the introduction of modern machinery. We cannot give up the machinery, but we should in any fair way deal sympathetically with the compositor. Many newspapers are flourishing and paying good dividends, but I know of others that are not paying or are barely existing, and if newspapers of that sort were from time to time able to secure supplements of an attractive character from Japan, America,

France, Germany, or other nations, giving us more information, and enlarging our minds upon various subjects, the papers circulating these supplements would be rendered more attractive, and would possibly be converted into paying concerns. The circulation of these supplements might be of the greatest benefit to the readers of the newspapers, and might prove of benefit to the newspapers themselves, and whatever would benefit the newspapers would benefit the compositors employed upon them. I am therefore inclined to vote for the amendment, and if we are going to raise this question of free-trade and protection, let us at least have free-trade in knowledge.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH (Western Australia).—I quite agree with what Senator Dobson has said. If we enact that—

A newspaper shall mean any publication known and recognised as a newspaper in the generally accepted sense of the word—

it will make it impossible for publications like the *Review of Reviews* and valuable agricultural, pastoral, and mechanical journals to go through the post. We discussed this matter for days, and, after the fullest consideration, we decided that the term should include those publications, because it was in the interests of the people that they should be sent at a low rate. If we leave in those words, we shall nullify the intention of the Senate, and simply allow the transmission of what are ordinarily accepted as newspapers, whereas, what we require is the transmission of publications issued once a month, or less.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator regard a monthly publication as being equal to 30 copies of the *Argus* or the *Age*? I do not.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—I do not see where the analogy comes in. There is only a 30th of the carrying to do. We do not carry a monthly publication 30 times backwards and forwards.

Senator DOBSON.—They are much heavier.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Not necessarily. I doubt whether copies of some of these journals are as heavy as the *Australasian* or the *Leader*, but that will be regulated when fixing the rates. I propose to move the omission of those words from the new clause.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It cannot be done; we have already agreed to them in the original clause.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—If it is impossible to make that alteration, I wish to say a few words on paragraph (b) of sub-clause (2). From the educational point of view, supplements are undoubtedly the best portion of country newspapers. Generally country newspapers consist of advertisements and local news of the day. A supplement usually consists of educational matter culled from various journals. I have enjoyed reading the supplements far more than the papers themselves. Australian compositors, of course, can set them up; but a country newspaper does not happen to receive all the publications in the world. The proprietors do not go to the expense, nor are publishers philanthropic enough to send their newspapers to every one in the black blocks. The proprietors of country newspapers, therefore, have not an opportunity to get this information from the various newspapers; but a central agency can cull from such newspapers interesting facts which are of value to the people, and publish them in supplements for issue in country newspapers. It would certainly be a great hardship, not to the people of the metropolis, but to people of inland places, to disallow the circulation of such supplements by post. I can understand the prohibition of the transmission of any publication which is obscene or blasphemous, or which is against the interests of the people, but we are asked to prohibit the transmission of something which we admit is absolutely harmless.

Senator PLAYFORD.—We are not prohibiting it; we are proposing not to carry it at quite so cheap a rate.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—It says that it must be printed within the Commonwealth?

Senator PLAYFORD.—That is not prohibiting the newspapers from coming into the country.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—What is the good of the supplement if it cannot be sent to country newspapers for circulation by post. The supplements always contain information, and very often valuable information, with regard to the affairs of the world. Surely we are not going to make this Bill a vehicle for imposing a prohibitory duty on certain information coming in, which we admit is harmless, and which is probably exceedingly valuable.

A supplement to a country newspaper is only a sheet, and is valued very highly by country people. No argument has been adduced why the transmission of these supplements should be prohibited, except as a protectionist move. I am not prepared to discuss the question of protection or free-trade, but if it is to be discussed, let an amendment be proposed in the Tariff Bill that these publications shall be prohibited. The only reason we have heard why they should be prohibited is a protectionist one, therefore the provision should be introduced into the Tariff Bill. Senator Higgs has pointed out that linotypes are throwing a lot of compositors out of work, and that they do not want that to be accentuated. If, under the Tariff proposals, linotypes are to come in free, why should the Government object to supplements coming in printed? Seeing that linotypes are to come in free, these supplements can be set up by linotypes in Australia as well as in a foreign country.

Senator MILLEN.—The big newspapers use the linotypes, and only the little country newspapers use the supplements.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The great newspapers, owned by wealthy men, bring in the linotypes, which throw men out of work. Although the general policy of the Government is protection, they admit linotypes free, not to benefit the little country newspapers, which are struggling to carry on, and which play a very important part, but to benefit newspaper proprietors who, perhaps, comprise some of the wealthiest men in Australia. And they further accentuate the difference by saying that little country newspapers shall not even have the right to send a supplement by post. I sincerely hope that the committee will see its way to strike out the clause.

Senator DRAKE.—It may perhaps save a little time if I point out exactly the alterations which have been made in the clause by the other House. Whereas in the original clause, speaking of the contents of a newspaper, we had these words—

Which consists wholly or principally of political or other news or of articles relating thereto or to other current topics.

in the new clause we have these words—

In substantial part of news and articles relating to current topics, or of religious, technical or practical information.

That is in the direction of opening wider the door, because it lets in certain publications

which under other circumstances might have been excluded. Then in the second sub-clause the words "wholly or in part" have been struck out and the words "in substantial part" substituted, thereby enabling a supplement that contained a smaller proportion of printed matter to go free. Paragraph (b) which has been referred to is new. Then with regard to the size of the supplement the original clause required that the sheet or sheets of paper should be of a similar size to the newspapers with which they were issued. That has been changed so as to make it read that it is to be deemed a part of the newspaper if it is not—

Of a size or form which makes it inconvenient for carriage or delivery by post.

It may be of any size or form which can be folded up in such a way as not to make it inconvenient for carriage or delivery by post. All these are extensions of the limitation of newspapers, not perhaps particularly serious, but still all in the way of opening the door a little wider. I do not think any Postmaster-General would be so disingenuous as to construe the clause as it stands now, to mean that no newspaper which was published at intervals of a month could go free. The paragraph reads—

It is published in numbers at intervals of not more than one month.

It clearly lets in ordinary monthly newspapers. I pointed out that fact, I think, when we were considering the Bill here. I brought down a clause providing for the carriage of what I call periodicals—that is to say, publications issued at an interval of longer than one week, but not more than a month, so as to bring all that class within the new definition. As I was defeated on my proposal, and this amendment was made, of course I expected that all that class of periodicals, supposing that they complied with the clause in other respects, would have to be classed as newspapers. In fact, what was done was to provide that these publications issued at intervals of more than a month should be classed as newspapers. As regards the first part of the definition of the interval of publication, the clause is exactly the same as it was when it left the Senate. We sent it down to the other House with these words—

Any publication known and recognised as a newspaper in the generally accepted sense of the word.

We also sent the clause down with the proviso that it is published in numbers at

intervals of not more than one month. In that respect the clause has come back in exactly the same form.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Will the Government consent to paragraph (b) relating to supplements being deleted?

Senator DRAKE.—No; it seems to me almost unreasonable to object so strongly to that proviso when we have a provision that a newspaper must be printed and published within the Commonwealth.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—That is only a matter of form, because you cannot have a newspaper printed in any other place.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not admit that at all. It is admitted that we are giving some concessions to newspapers, and if we make this stipulation that the newspapers shall be printed and published within the Commonwealth, why should we not say that the supplements, which we are willing to accept as part of the newspaper, shall also be printed and published within the Commonwealth? The practice has been to import the matrix from abroad and from that to make stereo plates, and to print the supplement in a local office. The disadvantage of that—and I place this almost before the question of the employment of labour within the Commonwealth—is that it does not encourage Australian literature. If you get your supplements printed abroad, or import the matrix from which to print supplements, the strong probability is that the matter which you will get will appertain to the country where it is printed, and not to Australia. That is undesirable. It is better to cultivate a taste for Australian literature and an Australian sentiment.

Senator MILLEN.—The greatest paste and scissors productions are supplements printed in big offices in Sydney and Melbourne.

Senator DRAKE.—That may be so, but at all events the scissors are wielded in such a way as to secure from the newspapers drawn upon those items and paragraphs which are of particular interest to Australian people.

Senator MILLEN.—The Minister has not read many of them.

Senator DRAKE.—I have read a good many of them in my time. If you have the work done in the newspaper office, I think it will be found that the matter will be more suited to the tastes and requirements of the Australian people than it will be if the supplements are imported.

Senator CHARLESTON (South Australia).—I am very sorry that the House of Representatives has inserted a provision of this character in the Bill. I think Senator Dobson expressed the true opinion as to the effect of the clause on compositors and others. In many country townships the newspaper cannot gather up a great deal of interesting local matter. It can gather up a few items which are of deep interest to local people, but, of course, the changes in the place are not of a sufficient character to warrant the publication of a large newspaper, and unless they supplemented the local news with general news their operations would probably cease. By importing supplements which have been written probably by some of the ablest writers, and which contain good literary matter, and have an educational influence, a country newspaper becomes a saleable article. With the combination of the local news and the supplement an attractive newspaper is produced, and three or four compositors are kept constantly employed in the township. If this clause is retained I feel sure that most of the small country newspapers will cease to exist.

Senator GLASSEY.—Why?

Senator CHARLESTON.—Because they cannot possibly gather up sufficient local matter to be of interest. Where are they to get their matter from?

Senator DRAKE.—Why can it not be done in the capitals? This only says that it shall be printed within the Commonwealth.

Senator CHARLESTON.—To all these country places weekly newspapers such as the *Observer*, the *Chronicle*, or the *Australasian* still find their way from the capital. The articles in these supplements are of the nature of magazine articles, and exercise an educational influence. Senator Higgs spoke of a concession being made to the publishers. We are not making a concession to the publishers. Supposing that we carry the supplements at a rate which involves a loss to the department. In whose interests is it done? Not in the interests of the publishers, but in the interests of the general public, so that they may have cheap literature.

Senator PLAYFORD.—If we charge nothing, it will be better still.

Senator CHARLESTON.—It has been thought, even by the mother State, that it

would be advantageous in some respects to carry newspapers free. I maintain that the proposed new clause will prevent a good number of small country newspapers from spreading literature amongst persons living in the outside townships. Therefore, seeing that the clause has no proper place in a Bill of this sort, I shall vote against it. It is clear that the clause is intended for protective purposes. If so, let the matter be dealt with in the Tariff, which is the proper place for it.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—A peculiar doctrine has been propounded by the last speaker—that unless supplements are printed abroad they are not likely to increase the circulation of country newspapers. It has been alleged by other honorable senators that better supplements can be obtained abroad than from within the Commonwealth, and that country newspapers are likely to cease to interest many of their subscribers if locally produced supplements are used by them. I cannot subscribe to that doctrine, nor do I believe that everything from abroad is superior to what can be produced in the Commonwealth. I read a little of the current literature that comes from other parts of the world, from America and elsewhere.

Senator DOBSON.—Would the honorable senator like to be limited to Australian books?

Senator GLASSEY.—That is a different matter altogether. What earthly reason is there why in a city like Sydney, with its cosmopolitan ideas, where there are men of capacity and learning, who are well up in literature, supplements of the most attractive character should not be produced? I fully believe that supplements can be produced in Sydney and Melbourne that are quite as good as those produced in London or New York. Even though this clause is of a protective character surely there can be no harm done by means of it. If we can in any way provide by means of a Bill of this sort that work that is required shall be done within the Commonwealth, we ought to encourage those who do that class of work. Indeed, it is our bounden duty to do so. The proposed new clause is a reasonable one, and I hope the committee will adopt it.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—According to some honorable senators we should put nothing in this Bill but what deals directly with the carriage of letters,

newspapers, and other postal matter. It appears to me that Senators Gould, Millen, and others have *ad valorem* on the brain and protection in their dreams. Even Senator Charleston himself only a few days ago voted for something of a more protective character than that which is now under consideration. I have travelled a good deal in this country, not only in South Australia, but in New South Wales, and have frequently visited the offices of the local papers. I have frequently seen the supplement issued by these journals, and I know that as a general rule, even at the present time, they are produced in the larger cities of the Commonwealth, and sent to the country newspapers. I do not know whether the literary matter emanates from the brains of literary men in Australia or whether it is put together by means of scissors and paste. Even in the latter case it is just as well that it should be put together within the Commonwealth. As to the linotype, if such machines are to be introduced duty free, is it not better for that kind of work to be done by Australian operators than by Chinamen or Japanese, or even people on the Continent of Europe, who are living under entirely different conditions from those which prevail in this country?

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—This is giving a monopoly to the big papers.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator is not afraid to give a monopoly in other instances to persons in London or New York, though he is terribly afraid of giving a monopoly to a few newspapers. I shall vote for the proposed new clause, because I believe it will have the effect of giving encouragement to Australian workmen and literary men, and even to Australian capitalists.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I have heard something said in behalf of the poor literary men, who it is supposed will have employment given to them through the operation of this clause. But I venture to make the assertion, having a considerable knowledge of the production of these literary supplements, that there is hardly ever an original line from one end of them to the other. The bulk of them are printed in Sydney and Melbourne, and they are put together with paste and scissors. I do not say that they are not useful; but, as far as literary men are concerned, they are not of the slightest use. There is one

inconsistency in the proposal, namely, that the amendment of the House of Representatives is a practical admission that it is desirable to let in engravings. That is admitted by the form in which paragraph (b) is cast. In a large number of cases, illustrations are accompanied by letter-press. But, while the amendment affirms the desirability of admitting illustrations—presumably on the ground that the trade of the States is not sufficiently developed to produce them here—it proposes, at the same time, to keep them out; because it is utterly impossible for any one to suppose that where these illustrations occupy a portion of a page, with letter-press around them, the illustrations can be printed elsewhere while the letter-press is printed here. A fair compromise would have been to say that the clause should not refer to the literary matter of supplements containing engravings. While that would not meet my views altogether, it would be a fair compromise, and, under the circumstances, I should not oppose it.

Senator DRAKE.—Could not the blocks be sent out?

Senator MILLEN.—I am pointing out that by proposing to admit illustrations, the supporters of this amendment admit that there are certain things which the producers of this work in the States are not yet prepared to supply. That being the case, what is the good of saying with one breath that it is desirable to admit engravings, and then saying with the next breath—"We will only admit them under conditions which amount to prohibition?"

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I do not think there is so much in this question as one would be led to believe from some of the remarks that have been made. One would think from some speeches, that the whole question of fiscalism is raised upon the proposed new clause. There is a right way and a wrong way of dealing with these matters, and I do not believe that we should make a Postal Bill the medium for protecting a local industry. I have seen many of these country newspaper supplements, and I may say that the greater part of the attractiveness of some country newspapers lies in the supplement. People can get the news from the metropolitan newspapers, but they buy the local papers because they contain more local news, together with perhaps an attractive serial

story, some scientific and general literary matter, and other items of interest.

Senator DRAKE.—Is the honorable senator talking of supplements printed outside the Commonwealth?

Senator PEARCE.—Some of them are printed outside the Commonwealth, and some of them are printed inside, but if they are to be compelled to be printed within the Commonwealth, let there be a heavy duty imposed at the Customs-house. A Postal Bill ought simply to provide the vehicle for the transmission of these papers, and I fail to see why we should make it the medium for taxing supplements that are not printed within the Commonwealth.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—I fail to see that the question that is raised in the new clause, inserted by the House of Representatives, has anything to do with the fiscal policy. We have already decided "for the purpose of this measure," that a newspaper shall mean a newspaper printed and published within the Commonwealth. In framing such postal legislation we are simply defining what particular publications will get the benefit of the reduced rates as newspapers. Under ordinary circumstances, unless there was some special exemption, a newspaper would have to pay at ordinary packet rates. It is here proposed that papers printed and published within the Commonwealth shall be carried at lower rates of postage as contrasted with other postal articles. I think that if we decide that a newspaper is to be defined as a publication printed and published within the Commonwealth, we ought also to regard the supplement "for the purpose of this measure," as something printed and published within the Commonwealth also if it is to get the advantage of the low rate of postage. It is not a question of excluding publications from beyond the Commonwealth, but of simply saying that only those printed and published within the Commonwealth shall get the special advantages of newspaper rates. I have known of this absurd anomaly, that a lithograph has been issued by a paper published in a metropolitan district in Australia, during the height of the war, illustrating the return of an Australian trooper to his home and family from the Boer war, and I have seen at the bottom of the lithograph the words—"Engraved and lithographed in Holland." I have it on the best of authorities, and a number of them, that lithographs of equal

merit could have been produced within another centre about 100 miles from the place from which this supplement was issued. The Senate decided that in order to get the benefit of the lower rates of postage a newspaper should be printed and published in the Commonwealth. It is now proposed that newspaper supplements, in order to be included in the same concessions, should also be printed within the Commonwealth, and I shall, therefore, vote for the amendment as it stands.

Question—That the paragraph proposed to be omitted stand part of the amendment—*put*. The committee divided.

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 11 |
| Noes | ... | ... | 12 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 1 |

AYES.

Barrett, J. G.
Best, R. W.
De Largie, H.
Downer, Sir J. W.
Drake, J. G.
Glassey, T.

Keating, J. H.
McGregor, G.
O'Connor, R. E.
Playford, T.
Teller.
Higgs, W. G.

NOES.

Charleston, M.
Clemens, J. S.
Dobson, H.
Gould, A. J.
Macfarlane, J.
Millen, E. D.
O'Keefe, D. J.

Sargood, Sir F. T.
Smith, M. S. C.
Symon, Sir J. H.
Walker, J. T.

Teller.
Pearce, G. F.

Question so resolved in the negative.
Amendment agreed to.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) agreed to—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives, as amended, be agreed to.

Progress reported.

Senate adjourned at 10.23 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 9 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCES.

Mr. POYNTON.—Some little time back the Prime Minister promised to lay on the table a return showing the amount of travelling allowances paid since the 1st January last. I wish to ask him when we are likely to get that return.

Mr. BARTON.—The Treasurer informs me that he is endeavouring to secure the information, and that as soon as it is complete he will lay it on the table. I understand that the honorable member wants a general return, but that he is chiefly interested in the allowances paid to officers of the Defence department.

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY.

Mr. POYNTON—I wish to ask the Prime Minister if he has received any communication from South Australia with reference to that portion of the railway there known as the transcontinental line, and, if so, if any decision has been arrived at in regard to it.

Mr. BARTON.—I have received a communication which I have not had time to fully consider. I shall be happy to show it to the honorable member, and I shall deal with it as soon as I can.

PACIFIC ISLANDERS LABORERS BILL.

Mr. FISHER.—I wish to ask the Prime Minister if he has received a letter of protest from the Premier of Queensland in regard to the Pacific Islanders Laborers Bill, and, if not, if he will lay it upon the table as soon as he receives it?

Mr. BARTON.—Although the newspaper statement to which the honorable member referred me yesterday spoke of a letter having been despatched to me, that letter has not yet been received. When it is received I shall have the greatest pleasure in laying it upon the table.

Mr. PAGE.—I should like to know if it is the intention of the Minister of Defence, in view of the statement in the *Age* this morning that we are going to have civil war in Queensland, if the Pacific Islanders Labourers Bill is passed as it stands, to levy the forces under his command, so that they may be sent there to enforce the law?

ESTIMATES OF CUSTOMS REVENUE.

Mr. REID.—A return was laid on the table last night, showing the total amount of revenue estimated to be received from the duties set out in each of the sixteen divisions into which the Tariff is divided, but it would be a great help to honorable members if we could have a statement showing the estimated

revenue from each of the items in those divisions. There must be such information in existence.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The Minister for Trade and Customs is not here at present, but such a document as the right honorable and learned member refers to is in existence, and personally I see no reason why it should not be available to honorable members. I think that it is the duty of the Government to give honorable members the fullest information, because, no matter how careful we may be in our calculations, those who represent electorates in other States may be able to show us that we have made mistakes. I shall consult with my colleague on this matter, but I think there will be no difficulty in having the paper laid upon the table.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TARIFF.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Has any arrangement been made for distributing the Tariff in each State, to enable the merchants there to know what are the proposals of the Government?

Mr. BARTON.—I am informed by the Treasurer that copies of the Tariff have been sent to the Custom-houses in each State, whence no doubt they will be published, and that, in addition, he posted this morning to the Treasurer of each State a copy of the Tariff, and all possible information to accompany it.

CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Mr. GLYNN.—I wish to know from the Treasurer whether, if a sum of money is placed on the annual Estimates to provide for the construction of buildings, those buildings must necessarily be constructed of wood and iron, or whether, in States where such buildings have hitherto been constructed of stone or brick, these materials will be used.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The rule laid down by the Cabinet is that buildings of wood or of iron shall be paid for out of revenue, and that more permanent and expensive constructions of stone and brick shall be paid for out of loan money. Any building which is provided for out of revenue must therefore be constructed of wood or iron, but, if an honorable member can show reasons why the material used should be more substantial, the propriety of

making an alteration will be considered. We shall not, however, shift an item from one set of Estimates to another, simply to provide for the construction of a building out of loan money instead of out of revenue.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I desire to make a personal explanation. An amendment was moved on one of the clauses of the Immigration Restriction Bill, providing for the taking of a direct course in regard to the exclusion of undesirable immigrants, and I supported it; but I have been reported in several of the newspapers in the State from which I come as having opposed it, to save the Government. These reports make out that I acted inconsistently with my speeches and promises, and I desire therefore to place upon record the fact that I voted for the amendment. I hope that this statement will secure the object of correcting the wrong impression which the misreports have caused.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I find that I also was misreported in regard to my action with reference to the amendment of the honorable member for Bland, but, in my case, the newspaper did me the injustice of recording my name on both sides of the division list. The mistake, apparently, arose from the fact that the honorable member for Gippsland, whose name is the same as mine, voted with the Government. Now that the matter has been ventilated, I think it is only right that I should state that I voted for the amendment.

LOAN ESTIMATES.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from the Governor-General transmitting to the House of Representatives estimates of expenditure for additions, new works and buildings for the year ending 30th June, 1901.

ORDER OF BUSINESS: SUPPLY.

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava—Treasurer).—I move—

That Orders of the Day Nos. 1 and 2 be postponed until to-morrow.

It will be necessary for me to-morrow to ask for further supply. Supply was granted until the end of September, and I propose to ask to-morrow for supply for another three months. I am setting out all the details for honorable members, instead of

putting before them merely a lump sum, and I hope to be able to circulate the documents this afternoon, so that honorable gentlemen may be able to go through the information supplied, and see if there is any proposal to which they object. I am anxious to obtain supply as quickly as possible, because I am running very short, and if I cannot get money this week I may be placed in a difficult position.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I think the Treasurer is taking a very proper course, and one which I hope will always be followed, in giving honorable members notice of his intention to ask for supply. I hope that that course will always be followed, so that no honorable member may have cause to complain. I do not wish to discuss now his proposal to ask for three months' supply, but it is open to question whether we should fall into the habit of granting supply for so long a period.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—It is not our intention to make a practice of asking for three months' supply, but on this occasion the circumstances are quite apart from the ordinary, and that is why the Treasurer wishes supply for so long a period.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL.

THIRD READING.

Debate resumed (from 8th October, *vide* page 5673), on motion by Mr. Barton—

That this Bill be now read a third time.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—The usual course is for motions for the third reading of Bills to be taken as formal, and, while I have no desire to labour the arguments which have already been presented to the House in respect to this measure, its importance to the interests of Australia, both present and future, is so great that I feel bound to take this opportunity to make a further protest against the action of the Ministry in regard to it. In his speech on the second reading of the Bill the Attorney-General stated that our action in connexion with this Bill would be noted not only throughout the Commonwealth but also in the old country. Personally I doubt whether the officials of the Colonial-office take the trouble to go through our debates as a rule, but in regard to this, the first important matter affecting Imperial interests that will have been passed through our Commonwealth Parliament, they may

depart from their usual course and carefully scrutinize what we have done. If our action is to be closely examined by the Imperial authorities, it is only right that honorable members should speak freely and clearly with regard to this measure. After having very carefully watched the course of the debate I have come to the conclusion, which I am sure is shared by people outside, that the vote which the Ministry obtained in favour of their method, as embodied in the Bill, was obtained by party coercion and rigid political discipline, unparalleled in the political life of Australia. This was shown by the strong statements of Government supporters, who spoke in favour of the direct method proposed by the honorable member for Bland, but who on division were found voting in an opposite direction. That circumstance in itself affords the strongest instance of party discipline and coercion such as has been unequalled in our political history. It would have been better if the Government, after passing the second reading of the Bill, had allowed this discipline to be relaxed during the committee stage, so that honorable members might have spoken and voted freely, and have given their unanimous support to the course suggested by honorable members of this side of the House. The direct method of dealing with the exclusion of coloured immigrants has much to recommend it, and it would at least have ensured a straightforward expression of the determination of the Commonwealth Parliament, and would have presented to the Imperial authorities, in a clear and simple manner, the aspirations and desires of the Australian people. The representatives in this House are fresh from the country, and are fully aware of the strong feeling of the public on this question, and as action has already been taken in the same direction in many of the States, we are well able to speak in no uncertain manner with regard to the wishes of the people of the Commonwealth. It would have reflected greater credit on the Commonwealth Parliament, and would have given evidence of greater attachment to the Empire, if we had made a straightforward declaration of our policy on this matter. Instead of that we have adopted the sinuous and tortuous methods of diplomacy, so well known in the old world. None of us should be anxious to have the Australian Parliament acquire a reputation for tricky and sinuous

methods in connexion with our dealings with matters of foreign policy, and I think we have taken up a very weak position in dealing with this important Bill. I desire to emphasize the fact that the people are not satisfied with the decision of the House, and that the reasons given by the Ministry in support of their policy have been of a most flimsy character. We had the warmest discussion upon this Bill that has yet taken place in this House, and a number of bogeys were paraded before honorable members with a view to secure votes for the Government proposal. The loyalty bogey was used for all it was worth; it was brought out again and again until it became quite nauseous. The vote upon this Bill, however, afforded no test of loyalty or disloyalty, because honorable members were simply required to express their opinion upon a matter in which the people of the Commonwealth were much concerned, and regarding which the Imperial authorities must know that we had the best information at our command, and were in a position to form an accurate judgment. There was a good deal of hysterical talk on the part of those who sought to level a charge of disloyalty against members on this side of the House who were opposed to the Government proposal. I do not wish to indulge in what they call in America "spread-eagleism," but what in this country might appropriately be termed "bounding-kangarooism," but I do say that in matters of Australian concern the opinions, the desires, and the aspirations of the people should be truly reflected by the Parliament. The aspirations of Australia must not be smothered by considerations connected with our Imperial obligations. The position is a clear one, and we must not allow the Foreign office to be run in conflict with the Colonial office, and to our own detriment. The treaties into which Great Britain has entered with the Eastern nations provide that, as far as the British dominions are concerned, they shall in their powers of legislation be free from the operation of the treaties. This in itself is a recognition of the concern and interest of Great Britain in her dominions beyond the seas. It shows that Great Britain is not only with us in sentiment, but is willing that we shall retain the fullest powers of self-government, and those autonomous rights which Australia must always maintain at whatever cost. Australia should

Mr. Wilks.

not be called upon in regard to a question of this character to surrender any of her autonomous rights out of consideration for Imperial obligations or necessities. We appreciate the spirit of Imperialism, and desire to give it every opportunity of development, but our attachment to the Empire should not be subject to any arrangement that might be dictated to us in order to bring our legislation into accord with the views of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he be an astute and advanced statesman, like the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, or Mr. John Morley, or Mr. Asquith, or some other prominent member on the liberal side. I do not wish in any way to make an attack upon the aggressive character of the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, because I look upon his great tenacity of purpose in conserving the interests of the Empire with feelings of the greatest admiration. I think, however, that it is utterly foolish to say that those who are opposing the methods of the Government are placing obstacles in the way of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The place in which we should speak clearly and directly with regard to the aspirations of Australia on this or any other similar question which closely concerns the whole of our people is the Commonwealth Parliament, and applying the old principle of Imperialism, that we should trust in the people, I believe that we cannot carry out the true principles of government unless implicit trust is shown in the governmental machinery of the State. I think it is so much waste of time to advance reasons why we should either modify our views or simplify our system of legislation to suit the assumed or alleged desires of any high official of State in the old country. It has been stated that the Bill was not framed in the first instance in order to suit the Imperial policy, or in order that it might accord with the principles of the present administration in Great Britain. That has been said by the Prime Minister himself, and if that is true, his speech on the second reading of the Bill was so much waste of time and energy. It is true that the Ministry practically adopted the policy laid down by the Imperial authorities in their despatch; but I am glad that the Prime Minister has declared that the Bill itself had been decided upon before the receipt of that despatch. I am glad for the sake of our system of self-government that

the Ministry were not directed in their action in regard to this Bill by the despatch of the Imperial authorities, because if they had been, this House would have occupied a much weaker position than it does even now. The Ministry, therefore, are the authors of a method which is not a direct or satisfactory method, and they have prevented the House from taking a more direct course of action. They have embodied in the Bill provisions which will not secure that "White Australia" that was spoken of throughout the federal electoral campaign. We have provided for an educational test which has not proved effective in other parts of the world, and which will only serve to give us a "White Australia" with a dash. We shall have an Australia with a streak, and the Government also are apparently very streaky in their actions. The Prime Minister has stated that the policy of the Government in regard to this Bill was decided upon four months ago, and, if that is true, I should like to know why the people did not receive the Bill until August last? Why was not the Bill put into circulation when it was decided upon? This question of a "White Australia" is no side issue, but was the main question that we put forward during the last electoral campaign. It was the issue that not only attracted the attention of the people of Australia to the effective powers of the Commonwealth, but it was one of the principal inducements held out to Queensland to join the federal union. It was the fact that the Commonwealth could and would legislate effectually for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants that influenced the great State of Queensland to join the union. Queensland was induced to place herself at a great financial disadvantage in order to secure an effective policy in this direction. I should like to refer to the statement of the Attorney-General that the measure now before us will not represent the final legislation upon this subject, but that he would be prepared to adopt more forcible methods if necessary. That in itself is an admission that the Attorney-General feared for the success of this measure. He evidently considered that something was wrong. Undoubtedly that something is to be found in the restrictive provisions which the Government propose to adopt. The admission of the Attorney-General presupposes failure. Honorable

members were informed that later on we are to have a measure submitted which will be effective. I wish further to point out that if there is any virtue in the cry about our loyalty, that loyalty will be just as powerful in the year 1903 as it is to-day. I hope that we shall hear no more of this cry, because it seems to me that honorable members have no reason to advertise our loyalty, nor is there any necessity for Australia in her legislative action to place upon record as a sort of placard the sentiment of "Loyalty to Imperial desires and aspirations." We have evidenced our loyalty in the past, and we do not require on each day of our national existence to proclaim it by mouthing it in this House or upon the public platform. But whilst endeavouring to live up to our future destiny, in the interests of civilization we must not close our eyes to our own field of thought and operation in Australian territory. For many years past there has been a continued cry that Australia must be preserved for a class of people living up to a standard of civilization equal to that of the highest in the world. Whether a Japanese or a resident of any other portion of the world, where the standard of civilization is lower than our own, can pass an educational test or not is of no concern to us. The mere fact of an Asiatic or African being able to enter the Commonwealth because he is a highly educated man, does not either reduce the problem which confronts us, or satisfy the demands of the people of Australia. There is not a single honorable member of this House who does not believe in the absolute or total exclusion of the alien populations of the world. I am generous enough to take that stand. I should be sorry indeed if in any portion of this debate the hoof of partisanship was disclosed, because this is a question of national concern. It is a problem which concerns all sections of the House. The danger of the contamination of our race by the admission of these coloured aliens has been repeatedly emphasized. The danger comes home with powerful force to honorable members in their capacity as heads of families. I should, therefore, be extremely sorry if this question were at any time made a party one.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Who made it a party one?

Mr. WILKS.—In reply to the interjection of the Government whip, I wish to say that it was made a party question by the Ministry themselves. When they cracked their whip and used party coercion and rigid discipline, honorable members figuratively winced under the operation, and the Government whip himself must have winced when he was compelled to vote against the very course which he had advocated.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I voted for the only thing possible.

Mr. WILKS.—That answer is one of a political character, but I am talking to the honorable member in his capacity as a citizen of Australia. We all recognise that it is a very fine answer for a whip to give, and that it evidences how careful he is of the interests of his party. But how are we to know that it was the only possible course that could be adopted? I do not believe that this House is prepared to accept the dictum that Australian desires and aspirations must be subordinated to Imperial obligations. The Attorney-General and the Prime Minister made reference to their reception as delegates of Australia at the Jubilee celebrations in London. They also spoke of the way in which they were received two years ago when they visited that great metropolis to aid the passage of the Commonwealth Constitution Bill. They said that the hand of friendship was held out to them by Mr. Chamberlain, who stated that the Imperial authorities were pleased that we had resolved upon federal union, and added that if in the course of time Australia should desire to part from the motherland, whilst they would be sorry to lose us, they would not prevent our severance. I hope that the day will never arise when the adoption of a policy of separation will become necessary. The only circumstances under which we can imagine that Australia might take the first step towards the disintegration of the Empire are those of the repeated thwarting of the aspirations of her citizens by the Imperial Government. Until better proof is forthcoming I will not accept the statement that the course proposed by the Government was the only one agreeable to the desires of Downing-street. In a matter of this kind Australia should speak with no uncertain voice. I recognise that as a matter of order I have no right to refer to another Chamber. At the same time I do

wish to say that the Senate might fairly look to the popular House for solid direction and advice in this matter. For that reason I am indeed sorry that this House did not in a unanimous manner, and without a vote at all, adopt the amendment proposed by the honorable member for Bland. To my mind we are taking a step which might be fraught with the most serious consequences. We are practically surrendering our constitutional rights of self-government when, without rhyme or reason, and without any representation to us that direct legislation for the exclusion of aliens would have involved the Imperial authorities in difficulties, we refused to record what are our true and undoubted opinions. There is not a single member of this House who will by interjection say that he did not prefer the direct course proposed by the honorable member for Bland to that which is adopted in this Bill. I pause for a reply. There is not a single denial of the statement which I have made. I am willing to credit the Ministry with a sincere desire to preserve Australia as a heritage for the white races. I do not believe that the Colonial-office will read all the speeches which have been made upon this subject. They will probably read the remarks of the Prime Minister, the Attorney-General, the leader of the Opposition, and of the leader of the labour party. There is no occasion for us to ask Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Asquith or any one else what Australia shall do in this matter. We ought to be content to rely, as we have done in the past, upon the spirit of the British people themselves. I am satisfied that when the people of Great Britain found that Australia is in earnest, and spoke with an authoritative voice in regard to this question, they would not dream of refusing us the fullest powers of self-government. I do not know whether you, sir, have had occasion to advocate a solution of this problem in your own State Parliament, but I believe that, if you had, you would be in the fore-front of the advocates of the truest and soundest policy to carry out the manifest desire of Australia. After the State Parliaments of South Australia, Queensland, and New South Wales had registered their direct opinion upon this question of the restriction of coloured immigration, I am aware that they were compelled to adopt an educational test. Their Premiers at that time expressed the opinion that, if that test

proved to be insufficient, a more effective course of action should be taken. The Commonwealth Government it was thought would in this matter march further and more firmly than the State Governments. But now we find that that Government, with all their powers, stand in the position of exercising no greater force and authority than have the State Governments of the past. People have been asked to look to the Federal Government to deal with the deep concerns which led to the idea of union. They were told that with federation there would be the force and power of legislative action to carry out certain reforms which the State Governments, with feeble and broken voices, have for years been asking the Imperial authorities to grant. Yet on this, the first occasion for action, the Federal Government are approaching Downing-street in the position of supplicants. I urge that in this Bill we are not telling the Imperial authorities the true desire of the people of Australia, and, what is more, we are not recording the true opinion of the majority in this Chamber. The position is a sorrowful one, not only for to-day, because in other problems which will arise the effect will be felt when we are again compelled to approach the British authorities. I feel more strongly on this question than I can express, although I do not want it to be understood that the aspirations of Australia are on the lines of what is called "spread-eagleism," or "bounding-kangarooism." For years we have had a certain amount of responsible Government in Australia, and I had hoped that with federation we should have had the introduction of true representative Government, and that when passing a measure for Imperial sanction, we should have stated distinctly and clearly what were the desires of the people of Australia. If this measure is submitted to the Imperial authorities, they will see that the people of Australia are not prepared to take a straight and direct course. We know that the people of the Commonwealth, and honorable members of this House, are strongly of opinion that it would be proper and just to adopt a straight course of action. Instead of taking that straight course, however, we have resorted to the tricky, sinuous, and difficult ways of diplomacy. I regret that on the third reading, which is a formal stage usually, I should be compelled to place as strongly and

powerfully as I can before honorable members my reasons why this measure should not be adopted. The Prime Minister, when speaking in defence of himself, said the action of the Government had not been dictated by the despatch from the Secretary of State, but that their policy had been formed some considerable time before. But the measure was not circulated until August, and so far as honorable members and the citizens of Australia are concerned, we did not know the policy of the Government until then. It seems very strange that if the Government had formulated a policy of such powerful concern to the community they did not advance their ideas long before they did. I understand that the Ministry in this matter have exercised their powers of caution and rigid party discipline. I do not wish to refer to certain members on the other side of the House, but if I quoted some of their speeches honorable members would be astounded at their attitude when the vote was taken. In the interests of the Commonwealth itself it is not well that the people of Australia should be shown that the lowest and most degrading duplicity was exhibited on the part of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must not speak of duplicity in connexion with the action of any honorable member. I must ask him to withdraw the expression,

Mr. WILKS.—I am very pleased the Speaker has directed my attention to the use of that word. I was merely using a figure of speech, which probably, I should not have used. I desire to withdraw it. What has been considered to be justifiable political action in the State Parliament of the past should not be introduced in this Chamber on an important question of this character. I am sure that you, sir, in the high position you occupy, would, in matters of this kind, like to see the Commonwealth Parliament set an example to the State Parliaments by expressing clearly and unmistakably the views of the people who are here represented. It is not for me to urge the evils which may arise from the presence of these aliens in Australia, because those evils are apparent, and have been brought home to us with great force time after time. We hope that in the interests of our race, our social life, and our industries, this continent will

not be tainted by people from eastern countries. The educational test which is proposed does not represent the desire of the people of Australia. It has been said that Great Britain might be embarrassed, and that difficulties might be originated in Japan if the direct course suggested were carried out. But if the people of Japan are as highly educated as the Attorney-General would lead us to believe, they will see that the proposal of the Government is simply a subterfuge. If that nation possesses the susceptibilities and powers of reasoning which have been attributed to them, surely they will be more offended by the educational test proposed than by the straight-out course recommended by the honorable member for Bland. Speaking of the proposal in regard to Japan, the word "duplicity" might be used, but I will refrain from using it. I will only say that if the Japanese are so gullible as to swallow this subterfuge, they cannot be so highly intelligent as the Attorney-General wishes us to believe. Any alleged embarrassment in the Colonial-office, and any irritation in Japan are more likely to be caused by the round-about method proposed in the Bill than by a direct course of action. I recognise that on the third reading every power the Ministry can command will be exercised skilfully to compass the vote; but that vote will not record the sincere opinion of the members of this House; and I am sorry that this round-about method is to be adopted.

Mr. BATCHELOR (South Australia).—So far I have been silent upon this Bill both on the second reading and in committee. One reason was that anything I might have cared to say had already been said by other members, perhaps more effectively than I could have said it. Another reason was that I have been quite consistent in my advocacy of prohibition, and, as I have always voted in the same way, there was no necessity for me to explain my position. Probably there will be no attempt to divide the House on the third reading, but I think it necessary to record the fact that while the Bill may be presumed to fairly represent the opinion of the majority of this House, from the fact of its having reached this stage, we know that it does not do so. It certainly does not represent my opinion. We know, of course, how the majority in favour of the Bill has been made up. Perhaps it is overstating

the case to say that there are two or three members in favour of the Bill—that is, absolutely in favour of the methods of exclusion proposed in the measure.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—There is only one member.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I know of one member who is in favour of the Bill. There are some members who assisted to form the Government majority because they want to see no restriction at all, but think that the Bill is better than total prohibition. One or two members, such as the honorable and learned member for Parkes, voted for the Bill as the lesser of two evils. They regard the method proposed by the honorable member for Bland and the method proposed in the Bill as evil, but the Government proposal they regard as the lesser evil of the two, because it will let in some aliens. Then there are a number of members who, like the Government, are in favour of total exclusion, but who voted for the Bill because they deem that our connexion with the Empire requires that we should make sacrifices.

Mr. DEAKIN.—And that this Bill is immediate.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is of very little importance. I want to be quite fair to the Ministry, and I think I am right in saying that there are a number of honorable members who are totally opposed to the measure, who think the direct method preferable, but who voted for the measure from Imperial considerations, because they consider they are called on to make great sacrifices as part of the Empire. There are other honorable members who are against the Bill, and who have made sacrifices not only on behalf of the Empire, but on behalf of the Government. Because the Government have taken a certain course, they feel it necessary, for Tariff or other considerations, to vote with them. That is how this majority has been made up. Under ordinary circumstances a Bill which had passed this Commonwealth Parliament might be fairly presumed to represent the opinions of the people of Australia, and of a majority of honorable members; but in this case we are passing a Bill which does not represent the views of our constituents, and represents the opinion of only a small fraction of honorable members.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then it should not pass.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — The honorable member knows that it is going to pass, and to become law.

Mr. THOMAS.—What about the Senate?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I am not in favour of the Bill, and I want to take this opportunity of saying so. Australia has never asked for an education test. There has never been a barrier set up against the admission to these States of persons who have not obtained a certain degree of education. We care very little, as a matter of fact, whether those who come here are or are not educated, because it is a matter of very little importance in the life of the Commonwealth, since we believe that, through association with ourselves, they will soon acquire the necessary education, and that, in any case, the next generation—their children—because of the system of compulsory education which prevails in all the States, will be educated. But we wish to keep out persons of particular races which are alien to our own, and to whose undesirability residence for any number of generations would not make any difference. The Bill does not represent Australian views, or the views of the majority of honorable members; it represents simply the opinions of Downing-street as to the sort of legislation which we should pass. I understand that the Government do not intend to carry out the provisions of the measure literally, and that they will allow persons whom we should like to see amongst us to come in, although they may not be educated persons. I hope that they will do that, because it is necessary that they should. If administered in that way, the Bill may be of some service, without doing much harm; but I shall always regret that this Parliament did not, at the first opportunity it had, set forth clearly and unmistakably the desire of Australia on this question, even though the Royal assent might have been refused, because of Imperial considerations. If the Royal assent had been refused, then would have been the time, and not now, for considering any kind of compromise.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON (Tasmania). — Like the honorable member who has just resumed his seat, I have not had an opportunity of speaking on this question before, and I shall take the present occasion to do so, in order to justify a vote which I have already given, and a future vote which I shall give, if a division is taken. I am not one

of those who do not desire to exclude coloured aliens, and I have given the best evidence of the fact in that, like the leader of the Opposition, in 1896, I introduced into, and passed through, the Legislature of my own State a Bill for the exclusion, without qualification, of members of the native races of Asia and Africa. That Bill did not receive the Royal assent, and when a conference of Premiers with the Secretary of State for the Colonies was held in England, in 1897, it was pointed out to us that if we passed Bills on the lines of the Natal Act, containing education tests, they would receive assent. Accordingly, in 1898, I introduced and passed such a Bill through the Legislature of Tasmania. I know, as well as anybody, the desirability of keeping this fair land free from any large incursion of our fellow British subjects of India. Unfortunately, those who are likely to come here from India are not the better classes, but the mere sweepings of the bazaars and seaports — persons inferior morally as well as socially—who would be no desirable acquisition to our community. I readily adopted the suggestion of the Imperial authorities that we should pass a Bill which, while actually restrictive—as the Tasmanian Bill has proved—would not be a cause of offence to foreign peoples, and of complications to the Empire.

Mr. PAGE.—Was the right honorable member afraid of the veto, too?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—As a loyal subject of the Empire, I was afraid of causing complications which we could not take our proper share of guarding against. It should surely be our desire, as members of the great British Empire, and not a separate and independent community, to avoid causing complications of the Empire.

Mr. PAGE.—Australia first.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON. — Surely Australia is as much concerned in the integrity and defence of the Empire as any other portion of it is. If we were in a position to cast aside the ties that bind us to the mother country, and to protect our coast line and our commerce on the seas, I doubt if the feeling of loyalty to the Empire would allow us to take any action of the kind suggested. But what shall we say of such action on our part which, while it might cause serious complications to the Home Government, could not be compensated by anything

we could do in defence of the Empire. Let us obtain what we desire by a diplomatic course, which will effectually secure our object without arousing against us the enmities of the people of British India, Japan, and other countries, with whom it would be very serious for us to come into conflict.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia).—I desire, before the Bill leaves the Chamber, to again urge my protest against it. Ever since I have known right from wrong I have been a hater of sham and of hypocrisy. In my experience of life I have found that it is much better to go to the front door than to the back door. This Bill belies the people of Australia. It does not in any sense or form convey their desires to the Imperial authorities. It appears to me that the Premiers of the several States, who met the Secretary of State for the Colonies in conference at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, are responsible for a great deal of the trouble. They are responsible for tying the hands of the people of Australia in this matter before they had an opportunity to consider the question. I protest against the miserable tactics which have been used to get this measure through. It has been said to-day that there are not more than three honorable members who are in favour of the measure, and I believe that that statement is correct. Therefore it goes to the Imperial authorities without pronouncing the aspirations of Australia. I look upon it that we have virtually sold our national birthright for a mess of pottage. We are told that the debate is for home consumption, but I do not think the Imperial authorities will ever read a line of any speech that has been made on the measure. They will be quite satisfied with the Bill, because they have got what they asked for. I complain that, before we have had an opportunity of stating to them the desires of Australia, our hands have been tied by the dispatch sent home by the Ministry in May last. It was a miserable pretence for the Ministry to say, as a justification for that despatch, that they had made up their minds upon the Bill. If that attitude is to be adopted in future, it will be a mere farce to ask us to consider measures of legislation. Apart from the serious aspect of this question, there is a most comical aspect of it. It has been stated in the press that a federal gymnasium club has been established here, and no doubt

we have seen some remarkable performances of late by clever political acrobats. The other day the honorable member for Melbourne Ports interjected, in reply to a statement made by me that he had spoken in one way and voted in another, that what I said was untrue. It is not my desire to say a word that is untrue about anybody, but I am going to show from the honorable member's own speech that I was perfectly justified in what I said. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports, speaking of the speech made by the honorable member for Wentworth, said—

I hope the honorable member and those who sit with him will be consistent, support the honorable member for Bland's amendment, and insist that all coloured immigration, even under agreement, shall be absolutely prohibited.

Again he said—

I trust that the honorable member for Wentworth will lend his eloquence and his support to the amendment of the honorable member for Bland. One thing is certain—the passage of this Bill is assured. The Opposition are going to co-operate with the Government in making it as effectual as possible.

Mr. WILKS.—Knock out the first sub-clause of clause 4.

Mr. MAUGER.—We will strike out everything that is going to make the Bill ineffectual. We are quite prepared to do anything in order to make our honorable friends keep to their bargain.

I am quite prepared to go as far as the honorable member for Wentworth would go, and if he will join with me in these and other proposals, it does not matter whether the Government are in favour of them or against them.

Now where was that honorable member when the vote was taken. Who kept to the bargain if a bargain was made? Certainly the honorable member did not. The honorable member for Bourke was another honorable member whose vote was not in accordance with his speeches, and he was one of the three members through whose votes the people of Australia have incurred a direct loss. The honorable member for Bourke said—

It was therefore with more than ordinary pleasure that I listened to the deliverance of the honorable member for Wentworth this morning. His manly style and straightforward utterance must give pleasure to those who have long felt that Australia is in serious danger from the influx particularly of coloured aliens.

Speaking for myself alone I would infinitely prefer to adopt the method suggested by the honorable member for Wentworth, and state in the Bill, in a straightforward manner, exactly what we

want to do. We want to exclude absolutely every kind of coloured immigrant. Let us put that desire on the face of the Bill and ask the home authorities to support us.

As to the educational test, it is just as well to be reminded that the Japanese and others, particularly Indian subjects, are quite able to pass that test. Those are the very races, above all others, that we desire to keep out of Australia.

There are universities in India, where the coloured subjects of the King receive as good an education as we can give to any of the white subjects of the King in Australia. Some of these men—I have met some of them myself—are mathematicians of the highest order; some of them are scholars of repute. We have had instances of some of them entering the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and passing all examinations with credit to themselves and to the country to which they belong. In such cases, the educational test can be of no use at all. It must be absolutely worthless.

On the subject of a white Australia, there is scarcely a white citizen within the confines of the Commonwealth who would not support the proposition embodied in the amendment of the honorable member for Bland.

Yet the honorable member was one of the few citizens of the Commonwealth of whom he speaks. Then we had a still more remarkable speech from the honorable member for Moreton, who said—

My support of the Government is not so strong or so loyal that I can remain behind them if they are going to make a retrograde movement in this matter. I have heard the condition of affairs in Queensland referred to in this House, and at public meetings outside, but I have not gone about the city of Melbourne with my eyes shut. I have seen the canker spot in every part of Australia I have visited. I would not support for an hour any Government which I thought was going to palter with this evil, because I know the dimensions which it is assuming, not only in the State of Queensland, but throughout the whole of the Commonwealth. With regard to the possibility of our attempting to grasp too much and thereby losing all, I wish to say that I believed, when advocating the union of these States, that we were going to get a larger and more complete measure of self-government than we formerly enjoyed.

That is what we all believed and what we were all told by every member of the Ministry. The honorable member goes on to say—

It is a painful surprise to me to find that we are to subordinate our desires to what we may call the exigences of Downing-street. I do not know that we have any warrant for believing that Downing-street will dare to set their opinion in opposition to the expressed will of the people of as the Commonwealth, as voiced by their representatives in this Federal Parliament. At any rate, we should go straight and give them the opportunity of saying whether or not they agree with what we have done. We shall then know exactly what to do.

We know that there is a growing power in the East, namely Japan. Are we afraid of offending Japan? Shall we put our fear of offending Japan above our desire to have a pure Australian race comprised of the best blood of Europe, which has made the British race what it is to-day? I hope that we are sufficiently courageous to crystallize our convictions into the laws which we place on the statute-book of the Commonwealth.

When the Bill gets into committee I shall vote for a white Australia, regardless of whether that vote goes to support or defeat the Government.

Now these three honorable members I have quoted made up the majority the Government had in connexion with this measure, and I single them out in particular. Other members spoke one way and voted another, but they are not to be placed in the same category with the three honorable members to whom I have referred, because those honorable members to whose inconsistency I have specially directed attention made the question of a white Australia a prominent feature during the electoral campaign. Yet, largely through their agency we have a miserable Bill that does not please any honorable member of this House, but which will go to the Imperial authorities misrepresenting the people of Australia, and carrying a lie on the face of it.

Mr. CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—It has been well stated that if "speech is silvern, silence is golden," and I think it is a pity that some honorable members have not remembered that in the course of this debate.

Mr. WATSON.—Hear, hear—honorable members on that side.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Honorable members can afford to laugh, but they should remember the old saying that "He who laughs last, laughs best." I do not suppose that even the leader of the Opposition would dare to say that I have not the courage to vote as I think right.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member would be elected whatever he did.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—It is easy for the leader of the Opposition and for other honorable members to talk about the "crack of the whip," and the pity of making this a party question, and to try to throw all the onus of any party bitterness that developed during the discussion of this Bill on to this side of the House; but many who are prepared to judge impartially know the history of this question. I am sorry that any personal references, such

as those made by the honorable member who has just sat down, should have been imported into this debate. Surely honorable members are able to answer to their constituents without being taken to task here, or having attempts made to blacken their political character. If we get down to that sort of thing we shall go very near to the essence of political meanness. After all, it is only a question of taste; and if honorable members like to pose as the real Simon Pures, as the only men favorable to a "white Australia," as the only men who are prepared to risk anything in order to obtain it, well and good. Still I regret that it has been thought necessary to drag these personal references into the debate.

Mr. POYNTON.—Did not the Prime Minister quote the leader of the Opposition the other night as to his action in 1897?

Mr. CHAPMAN.—If the Prime Minister had referred to the action of the leader of the Opposition in the way I should have liked, we might have had a little more light thrown upon the matter. I know the right honorable gentleman as well as the Prime Minister does, and probably a little better, but, unlike the Prime Minister, I was not astonished at any change of front on his part.

Mr. BARTON.—I have known him for 37 years.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I have known him long enough to know that he will "jump Jim Crow" every way that suits him. This House is practically unanimous with regard to a "white Australia." That is admitted on all sides.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—No, it is not.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I said practically unanimous. The only question is as to the method to be adopted in order to secure our object. The Government proposed an educational test, and, whilst general statements are made all round the Chamber that it will be ineffectual, that is not in keeping with the contention of the leader of the Opposition when he maintained the other night that it would be effectual, and when he, as far as he possibly could, extracted a promise from the Prime Minister that he would not enforce it too strictly, as it might keep out too many immigrants.

Mr. REID.—Too many of whom?

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I say that the right honorable and learned member tried to get

an admission from the Prime Minister that this educational test would not be too strictly enforced.

Mr. REID.—As to Europeans.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—If it were too strictly enforced the leader of the Opposition contended that it would have the effect of excluding many desirable citizens.

Mr. REID.—Yes; Europeans.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The right honorable and learned member has lately become a stickler for Europeans. His own contention in itself proves that in his opinion the educational test will be effective. But the question with which we were confronted was as to what would be the most effective method of excluding undesirable, and would best fit the circumstances. We know full well, despite glib utterances of some honorable members, about "Australia first," and "Away with Imperialism and this bogie of Chamberlain," what would be the effect if trouble occurred between the old country and Australia to-day? Consequently such talk is only moonshine. We all recognise that we cannot stand alone, and we have to keep that fact in mind when deciding which method we shall adopt. The leader of the Opposition has admitted that the educational test will prove most effective. Surely, if we can adopt a test which will enable us to exclude undesirable immigrants from Australia without jeopardizing our position in the Empire, or bringing the Empire into conflict with a friendly power, we ought to adopt it. It is very easy to give utterance to platitudes about speaking with the voice of a united people, but it seems rather suspicious that many of those honorable members who voted in favour of bringing about a conflict and of practically putting back the hands of the clock for a year or five years, have found it necessary to get up in this House and justify their votes. They attempt to justify them by abusing the other side. I credit honorable members who voted against me with conscientiousness, but I demand that they shall credit me with similar motives. I assert my right to vote as I did, because I realize that the method proposed by the Government is the only one by which we can at present lock the door against these undesirable immigrants. No other consideration would have induced me to record the vote which I did. I give the most emphatic denial to the statement which has been so repeatedly made that the whip was held over Ministerial

supporters. Let us look at the history of the fight, and remember the calm which preceded the battle. When the honorable member for Bland moved his amendment, what happened? There was plenty of talk from honorable members on the Opposition side of the House to the effect that they were going to fight it. This statement was not made upon the floor of this Chamber, where it could be used in evidence against honorable members. After a time a sudden breeze blew, and certain honorable members on the other side of the House fancied that they saw an opportunity. I do not blame them for trying to take advantage of it. We know what an Opposition will do under such circumstances. I have previously had the pleasure of occupying a seat on the opposite side of Parliament to the leader of the Opposition, and I know that when he feels he has a chance he fights very hard. But it is absurd for honorable members to get up, and almost weeping to exclaim, "See how the Government forced certain honorable members to vote."

Mr. REID.—The reaper and binder.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The leader of the Opposition has been a reaper and binder all his life, but he has never ploughed or sown. If comparisons are to be made, I ask is it fair to single out two or three honorable members in the way they have been singled out? Let us remember the men who voted for the Government proposal. Let us recollect their past political attitude in regard to the question of a white Australia. Let us put the record of the Prime Minister, or of the Minister of Customs, or of the Minister for Home Affairs against that of the leader of the Opposition in this connexion. These honorable gentlemen have fought nearly all their lives for a white Australia, and it is playing the game very low down, when it is recognised that the method prescribed in this Bill is the only way of effectually closing the door against the admission of aliens, to taunt such men with being traitors to their country. I do not take any exception to the speeches made by honorable members in support of their view that the amendment of the honorable member for Bland ought to have been carried, but I emphatically protest against the tactics which have been adopted after an honest fight has taken place, and after the Opposition has done its best. They had the opportunity of coalescing with the

liberal party in this House, and they missed it. I protest against these honorable members, when they realize that they were so near success, and are now so far from it, crying about the whip having been held over other honorable members, and taunting them with having changed their opinions. Such accusations having nothing to do with the third reading of this Bill. Had I thought that there was the slightest possibility of the amendment of the honorable member for Bland becoming law, no one would have supported it more warmly than myself. But I realized that it would not become law. I am pleased that so far we have not heard the honorable member for Bland protesting that undue influence was used to defeat his amendment. He fought the question in a manly way from his standpoint, and having been defeated he bowed to the will of the majority.

Mr. WATSON.—I complained about the whip some time ago.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—It was a satisfaction to me to know that honorable members on the other side of the House were extremely anxious that every one of their supporters should be in his place. It is equally pleasing to reflect that every honorable member upon this side of the Chamber recorded his vote. I hope that in future our battles will be fought out in as fair a spirit as characterized the recent fight, and that when they are over there will be less political weeping and wailing because one side has been defeated. The method prescribed in the Bill is the only way by which we can effectually secure our object without involving the Imperial authorities in difficulty. I gave a vote of which I am proud. The vote recorded by this House will have the effect within two or three weeks of stopping undesirable aliens from coming here. Under this Bill, when it becomes law, the Government will have power to exclude them at once and for ever. I am satisfied that when a trial has been given to this measure, there will be no desire exhibited for its alteration. If I should happen to be wrong, and if by some means undesirable aliens still manage to gain access to this country by evading the law, this House will speedily make that law more stringent. When it is admitted all round that a "white Australia" is desirable, surely after we have thrashed out the method by which our purpose can be best achieved, if we are true to the people who sent us here, we should

endeavour to bring the Bill into operation as speedily as possible, instead of wasting time in wailing over lost opportunities.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I think that nothing could be more fitting than the defence by my honorable friend of the three gentlemen whose votes he managed to secure, under circumstances of great difficulty which might have puzzled a less experienced whip. I congratulate him upon his success, and it was only an ordinary exhibition of gratitude that he should rise and endeavour to defend those honorable members. I do not see that the honorable member for South Australia was guilty of any offence in criticising the public acts in this Chamber of honorable members of this House. We are all open to criticism. We are all attacked from different points of view in the carrying out of our public duties. My honorable friend was the last person I expected to use language which indicated that we should shrink from the discharge of our duties, even when we have to criticise the course which honorable members may take. The honorable member for South Australia uttered the truth, which my honorable friend will not deny, when he said that a number of honorable members on the Ministerial side at an earlier stage in the debates on this Bill, publicly, fearlessly, and courageously stated that they would follow the honorable member for Bland, and not the Prime Minister, upon this question even, as one of them remarked, "if it shipwrecked the Government." It is a singular thing—and one which I hope will not often happen in our proceedings—that honorable members, who had spoken as though they had absolutely made up their minds upon a great national question, who referred to the pledges given to their constituents, and to their speeches, as an indication of their intention to carry out these pledges, should, nevertheless, have voted in a diametrically opposite way. It is a pity that they did so, but of course it was under the persuasiveness of my honorable friend that they placed themselves in that false position. It was important, because those three votes, if given in accordance with the speeches of honorable members, would have affected this measure in a very vital way, and would have enabled us to put before the people of the world the fact that the Australians have determined to have a "white Australia." Now the effect of this Ministerial device is that instead of putting

a "white Australia" before the world, we put a "funky Australia" before it—an Australia which seems to be shivering at the very shadow of a Japanese bogey, and which, so far as the European nations are concerned, takes up an absolutely churlish attitude. The Ministry introduced a Bill containing a provision that the educational test should be in the English language. The Prime Minister stated that that test was indispensable. The provision in question has now disappeared, and instead we have a test which will reflect ignominy and discredit upon Australian legislation if it is passed into law. It is provided that a Customs officer may apply out of ten or twenty European languages any one he chooses to any immigrant who is distasteful, on account of his colour or from other reasons, to the Government of this country. It has now ceased to be a matter of law making, and has become a matter of a Ministerial bureau in touch with Customs officials. That is not the plane on which such legislation should be projected. The Prime Minister spoke of the fact that the foreign consuls would read our speeches in *Hansard*. What a remarkable spectacle! A bunch of foreign consuls trying to make out what our speeches on this subject mean. If they read the speeches of the three honorable members who have been referred to, and then looked up their votes, they would suppose that these gentlemen had been tested in some strange language and had failed to pass, seeing that they did not even know on which side to vote in the face of their own utterances in the Chamber. I should think the consuls would be somewhat puzzled if they read our debates. Is it not a lamentable thing that we should invite other nations in a matter of this magnitude to discover our policy from the utterances of Ministers in this House, and not from the provisions of our Acts of Parliament? That is a most astounding position for a Government to take up. I was not present, but I can imagine how the patriotic feeling of the Chamber must have throbbed in admiration when the gifted Attorney-General, in speaking on that occasion, used some memorable words, which I shall quote. That was before the Cabinet minute of the Federal Ministry, as to the despatch, was made known to the House. If the Attorney-General had made that minute known to the House when he spoke he would scarcely,

courageous in the use of language as he is, have employed this sentence—

There is no seal on our lips, and no closure that can be applied to us when we speak with unqualified and inflexible firmness what we believe to be the demands of the people of Australia.

What a magnificent sentence, and how unpalatable to Mr. Chamberlain it must have been. When that long despatch was published, and sent on to Ministers, the demand of Mr. Chamberlain was received with the utmost humility, and all they could say was practically—"Yes, Mr. Chamberlain." Mr. Chamberlain sent out a treatise upon the guiding principles of the British Empire from time immemorial, and laid down the strong objections to any legislation based on distinction of race and colour, and the Federal Ministry said—"Yes, Mr. Chamberlain!" Mr. Chamberlain went on to say that, besides the basic principles on which the British Empire has been constructed, such legislation would be peculiarly offensive to Japan—"Yes, Mr. Chamberlain!" Not satisfied with that, there is the further assurance from the Federal Ministry—"Your principles and our policy, Mr. Chamberlain, are precisely the same." What a beautiful harmony to establish between the Imperial and the Federal Cabinets upon a matter of Australian concern! Yet in the face of that absolute compact and alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Federal Ministry in this House, and Mr. Chamberlain, in Downing-street, the Attorney-General had the audacity to get up as if he were making a speech in some debating club, where men are entitled to forget all the facts of the case, and say—"There is no seal on our lips; there is no closure that can fracture our inflexible firmness"—"Yes, Mr. Chamberlain!" For the great abilities and eloquence of the Attorney-General, no man has a more sincere respect than I. We all admire those qualities, but sometimes they run away with the honorable gentleman, and they ran away with him when he took up this noble-Roman attitude in this House. After that humble respectful duty to Mr. Chamberlain through the Governor-General—"Yes, Mr. Chamberlain!" and after the assurance that the Federal Government shared the feeling of His Majesty's Government with reference to legislation based on distinctions of race and colour,

what will Mr. Chamberlain think of the Federal Ministry when the Kanaka Bill comes along? That is a definite piece of legislation based on distinctions of race and colour.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The right honorable and learned member cannot discuss the Pacific Islands Labourers' Bill on this occasion.

Mr. REID.—I am much obliged to you, sir, for not pulling me up sooner. When Ministers adopt a subservient attitude, they should at least be consistent. We have here, in the case of this Bill, the spectacle, not of a "white Australia," but of a subservient Australia. This House has copied the humble subserviency of the Federal Ministry, and this House echoes the Ministerial—"Yes, Mr. Chamberlain!" I am proud to think that there is a large number of members in the House who will not be responsible for that subservient attitude. What a miserable pretence it is, with all respect to my honorable friend, for the Prime Minister to allude to the integrity of the Empire being affected. I suppose that if we thought the integrity of the Empire was affected we should stretch a good many points, within reason, to prevent such a catastrophe.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—What induced the leader of the Opposition to at one time propose an educational test?

Mr. REID.—I have mentioned the reason half-a-dozen times, and I shall mention it again. I will give the reason in eloquent words used by the Prime Minister—and no one can accuse him of eloquence as a rule—when he spoke at Randwick some years ago, as follows:—

Under federation, instead of six jangling voices giving utterances to their wants in the mother country, there will be only one voice, with the result that they will get so much of what they want that separation from the old country will be impossible.

There is a different tone! That was the voice in which the Prime Minister addressed the people of Australia—"When you get federal union, instead of these miserable provincial governments, headed by insignificant people like G. H. Reid, you will get a first-class statesman who is large enough to fill a first-class statesman-like programme; and when I talk in the name of the Empire, then all the world must yield." But now the right honorable gentleman is in office, and the official atmosphere has settled

on him so thickly, it is "Yes, Mr. Chamberlain!" I want to point out to the right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, that I convened the conference which determined that we would introduce a Bill on the lines of the present proposal of the honorable member for Bland. That was our determination—that was our principle and our policy, and in it we represented the people of Australia.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—But the right honorable and learned member dropped it.

Mr. REID.—And why? Because we were six disconnected colonies. Because New South Wales was part of this great people, and only one part; and because one of the greatest colonies of the group had actually entered into a treaty with Japan.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not at that time.

Mr. REID.—Not at that moment, but subsequently, and before the legislation was introduced. It was known to the Premiers who went to England that Queensland intended to take that course.

Mr. WATSON.—It was before the basis of the Natal Act was adopted.

Mr. REID.—It was well known at that time that Queensland had broken up the Australian concert, and intended actually to conclude a treaty with Japan on her own account. How could a separate colony take up the position which Australia can take up? If my friends opposite were in my position, they would perceive the difference between the two positions.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—And the right honorable and learned member knuckled down at once.

Mr. REID.—I think I spoke pretty straight. The Minister for Defence makes a slight mistake.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We were all there.

Mr. REID.—The Minister for Defence when in England was, I admit, an authority on knuckling down.

Mr. WATSON.—The leader of the Opposition was the only one who spoke out.

Mr. REID.—A more polished courtier than the Minister for Defence in the atmosphere of St. James I never saw. I venture to say, and it is a matter of public notoriety, that I struck one or two very independent notes, not in the privacy of a conference room, but before the whole people of England, so that I think any attempt to show that I displayed any subserviency in the matter will rather fail. I took

up a position in England which causes me to denounce the position that the Government are in to-day. I said that, loyal as Australia was, Australia would never be a mere joint in the Imperial tail; but the right honorable gentleman, in writing this minute in the name of the Cabinet of Australia, did become a joint in the Imperial tail. The Ministry have bound themselves to the principles and policy of the Imperial Government, which are radically opposed to the principles and policy of the people of Australia on this subject. Whilst we respect the principles on which the Empire was built, there is one basic principle of this Australian nation now being built up—a principle that we are determined to secure, and are not ashamed to place on a statute book—namely, that this is to be a "white Australia," and we wish to announce our determination in a manly way. We wish to have it put in black and white. The Ministry have the courage to put it in black and white when it affects helpless kanakas from the South Sea Islands. A clause in that Bill provides that none of these kanakas shall be allowed to enter Australia after a certain date. The courage of the Ministry is equal to tackling the poor little kanaka from the South Sea Islands; but the shadow of Japan is too much for these statesmen. Hence it is that, instead of putting the policy of Australia into black and white in Australian law, there is this provision, that an undesirable immigrant must try to dodge all the languages of Europe in order to enter Australia. I admit that the test is not to be applied. That is where the consuls will have to read *Hansard*. Whilst the law will make it appear that the policy of the Australian Parliament is to allow persons of all races and colours to come here, if they can pass an educational test, the foreign consuls are asked to read the measure in this way—"All that we say about every immigrant being a prohibited immigrant unless he can pass an examination in an European language is waste paper, so far as European nations are concerned. We are not going to ask any unobjectionable European to pass that test. We are not going to apply it to Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, Danes, or Italians. We are going to tell the Customs officer to shut the other eye when a German comes along the deck, but to open both eyes when a Japanese seeks to enter the Commonwealth." When honorable members talk

about irritating Japan, I ask will anything irritate a great nation more than the suspicion that the people of Australia think they can humbug it? You may feel hurt by a straightforward policy affecting yourself, but you feel more irritated when persons in their dealings with you pursue an indirect course. All this is, however, mere idle talk. The fact is, as honorable members know, that Japan has expressly recognised the rights of the self-governing colonies of the Empire to make any provisions they like with reference to the immigration of Japanese. As I have pointed out before, in the treaty between Great Britain and Japan Great Britain binds the Empire to allow free and equal intercourse to Japanese, except so far as the self-governing colonies are concerned, and amongst these are named the colonies of Australia. It was provided that these colonies should have treaty rank equal with Japan on this subject. That was a recognition of the fact that we are entitled to legislate as we please on this matter—a recognition given by the Japanese Government. Therefore, it seems to me that the fear of offending Japan is an idle one. The Japanese Government will be far more offended by an attempt to exclude their subjects by trickery than by a straightforward policy of exclusion. There is no justification for this tricky policy, but there is an absolute justification for a straightforward policy. I think that the more this proposal is looked at the more objectionable and regrettable it will appear. It will be a matter of lasting regret that the Chamber has been tied up to this sort of legislation. I cannot help expressing the conviction that if the Ministry had not penned that unfortunate despatch to the Colonial-office, and had been free to take this House into its confidence, as it has done over and over again in regard to other measures, we should have had a far more satisfactory compromise.

Mr. BARTON.—I should have taken no other course, even if the minute had not been sent.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable and learned gentleman is perfectly sincere in saying that, but honorable gentlemen have seen him adopt three or four different courses in the space of an hour. The cruellest thing of all was to compel his poor innocent colleagues in the Senate to turn a double somersault in regard to the mail-steamer contracts.

My right honorable and learned friend always means to take the same course, but he never knows what he will think about a matter five minutes hence. I do not say that the Government had not intended when they framed that despatch to introduce a Bill on the lines indicated. My complaint is that they deceived Mr. Chamberlain, and said that their principles were in accord with his when they were not. That is where a change has come over some of the members of this Ministry. The Premiers in 1897 favoured a provision such as that embodied in the amendment of the honorable member for Bland, but we yielded on behalf of our respective colonies out of a feeling of deference to the mother country, and because we thought that in our disconnected condition we should not force the matter to a final issue. But we did not give up the principles of the measure which we introduced. The Ministry, however, have given up those principles, because they have said in writing to Mr. Chamberlain, "Your principles and policy with reference to the coloured races are our principles and policy." Although members of the Ministry have changed, I have not done so. I am advocating the same line of action as I proposed when I was a Minister of an independent State. I gave way in New South Wales, but now that I am a representative of the whole Australian people, I am not prepared to give way. That is the distinction between the position of a provincial Premier and of the Australian Premier. The two positions are absolutely distinct. I maintain my principles, and I should like to see them carried out now that we are strong enough to insist upon it. By-the-by, in the remarkable speech made by the Attorney-General, there was a reference to which I should like to make a short allusion. The honorable member for Wentworth was taken strongly to task because he made use of an expression which it was insinuated—not openly stated—showed a want of loyalty to the Empire.

Mr. PAGE.—It is just as well the right honorable member should get a taste of it; we have had it long enough.

Mr. REID.—I do not mind a taste of it; it is like a tonic to me. I do not think a man who is not attacked, and bitterly attacked, by some will ever be worth a rap. It hurts me only when a bigger man attacks

me. I do not care about anything I get from some of my friends.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—But it is rather hard when the right honorable and learned member attacks us.

Mr. REID.—I do not wish to attack my honorable friend, though he is pretty well able to take care of himself. I should like to show the House the contrast between the magnificent speech of the Attorney-General and that lamentable despatch. The honorable and learned member said—

We should be false to the lessons taught us in the great republic of the west ; we should be false to the never-to-be-forgotten teachings from the experience of the United States, of difficulties only partially conquered by the blood of their best and bravest—

A few drops of ink were enough to square the Attorney-General. When my honorable and gifted friend is inspired, and is in congenial company, he seems to breathe the valour of all the blends which make up our grand Anglo-Saxon race. One feels as though South Africa would not hold him. But he said nothing then about the fact that, in the first danger of a slight friction with the Colonial-office, the Federal Ministry wrote a despatch which one could understand if it had come from some little Crown colony in some remote ocean. It was the sort of despatch that Mr. Chamberlain gets every week from little Crown colonies in all corners of the world. What a clever thing it was for him to get such a despatch from the Federal Government of Australia ! It is not usual in Downing-street, I think. At the first invitation of the Colonial-office "to think as we do and to legislate as we do with reference to coloured races," the Attorney-General could only say, "Yes, Mr. Chamberlain." If the great American heroes had been made of that stuff, American independence would have evaporated in a series of brilliant orations. In the very birth of Australian freedom and independence it is an ominous and regrettable circumstance that the majority of honorable members, not because of their consciences or because of their speeches to their constituents, but because of other reasons, prevent the House from justly reflecting the sentiments of Australia, and put us in the unfortunate position of appearing to say with the Ministry, "Yes, Mr. Chamberlain." Australia, however, says "No" to Mr. Chamberlain on this

point. The Japanese treaty shows that if Australia took a straightforward, fearless course, this question would be settled once and for ever. If a ripple or two of irritation disturbed the serenity of the Mikado of Japan at his early breakfast it would probably disappear with the setting sun. He would forget that there is such a place as Australia, and the whole thing would be over for all time. We need not expect a crop of good feeling from seed of this kind. For every scintilla of irritation which might be caused by action which was straightforward, we may now expect protest upon protest. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro spoke of the danger of several suns rising and setting unless this expeditious method were adopted. I believe that if the people of Australia were polled to-morrow they would rather have waited a month or two and sent a straight voice across the seas than have hurried this miserable attempt to deal with a great national question.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat—Attorney-General).—The right honorable and learned gentleman who has just sat down has, in his own inimitable manner, made merry at my humble expense, even at the expense of the Government, and to justify his merriment has found it necessary to assume a variety of opinions and attitudes which are mutually contradictory ; but any simple representative in this House, whose only object is to put plain arguments that seem to relate to the matter in hand in plain fashion, is always at a disadvantage as compared with the right honorable gentleman, who scintillates, and revolves, and shines, and shimmers.

Mr. REID.—I cannot revolve.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The right honorable gentleman revolves upon his mental axis with such rapidity that as fast as one seeks to place a finger upon the argument he is using the rapidly-whirling globe leaves one miles behind. He is cometary in his brilliance.

Mr. REID.—I thought I was comic.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The right honorable gentleman might be described as a comic comet, passing from and into the void, and always far beyond the reach of any prosaic attempt to hold him down to facts, statements, arguments, or consistencies. To do that is far beyond my powers. In various parts of his address to-day, the right honorable gentleman in his familiar fashion treated of that now memorable—one of

my honorable colleagues calls it miserable—minute from a variety of points of view. Sometimes he was satisfied that it was honestly written, and meant next to nothing; at other times he was satisfied that it was honestly written and meant a great deal, whilst on other occasions he was satisfied that it was dishonestly penned, with some mysterious end in view, which shifted as the right honorable gentleman's argument required. In order, however, to put it beyond all question, I rise to-day mainly to say that when I made the statement in following the right honorable gentleman the other day in reference to this minute, and the circumstances under which it was penned, I spoke with what I believed was a proper diffidence, because I was relying upon my memory. I had been challenged by the right honorable gentleman on the instant, with an unexpected interpretation of the minute—one which was surely the last to enter the minds of the Government. However, for once my memory has proved correct, and it is now no longer a matter of recollection, because I hold in my hand a demonstration of the actual fact. What I said was that the Government, in January, decided that the Bill, which was to be introduced in order to prevent the introduction of undesirable immigrants, should be drawn upon the lines of the well-understood Natal plan, which we had every reason to believe to be an effective method of excluding undesirable immigrants, and to which we knew we could obtain the sanction of the Imperial Government without any delay.

Mr. REID.—Was that before the Maitland speech?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes. I then went on to say that when we assembled in Melbourne after the elections, in order to draft the Bills that were to be presented to Parliament, the first sketch that was given by me of that measure was on those lines. I stated that the measure was drafted, to the best of my recollection, in May, probably before Mr. Chamberlain wrote his despatch, and certainly long before we ever knew of it. I find now that his despatch was written on 14th May, and was received by the Government in the Prime Minister's department on 22nd June. Now I have found among my papers the draft I hold in my hand of the Bill—at that time already in print—to restrict the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in which the Natal system is

adopted, and in which clause 4, paragraph (a) upon which all this discussion has arisen, is word for word as it was in the Bill laid before this House. The wording of the original draft of paragraph (a), clause 4, is as follows:—

Any person who, when asked to do so by an officer, fails to write out and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of 50 words in length in the English language dictated by the officer;

Paragraph (a), as I have quoted it, was followed by the other restrictions contained in the same clause. This was in print, according to this copy, on the 7th day of June, 1901, or a fortnight before we received or saw or heard of Mr. Chamberlain's despatch.

Mr. BARTON.—Two days before I heard of his statement in the House of Commons.

Mr. McDONALD.—Was that the final draft? Was it altered?

Mr. DEAKIN.—This has not been altered.

Mr. McDONALD.—I asked the Prime Minister after that whether the Bill was ready, and he said it was not.

Mr. REID.—It appears now that it was ready in January.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The honorable member who makes that interjection is labouring under an obvious misapprehension. This original draft was altered in this and in later clauses in minor particulars.

Mr. McDONALD.—I asked the Attorney-General whether it was altered, and he said—"No."

Mr. DEAKIN.—I was speaking of paragraph (a), of clause 4, upon which the whole of the discussion upon this Bill has turned. It was paragraph (a) which I read, and which I said had not been altered since the original draft, but otherwise the Bill has been altered in several particulars because new sub-clauses were introduced, and sub-clauses then provided were afterwards dropped. They related merely to the machinery for the carrying out of the measure. The proposal to adopt the Natal test—the test as we proposed it—was then in print, and we had accepted it. In order to be quite certain as to the date of the first draft, I sent a note to the Government Printer, as follows:—

Can the Government Printer inform me if this was the first draft of this Bill? If not, what was the date of the first draft?

And the reply I received was—

No, this is the second draft, the first was furnished on the 4th June last.

So that this measure, as far as it relates to the particular matter in hand—not only the general character of the measure, but the particular proposal submitted to this House by the Government with regard to the application of the educational test, and the adoption of the English language—was printed as early as the 4th of June; and, in fact, the measure was, as I have said, drafted in May. We have no need, however, to go back as far as May.

Mr. REID.—The Bill was only a draft until the Ministry sent that minute to Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It was a Bill which, so far as this particular is concerned, was never altered. From the first draft, prepared by myself early in May, to the last draft laid before the House, in that particular portion to which the attention of the House has been directed, relating to the educational test, there was never a word altered.

Mr. REID.—That proves that the Ministry were always in sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's views.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It shows that the right honorable gentleman is bowled out.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I am always happy to avoid relying entirely on the slippery testimony of uncertain memory, and to find facts fixed in black and white, but I am especially gratified that in this matter my memory has served me correctly. It must now be plain that I was right in saying that Mr. Chamberlain's despatch had no effect upon this Bill, because fully a month before it was received the educational test was formally adopted by the Government, and never altered. I have now once and for all removed any doubts that could be entertained as to the meaning of that minute. It was simply, as I have already explained to the House, intended to convey to Mr. Chamberlain the statement that the measure we had framed was not out of harmony with his views,—a determination arrived at independently of Mr. Chamberlain, and without any knowledge of his wishes, beyond what was conveyed to my right honorable friend the leader of the Opposition, in 1897. We were already acquainted with those those views since 1897, and from the experience and example of my right honorable friend and his colleagues, had already determined that if we desired the exclusion of undesirable aliens, and at once,

this was the swiftest and most effective manner of obtaining that end.

Mr. WATSON.—What about Australia speaking with a more powerful voice?

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is speaking with a more powerful voice. In three of the States this measure has not been adopted in any form, as the honorable member knows. Ours is a proposal not only to apply to the whole of Australia a measure that has never yet been applied to three of the States, but to apply it in a severer form than ever before. Honorable members will see that this marks a great step in advance, first of all as applying to the whole of Australia a law which has not yet been enforced in some of the States, and secondly as applying the educational test in a stricter fashion. More than that, if there was a contention of the right honorable gentleman, which was apparently substantial, it was the statement that when we approved the policy and principles of Mr. Chamberlain, in our minute, that action was fatal to the sincerity of our determination for the entire prohibition of colored alien immigrants. The right honorable member put his assumption in a variety of forms, from any one of which honorable members might have believed, and have been justified in believing, that the policy of the British Government as expressed by Mr. Chamberlain, and accepted by us, stopped short of that goal; but I say once and for all, that if it had stopped short of that goal it would have had no endorsement from this Government. I need not read the quotations from the long speech addressed by Mr. Chamberlain to my right honorable friend, and his colleagues, when he expressed not only entire sympathy with the objects that Australia had in view, but gave us his assurance that if the means that he then recommended to their adoption did not prove sufficient, it rested with us, and with us alone to make them effective and absolute.

Mr. POYNTON.—On similar lines.

Mr. REID.—Here are the very words—

If the particular tests in these laws are not regarded as sufficiently stringent there is no reason why more stringent and effective ones of a similar character should not be adopted.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Exactly. And I say, and say deliberately, that the particular tests and the particular means employed are matters of indifference to Australia and to us, provided we obtain the complete and.

absolute exclusion on which we have set our minds and hearts. The assent, and the only assent, given to the proposal of Mr. Chamberlain by this Government is subject to accepting these words as meaning what they say—as implying that there will be no check, hindrance, delay, or objection to this Parliament, or any Parliament of Australia, adopting an educational test, or some similar test, in any form that it chooses or prefers, and as stringent as it pleases, in order to make it effective.

Mr. ISAACS.—In the same despatch Mr. Chamberlain says we must stop alien immigration at all hazards.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Exactly; that is the plain sense of Mr. Chamberlain's words, that is what he intended to convey, and in that sense only have they been accepted by this Government. Honorable members spoke of the educational test proposed in this Bill as a comparatively simple one—that of writing 50 words—but that will suffice to exclude the vast bulk of the immigrants—the uneducated labourers whom it is not desirable we should admit. Within the limitations of an educational test, however, and without going beyond it, it is perfectly competent for us to raise its standard until it shall be so high that no one whom Australia desires to see kept out need be admitted. If the present test is not severe enough, we have the assurance of Mr. Chamberlain that a severer test will be approved. The right honorable and learned gentleman says that this will be an objectionable test to other nations and particularly to Japan. As a matter of fact, this is the one class of test which has not been protested against by the Government of Japan, or on behalf of other Asiatic peoples. It is the one class of test which has not been objected to in principle, though I do not for a moment dispute that when the Japanese learn—as they will learn—of the discrimination with which this test is to be applied, there will naturally arise a feeling of resentment which will be legitimate on their part. Such a feeling we may expect to arise, but we are unable consistently with the discharge of our duty to the electors of the Commonwealth to adopt means to prevent it.

Mr. REID.—What sort of feeling does the Attorney-General refer to?

Mr. DEAKIN.—To a feeling of resentment at a discrimination in the use of the test. At the same time, that resentment

will be mild in comparison with that which would be felt by a highly cultured and highly capable people upon finding themselves classed indifferently with all the peoples of Asia, as if they stood upon the same level with all those who are of a different colour to ourselves. For my part, I have been careful from the first not to attempt to justify this Bill, and the exclusiveness of feeling which it represents on the score of any moral or other inferiority on the part of those whom we desire to exclude. Whether or not there exists such inferiority is a matter for argument or dispute elsewhere. I have frankly stated from the first that the exclusiveness on the part of the Australian people is perfectly independent of the mental and moral status of the Japanese, when measured by the only standards that can be properly applied to them, namely, those of their own race and of their own history.

Mr. FOWLER.—Then all of them stand on the same level?

Mr. DEAKIN.—I am as far as possible from implying such a thing. All that it is necessary for us to urge in justification of this measure is that these people do differ from us in such essentials of race and character as to exclude the possibility of any advantageous admixture or intermarriage if we are to maintain the standards of civilization to which we are accustomed. I would not take a pharisaical attitude even as regards our own civilization. Who can say how long it will last? I have very grave doubts as to whether our form of civilization is beneficial to these people. I doubt whether it does not work far more injury than advantage to them. Our civilization belongs to us, and we belong to it; we are bred in it, and it is bred in us. It fits us and is our means of progress and advancement. These people have their own independent development, their own qualities, and also the civilization, forms of life and government, which naturally attach to them. They are separated from us by a gulf which we cannot bridge to the advantage of either. The attitude of Australia is not an offensive one when it becomes understood that it is based upon these principles. It is not based upon any claim of superiority. Where is the standard of comparison just to both? I am endeavouring to satisfy the House that arguments which are used in favour of exclusion do not call for any reflection whatever

upon the character or capacity of the people excluded. That is not necessary. It is sufficient that these people do not blend with us, and that they cannot share our social life or our forms of self-government.

Mr. POYNTON.—Unless they are educated.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Not even when they are educated. The education test, as the honorable member knows, is a test for the purpose of excluding and not of admitting the educated or uneducated. The object is to exclude those who come here. There is no desire on the part of the educated classes of Japan to come to Australia, and there is no desire on our part to receive them. The fundamental principle of self-preservation—of the preservation of our racial purity, of our forms of government, and of the civilization which fits and belongs to us, are sufficient motives to justify us in aiming at the absolute prohibition as undesirable immigrants of the coloured aliens who surround us. That is the position, and nothing more.

Mr. REID.—Will the Attorney-General get a statement of that sort forwarded to the Government of Japan, so that they may know what is meant?

Mr. DEAKIN.—If necessary, yes. The right honorable and learned member endeavoured to draw a parallel between the measure now before us and that relating to kanakas, altogether ignoring the fact that the kanakas in the first instance are brought here under Australian legislation.

Mr. REID.—I alluded to the clause which reads—“No Pacific Island labourer shall enter Australia on or after 31st March, 1904.” That will prohibit his admission whether he comes under agreement or not.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is intended to do so. These people in themselves, and independently of the legislative action which has been taken, have never shown any desire to come here at all. We have to deal with these Polynesian Islanders because we inherit the consequences of the deliberate legislative action of a portion of the people in Australia in regard to them. We therefore find ourselves confronted with a situation with which we can deal in the most drastic way without offence to those affected by it. In this respect we are fortunate in being able to study the best interests of the Polynesian Islanders themselves—as well as those of the people of Australia—by excluding them from this country. No parallel

can be drawn between a special case of that kind, calling for special action to undo what has been done by ourselves, and our seeking to keep out those who come of their own accord. We have been asked by that member of the British Government who is peculiarly associated with the outlying parts of the Empire in which we reside to adopt a certain course and to make that course as effective as we choose. I would not attempt for a moment to imitate the right honorable and learned member's inimitable humour, but I am sure that he could act his part quite as effectively if he stood upon this side of the House and sketched the procedure which the Premier of New South Wales, Mr. Reid, followed in 1897, when, with a legislative mandate from Australia, so far as his colony was concerned, he visited the mother country. When he was told to tear up the legislation which he had passed, and introduce legislation on other lines, he bowed to the dust with the response—“Yes, Mr. Chamberlain.” That is what he said then in response to a request for a much more vital and serious change of front than that which he can charge against us. We had made up our minds what we intended to do before we knew of any such request. I am not reproaching the right honorable and learned member with what he did four years ago.

Mr. REID.—The Attorney-General is following my shadow.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That would not be easily missed. The course which the leader of the Opposition followed four years ago was right and reasonable under the circumstances. It is the course which he would have taken had he been in the position of Ministers to-day. The derision which he would then have poured upon his adversaries would have delighted this House quite as much as did the admirable manner in which he travestied the Government in the present instance. He is capable of that, and much more; but he cannot sever himself from his past even if he would. If he was right four years ago, then he is wrong now, and if he is right now he was wrong then. What is more, I say that we were right independently and of our own volition, whereas the right honorable and learned member, after a direct mandate from the people, was compelled to tear up his legislation and say—“Yes, Mr. Chamberlain.”

Mr. REID.—Would the Attorney-General mind having the despatch laid upon the table?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Which despatch?

Mr. REID.—The despatch which formed the subject of the Cabinet minute.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is in the possession of my colleague. I do not wish to detain the House, but I desire to make clear one matter referred to in the speech of the right honorable and learned member which, in the minds of honorable members less familiar with the circumstances, may lead to misunderstanding. He spoke of the treaty with Japan, from the operation of which the self-governing colonies are excluded, his implication being that this was a particular exemption, which left us a free hand in this special case. But the leader of the Opposition should have added that the same provision is now inserted in every treaty with every people whatever. From the people of Guatemala or Honduras to those of the United States, Japan, or Germany, the invariable form of treaty adopted by the mother country at the present time is, whilst speaking for herself, to leave in each instance liberty to her own self-governing communities to adopt it or to put it aside. The treaty with Japan therefore differs in no respect from every other treaty. It does not point to any power of action on our part in connexion with Japan beyond that which we possess in regard to every other treaty. This statement will, I hope, prevent honorable members from drawing a misleading conclusion.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why is such a provision put into a treaty unless it be to give us the power of independent action?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Exactly, with relation to the subject matter of the treaty. But the subject matter of that treaty did not specially relate to the introduction of the English into Japan.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Yes.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Not particularly or in any new way, if my memory serves me aright.

Mr. HIGGINS.—They are to have free passage from one country to the other.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Freedom of intercourse? Honorable members are not yet seized of the point which I am endeavouring to put. What I think they will find, if they examine this treaty as to the freedom of intercourse and commerce, is that it repeats the

ordinary provisions of this kind included in the treaties made by Great Britain with other powers, and commonly included in similar treaties. My point is—and I do not put it further—that there is no special provision in this treaty that will not be found in any number of other treaties, when Great Britain has entered into commercial relations with other countries.

Mr. McDONALD.—But it has special reference to individuals in article 2.

Mr. DEAKIN.—So have other treaties. There is another misapprehension. The first misapprehension is that authority to self-governing colonies is not usually granted in treaties, and the second misapprehension is that this treaty gives a greater power as to intercourse and freedom of commerce than is usually given. If this treaty be examined in association with other treaties, it will be found to be expressed in practically the same terms and to the same intents as many treaties, made previously, and in no sense a special treaty opening new privileges not freely granted to other nations. The same independence is left to self-governing colonies under this treaty as under other treaties. We have to remember that this is not the first occasion on which the Australian colonies have been compelled to rely on representations made for them by the British Government. The very first matter on which these colonies were associated at the dawn of the federal movement in its practical phases was the antagonism felt to the importation into New Caledonia of French prisoners—men sent there because they had been convicted of repeated crimes. Some of these were political prisoners, but many of them were sent to New Caledonia because they had been found guilty of repeated crimes, and were considered, from a legal point of view, incurable. Against that immigration Australia protested; but we had no direct relations with France, and were unable to obtain any. I happened, however, to have some official connexion with the continuous efforts made by all the colonies in concert—the eastern colonies particularly—with a view to obtain by the influence of the British Government the cessation of the transport of these criminals. Ultimately, after 1887, owing wholly and solely to the action of the British Government undertaken at the request of Australia, this immigration to New Caledonia was entirely prohibited. While there

was no possibility of action on our part, we found that the British Government had full sympathy with our aims. In fact, we found the readiest assistance given to enable us to secure race purity from criminals of a people of our own colour. Consequently when Mr. Chamberlain and the British Government tell us that they appreciate the motives which lead the people of Australia to be resolved in their determination to prohibit the entrance of coloured aliens, and that they, while advising and requesting that a certain course be followed, are willing that this course shall be followed to any extent in order to make it effective, we have every reason to rely on our previous experience. We must be satisfied that if we have adopted a particular course out of consideration for the wishes of the statesmen who are charged with the future destinies and foreign relations of that Empire, we shall not be forsaken. That has been our experience on previous occasions, much, as I happen to know, to the distaste of high officials through whom the British Government were bound to express themselves. Great obstacles were thrown in the way of the British Government on the occasion to which I have referred, by diplomatists and the sensitiveness of the French people. But the British Government insisted on these recalcitrant officials listening to the voice of Australia at a time when that voice was much weaker than it is to-day. When we were without possibility of taking legislative steps, the British Government adopted the necessary action, by means of which the exclusion of these immigrants was secured from New Caledonia, which was rendered a dependency of which France herself might be proud, and to which we can look without the grave apprehensions entertained from 1880 to 1883.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—There was a protest throughout all Australia.

MR. DEAKIN.—Of course; but it could only be a protest and nothing more.

MR. REID.—There is the difference that we can legislate now.

MR. DEAKIN.—But those protests without the power of legislation sufficed to move the Imperial Government. Now that we are endowed with the power of legislation, and have followed a course we have been requested to follow in order to attain an end

admitted to be necessary and inevitable, attaining it without occasioning friction to the statesmen of the Empire in their dealings with foreign nations—are we to be asked to believe that we have been led into that course for the mere purpose of defeating our expectations? On the contrary, we send forward this measure with the assurance not only of its acceptance, but of its immediate effectiveness and operativeness all over Australia, including the three States—that have no such measure. We are sending the measure home with the assurance that the British Government, having requested that this course shall be followed, have incurred a responsibility to Australia that they will not be slow to discharge—a responsibility which, I believe, the British Government will accept to the full and discharge to the full—the responsibility of seeing that this measure is so backed up and supported by diplomatic representations that its effectiveness will be assisted by operations in other directions, though they are not made public nor placed on the face of any statute, but which nevertheless will have the effect of cutting off the stream of supply at the source. That can certainly be done in relation to British India, from whence, at the wish of the Imperial Government, the influx of coolies can be altogether stopped.

SIR EDWARD BRADDON.—They are not coolies.

MR. DEAKIN.—The right honorable member for Tasmania is quite right; his knowledge of India is large and exact, and he properly corrects me when I use a title improperly. Those who come here are low caste tribes, who are not Hindoos in the ordinary sense, and are not properly known as coolies. A number of them probably come from beyond British borders. But this immigration, from India, can be stopped at its source, which is just as effective, and even more satisfactory than endeavouring to stop it here. In addition, we have reason to believe that the empire of Japan will be perfectly willing, on representation, to assist the operation of this measure by cutting off its stream of supply also. If this measure, effective in itself, is supported as it is certain to be by the ample guarantee of the Imperial Government, which must be read into their request that a particular course shall be followed in

order to obtain a particular end, it will, I believe, secure to Australia—and that is why the Government recommended it—the exclusion of prohibited immigrants quite as effectively as could be done by any other form of words that could be chosen. It will give us a greater claim than ever that all the powers and authorities possessed by the mother country shall be used on our behalf in order to stop this influx, which we have every reason to dread, and which we are determined shall be turned away from our shores. There are a number of other problems, but I think I have satisfied honorable members who are inclined to lend an open ear to the few pertinent facts and the one or two arguments I have endeavoured to put before them. I have shown that Mr. Chamberlain's despatch had nothing in the world to do with this measure. I can absolutely say, without qualification, that not a single line, or a single word of any line, or any phase of the measure, has been altered in consequence of that despatch. Our minute was simply an intimation of what we intended to do, and had decided upon. The reference to policy and principles meant the policy of absolute prohibition and exclusion. That is the policy, and those are the principles with which this Government concur. But the means adopted to secure prohibition are adopted at the request of the Imperial Government, at whose hands we are entitled to expect, and are certain to receive, all the support and assistance they can give in a great variety of ways in order to make this legislation effective, as effective it must and shall be.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—We are satisfied that the Attorney-General knows how to scintillate as well as the leader of the Opposition, whose scintillations he criticises. The way in which the Attorney-General has scintillated all round the literary sky during the last half hour has created a beautifully sympathetic impression, and no doubt contributed to the result he so desires. May I point out that the main object of his rising to read again the despatch, and to show that the Bill had been drafted before any communication was received from the Secretary of State, is so much beating the air, because it entirely misses the point of criticism on this side of the House. Our point is not that this Bill was not drafted

before this message from Mr. Chamberlain, but that the Government committed Parliament without consulting it to the passing of this measure at Mr. Chamberlain's instigation. This reduced the matter to a pure farce, because the Government had already bound themselves to Mr. Chamberlain, in that they would not submit to have the Bill altered by the House. The Attorney-General knows as well as I do, that the deliberate opinion of this Chamber is against the Government as to the method of dealing with this question. The Government have simply bludgeoned the Bill through the Chamber by threatening their own supporters with all kinds of pains and penalties. It is well known that members on the Government side of the House were "talking dissolution" to their own supporters. Ministers told some of their usual followers that if this Bill were not passed a dissolution would inevitably follow.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I never heard of that.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I never heard of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is wonderful how loyal supporters of the Government do not hear things. It is always left to those who drift about the House and are not so loyal in their support of the Government, to hear all that goes on in a time of crisis.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I voted against the Government, and I did not hear what the honorable member alleges.

Mr. McCAY.—I challenge the honorable member for Parramatta to produce one member on the Government side to substantiate his statement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall not trouble about convincing the honorable member for Corinella, so he may keep his insinuations to himself.

Mr. CONROY.—I can give the honorable member for Corinella the names of two honorable members.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There are honorable members in the House listening to me at the present moment who were threatened with a dissolution by Ministers now sitting in the House. That is a direct enough statement, and it can be proved. These are questionable means to adopt to pass a Bill through the House on the advent of federation, when every consideration should have prompted the Ministry to give the freest interplay of opinion on a subject which cannot possibly have a party hue, but which affects vitally the entire Commonwealth.

The result of this is that honorable members on that side were put into the peculiar position of having to declare their opinions during one part of the debate and absolutely to nullify them on the division. This criticism comes legitimately from the Opposition. The point is not whether Ministers had the Bill drafted before they despatched their minute to Mr. Chamberlain; the complaint that we make is that they committed themselves to Mr. Chamberlain without knowing what the opinion of the House was. The result is that we have a Bill which does not represent the opinion of the majority of honorable members.

MR. SAWERS.—Could not the Ministry formulate a policy of their own without consulting Parliament?

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—Of course they could, but upon a question like this, when there was no danger of party issues being raised, they should have consulted honorable members from whom they might have expected loyal support. The speech of the Attorney-General was brilliant, as his speeches always are, but it was so much beating of the air. His argument amounted to this: that we can get what we want, but we must not ask for it. I cannot believe that at the beginning of our existence as a nation disastrous results would follow from asking for what we want, knowing that it is our intention to realize our views on this matter. The Attorney-General says that we shall realize our intentions; therefore, I ask, why should we not express them firmly and respectfully in black and white? There is no analogy between the position to-day and the position in 1896 and 1897. One of the reasons for federation was that we might speak with a stronger, firmer, and more united voice upon matters vitally affecting the integrity of our race. When we were given this charter which enlarges our powers of self-government, the Home Government meant us to exercise those powers upon the necessary occasion, and it is a poor beginning when, before any friction has arisen, or there is the slightest symptom of trouble, we say to them—"We shall be satisfied with what you required in 1896, and shall not ask for anything further." That is not the attitude which a powerful community like this should take. The sooner His Majesty's Ministers of State in London recognise that Australia has arrived at years of national discretion, the

better it will be for the peace and welfare of the continent, and for our harmonious relations with the Empire. It must be recognised that we have a right of sovereignty—I do not use the word in its exclusively technical sense—in determining matters connected with our own Government, and we have, therefore, the right to respectfully present our claim to be heard upon this matter. The measure now before the House does not realize the aspirations and intentions of the people of Australia. It does not do this, because the first Australian Government have bound the hands of Parliament, and, by means of party coercion, have forced through a measure which does not represent the real feeling of the people of Australia.

MR. FOWLER (Perth).—I am quite willing to accept the suggestion thrown out at an earlier stage of the debate by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, that we should accept the vote taken upon the division in committee, but, when listening to the charges of disloyalty that were being hurled at the heads of those of us who voted for the amendment of the honorable member for Bland, I made up my mind to take the first opportunity to repudiate those insinuations so far as they concerned me. Of course, I thoroughly realize the misconception in the minds of those who made such charges. They assume that loyalty to the empire is identical with loyalty to the policy of the Colonial-office. I am surprised, however, that such insinuations should come from honorable gentlemen who, from their knowledge of the doings of the Colonial-office in years past, should hold a totally different opinion. I need only refer honorable members to the record of the lives of such men as Sir George Grey and Sir Bartle Frere to indicate that loyalty to the Empire has very often meant disloyalty to the policy of the Colonial-office. We have a striking instance of that in the knowledge that, if the policy of those great statesmen had been followed in South Africa, Great Britain would not have the present trouble upon her hands. I regret that our Government did not take a leaf out of the book of those statesmen. If they had done so, they would be amply justified, not only by what has happened in the past, but by what will happen in the future. We who are now charged with disloyalty will, before

long, be shown to be the true loyalists, true to not only the interests of Australia, but to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I think it would be a mistake for the House, after the decision which has already been arrived at, to vote against the third reading of the Bill. While my opinion that the adoption of my amendment was the proper course to follow is as strong as ever, we shall lose a little at least if the Bill does not become law. I have no doubt that the Attorney-General is correct in his statement that its provisions can be made effective, but the question is, at what cost? They can be made effective only at the cost of irritating the powers immediately concerned, and that irritation would have been absent if we had made a clear declaration of the policy of Australia. The continued rejection of their people is more likely to give offence to foreign powers than a clear statement of our policy, which they could meet with a declaration of what their own line of action would be. The probability is, too, that variations of administration will be almost inevitable. The first Minister may administer the measure in the rigorous spirit in which we are assured by the Attorney-General the Government have brought it forward, while his successor, either designedly or for some other cause, may ignore the underlying intention, and carry out its provisions more literally, and his successor again may restore the rigorous administration of the first Minister. Such differences of administration are likely to prove a continual source of irritation to the Governments of the races affected. The probability of effective administration, too, depends upon the continual presence in Parliament of a body of men—I do not speak of any particular section—who are determined to keep the Government up to the mark. But we cannot always live at high pressure even in politics, and there is a possibility of other large issues diverting the attention of the people, temporarily, at all events, from this matter. While their attention is fixed upon some other question, and they are fighting fiercely for, say, free-trade or protection, the administration of this measure will be overlooked, and may fall short of what they actually desire. Besides, no Parliament can watch the efficiency of all the details of administration. That is one of the reasons I have for the opinion I expressed before as

to the undesirability of adopting the round-about method of exclusion proposed by the Ministry. One feature of the question to which the Ministry have paid too little attention so far as their own consistency is concerned is that, during the agitation which preceded the adoption of the Constitution Act, we heard from the Premier, and from other gentlemen who worked for its acceptance against all opposition that, once federation was accomplished, matters such as this could be dealt with much more effectively than was possible while the States remained separated.

Mr. SAWERS.—Because uniform action could be taken.

Mr. WATSON.—Not only because of the uniformity of the action, but because of the effectiveness which could be acquired, and the degree to which we might go. As one who was opposing the Bill in New South Wales, I remember that we had a most difficult question to face, and the argument most frequently used by the electors—who concurred with everything we urged against the constitutional aspect of the Bill, and against the preponderating power which was being conceded to the smaller States—was that they had been assured by the Prime Minister and by the Attorney-General and every gentleman associated with them, that we should be able to deal with coloured labour in a manner that would leave nothing to be desired.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. WATSON.—What advance is shown in the present measure upon what was proposed in New South Wales a few years ago?

Mr. DEAKIN.—This Bill applies to six States, instead of to three.

Mr. WATSON.—But it was quite possible for the other States to have passed such a law before.

Mr. DEAKIN.—They did not wish to—Queensland did not.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit that they did not pass such a law, but that was not the point that was urged.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That was one of them.

Mr. WATSON.—It may have been one of them, but the main point put forward, not only by Ministers, but by one consistent upholder of federation—the Sydney *Bulletin*—was that a united Australia could speak to the British Government in a strain that no single State could hope to adopt, and the complaint that I have against this

Government is, not that they have neglected to fight the British Government on this matter, but that they have not even tried to do so. They have never made use of the fact that they represent all Australia, and that Australia has given expression to its desires on this matter in no uncertain way—they did not even go to the extent of making humble and respectful representations to the British Government. In 1897, if it had come to the worst, I should have been prepared to accept a compromise, but it would have been after all negotiations had failed, and the whole of the difficulties on the other side had been placed before us in the fullest possible light. Now, as in 1897 we were assured, in the first place, that the Natal Act would be sufficient, but now, after having seen the Act in operation in New South Wales, I have come to the conclusion that it has proved absolutely inefficient.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It proved efficient enough for Tasmania.

Mr. WATSON.—Who wants to go to Tasmania? Not even a Chinaman. I have a great respect for Tasmania, but I think they should have tacked it on to Victoria, and made one decent State of the two. In 1897 we were assured that the Natal Act would be effective, and as one who voted at that period for a more complete measure, I was prepared to give it a little trial in view of all the difficulties, and especially in view of the fact that at that time there was a probability of federation being consummated within a short period, and of our being able—according to the statements of the Attorney-General, and the Prime Minister, and other advocates of the Bill—to speak to the British Government in such a manner as to ensure what we desired. I was prepared then to let things go for a certain time, but that is no reason why we should continue in that course for all time. With all respect to the Attorney-General, and having regard to the possibility of going further, I want to know how long we are to wait? We have already experimented for four years in the various States, and now it is proposed that we shall make another experiment for another few years before a further Bill is demanded. Whilst with proper administration this Bill might certainly be made effective, I am afraid that it will be extremely difficult to ensure that on all occasions. I do not wish to imply that the Custom-house officers or

those charged with the detailed administration of this Bill are by any means dishonest persons, but I do say that occasionally it is found that some of them are dishonest, and where large interests are involved, or where people have a pecuniary interest in securing the admission of undesirable people, there is always a danger that the officer will not be so careful to put the test in the complete way that the Minister may desire. No such escape would be possible to the officer if the colour line were drawn, and I think the only clear and definite way of attaining our end is to declare that coloured aliens are unfit to mix with us, and that they shall be excluded. There are other provisions in this measure which to my mind make it of some value, and for that reason I do not propose to vote against the third reading. There is even a hope that another branch of the Legislature may see that it is desirable to conform to the wish of what undoubtedly, in my mind, is a majority in this House, and a majority of the people of Australia. I do not think that in his Maitland speech the Prime Minister made any mention of the educational test; but a distinct promise was given to the people of Australia that the Government would work for a "white Australia." I do not remember the exact phraseology of the statement, but I remember that the impression borne in upon me was that the Government were going to exclude Asiatics and other undesirable persons, and, as far as people could glean from that speech, there was no other interpretation to be placed upon the intentions of the Government than that they proposed to absolutely exclude coloured aliens. If Ministers led the people to believe that they were going to take steps to absolutely exclude these aliens from Australia, how is it that, without making a fight and without firing a gun, they have, on the first invitation, surrendered to the British Government?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Because this Bill will exclude the aliens.

Mr. WATSON.—That has yet to be learned; but there is a distinct difference of opinion as to whether it will or not. With the proper kind of administration I am prepared to admit that it may be possible to exclude coloured aliens under this Bill; but probably firm administration without a Bill at all would have done that.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Not as regards British subjects.

Mr. WATSON.—No ; I am prepared to admit that, as far as British subjects are concerned, we could not have done that. The point to which I principally wish to draw attention is that the Government, notwithstanding the position they took up at the federal elections, made no attempt to convince the British Government of the inefficiency of the course proposed by the Imperial authorities. If they had done that, and failed, I think the House would have met them in a much fairer temper than was the case last week. There was no word in the statement made by the Prime Minister in his speeches during the federal election campaign of a Bill that would provide for anything less than absolute exclusion, and it is idle for the honorable gentleman to say that no public man ever proposed anything more than was provided for under the Natal Act. I do not suppose that we labour representatives are entitled to be called public men, but our utterances on the subject went to the full degree of absolute exclusion, without any possibility of error. The public were allowed to believe that as far as the Government itself was concerned, and the straight and honorable course for Ministers on that occasion was to have given the people to understand clearly what their own proposal was. It is no use saying that no one proposed to go further than the Natal test ; the Government should have told the people that they did not intend to go any further than that. Possibly, if they had told the people any such thing, they would have found a great difference in the results of the elections. I know that if one or two of the gentlemen who represent constituencies in New South Wales had told the electors that they would not attempt to go any further than to adopt the provisions of the Natal Act, they would have found their majorities seriously diminished, or would have seen them disappear altogether. Therefore, the attitude of the Government has been rather more ingenious than ingenuous. I do not propose to vote against the third reading of this Bill, because it would be a pity to lose the chance of getting a Bill through even in the ineffective and inefficient shape of this measure, but I hope that within a very short time we shall find it practicable to bring up the matter again, because I am

convinced that the people of Australia will not be satisfied until their desires are expressed in the clearest and most definite language.

Mr. KNOX (Kooyong).—I have had considerable difficulty in deciding what the particular object of this debate has been. If honorable members who are in opposition had expected that we were going to a division on the motion for the third reading of the Bill, I presume that, now that the honorable member for Bland has indicated that he will not oppose the third reading, a vote will be taken without any more beating about the bush. I distinctly indicated that I was in favour of the direct method of excluding coloured aliens, and I have no hesitation in saying that, if that course had been adopted, it would not have been surrounded with the difficulties that some honorable members seem to imagine. But I regard as paramount, in connexion with this question, the considerations of Empire, which were so clearly laid before us by the Prime Minister. I hold no singular position in that respect, because I am prepared to believe that almost every member of the Government holds the same view as I do. They would have preferred to have a Bill specifically stating what they intended, and without qualification that they wished to secure a "white Australia." That I understood to be their position. But we are entitled to be led by those in this House who are responsible for indicating to us what questions are Imperial questions. Therefore I surrendered my position, as I clearly indicated at the time, and voted with the Government. I am prepared to do the same thing again. Experience has shown that the educational test has in other cases proved effective, and the Government have said that if it does not prove effective they will take steps to make it so. I am satisfied that there is not a single honorable member of this House who wishes to fight the home Government where Imperial interests are involved. This is a loyal House, which is anxious to maintain its connexion with the mother country, and to assist it in every possible way. It is for us, therefore, where a course is presented which will accomplish the object we have in view to give it a trial. If that trial is not successful, let us take other measures which will give us the desired result. The honorable member for Bland having now indicated that he intends to

support the third reading of the Bill, I hope we shall get on with the business.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN (Lang).—I do not think there is any honorable member who proposes to do other than support the third reading of this measure. There is a strong feeling, which has been freely expressed at all stages of its discussion, that a more direct and effective course should have been adopted. The House, however, is practically committed to the method proposed by the Government, and therefore all that honorable members can do is to hope that the administration of the measure will be of such a character as will prevent absolutely the influx of the objectionable people whom it is designed to exclude. I credit the Ministry with having been actuated by a desire to prohibit the influx of alien races. Any criticism which I have directed against the Bill has been in opposition to the particular method proposed for restricting the immigration of these undesirable people. But we are face to face with the final stage of the Bill, and having adopted every legitimate course to secure its amendment in a way which would give expression to my views, I can see no possible good to be achieved by attempting to delay the passage of its third reading. My object in rising is to deal with one or two remarks which have been made by the Attorney-General. There was, perhaps, a misconception of the Attorney-General's position, owing to his speech upon the second reading of this Bill. On that occasion he spoke at considerable length, and I certainly gathered from his remarks that the attitude of the Government on this question was determined to a very great extent by despatches received from the Imperial Government. If honorable members have misjudged the Government in that respect it is due to the statements made by the Attorney-General himself during his second reading speech. He clearly hinted that any drastic legislation, such as that proposed by the honorable member for Bland, would not be acceptable to the Imperial Government, and threw out the suggestion—certainly a bare suggestion—that the passage of a more drastic Bill might be attended with some danger to the very principle which we were advocating. The Attorney-General, therefore, is alone responsible for any misconception which has arisen. I believe there would have been no danger either in the

direction of Imperial veto, or of any considerable delay, had the Government adopted the more courageous course of introducing a Bill which would have excluded the Asiatic races without the round-about educational test which is now provided. At the same time I sincerely hope that the administration of this Bill will be effective. I credit the Government with the sincere desire to carry out the intentions of the people of Australia and to exclude coloured aliens from our midst. But they will require to sternly administer the provisions of this measure if they are to preserve the British character of our population. If their administration is characterised by energy and determination there is a possibility that the Bill may prove more effective than some of us have imagined. On the other hand, if it should be found in practice that this measure will not be as effective as its framers believe, they will be under the obligation to this House and the country of bringing forward more drastic proposals to secure the object in view. I have not taken up any position of hostility to the Government as a Government, nor have I criticised them, simply because I sit upon this side of the House. I believe that the course proposed by the honorable member for Bland was the right course. I think it would have been more effective, would have clothed the Administration with greater power, and have given them a very much stronger position than will this Bill. But since we have not succeeded in amending the Bill in the way we desired it is our plain duty to see it through its final stages, and to urge upon the Government to administer it with a determination to uphold its main principles.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a third time.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

Debate resumed (from 2nd October, *vide* page 5505) on motion by Mr. BARTON—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I made some reference to this Bill this afternoon. First of all I wish to say, with reference to the policy of the measure, that I am thoroughly in favour of the principle which is aimed at. I feel absolved from any difficulty in reference to the Bill, by the simple fact

that the principle it involves was the burning question in the great State of Queensland at the time of the Federal elections this year. The result was to show that an enormous majority of the people of that State are in favour of the stoppage of this kanaka traffic. Since the people of Queensland have placed on record in unmistakable terms their wish that this sort of legislation should be applied to their State, I think that honorable members representing other States need have no hesitation in supporting the Bill. The Government have gone to the furthest length to which any Government can consistently go in the way of consideration for this traffic. The feelings of the people of Australia, with regard to these coloured aliens, are well known. Outside of Queensland the views of the people of Australia generally are clearly, unmistakably, and absolutely against the continuance of any such traffic. We have also the special verdict of the people of Queensland on this very point. Since the verdict of the people of Australia outside of Queensland has been almost unanimously against the traffic, and since the special finding of Queensland is also against it, there is no need for honorable members to hesitate about supporting the Bill. I gathered the other night from the speech of the honorable member for Darling Downs, who has been most recently elected, that there has been no change of feeling on this subject in Queensland. We had the deliberate verdict of that State in March last. We also had an election which tested this question only a few days ago—the election of the honorable member for Darling Downs—which afforded another proof that the people of Queensland are unmistakably opposed to this traffic. All Australia having expressed this opinion, I think that the Government are justified in bringing forward this legislation. A remarkable difficulty—and one of their own making—faces us in connexion with this Bill. It is not a difficulty to myself or other honorable members who voted in a certain way upon another measure, because we have our principle recognised in the Bill. There is no foolery about putting a kanaka through the educational test, but the Ministry have gone straight to the point. They say in clause 3 that no Pacific Islands labourer shall enter Australia on or after the 31st day of March, 1901. That is a prohibition on account of race and colour—a totally plain, straightforward prohibition

to all eternity of the Pacific Islands labourer. That is the sort of legislation that some of us are in favour of.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Are there not some British subjects among the Pacific Islands labourers?

Mr. REID.—That scarcely touches the point I am dealing with. We were told that the educational test was because of the tendencies and susceptibilities of the Japanese. I have never heard yet that the course adopted in the other Bill was owing to the sensibilities of the kanakas or the South Sea Islanders. That is a new aspect of the matter which we have not had presented yet, but which may be put before us. We have to deal with the broad fact that the Government had before them a despatch from Mr. Chamberlain based on these terms. The despatch said—

In the first place it (the Bill) embodies a disqualification based on the place of origin—that is practically a distinction of race and colour. Any attempt—

“Any,” mind you ; it is not limited—

to impose disqualifications on the basis of such distinctions, besides being offensive to a friendly power is contrary to the general conceptions of equality which have been the guiding principle of British rule throughout the Empire.

To those principles and to that policy the Federal Ministry have said—“Yes, Mr. Chamberlain.” The Ministry have adopted the language of Mr. Chamberlain, and have gone further, and said—“We are not likely to propose any legislation that will conflict with these views.” Where will the Colonial Office be when it gets this Pacific Islands Labourers Bill? The Colonial Office will get the Japanese Bill, and find that it bears across it, not conspicuously, but in a way that can be read between the lines—“Yes, Mr. Chamberlain.” This Bill will go back with the water line—“No, Mr. Chamberlain.”

Mr. BARTON.—“Yes-No” is the right honorable gentleman’s monopoly.

Mr. REID.—I can assure the Prime Minister that among all the exploits of politicians in the way of “yes-no,” this legislation of the Federal Ministry is pre-eminent. Now, I want to point out the extraordinary position into which the Federal Government are dragging this most subservient House. Mr. Chamberlain has been assured that any distinctions based on race and colour are not only contrary to the conceptions of the British Empire, which the present Federal Ministry have developed, but

that the Ministry are not likely to submit any legislation conflicting with Mr. Chamberlain's views. Therefore, in order to exclude races of a yellow colour, a Custom-house officer is to be appointed to dodge them with various living languages of Europe. Whites of any nation in Europe can walk past the Custom-house officer and tread on his corns while he dare not look at them because he has received instructions that he is to let Germans and Frenchmen pass. But when the yellow-skinned gentleman comes on deck all the languages of Europe are brought out of the box, and the question is—"What language shall we try this unfortunate heathen with—what shall we stump him with?" It may have been heard that the yellow-skinned gentleman can do the test in English or in French, or that owing to his remarkable training he can speak English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. But the Government are equal to the occasion, and they will try this learned pundit with Turkish or some language from a little corner of Europe. That is the statesmanlike policy of an enlightened Christian Government in reference to the yellow-skinned Japanese! There is an extraordinary position into which to drag this Parliament! The European language test is something new, and was never in the Bills proposed four years ago. But the policy of the Government is, and is deliberately intended by them to be, that if a Japanese or a Chinaman comes along the deck he is to be dodged by the Customs-office and floored in some language he has not learned. That is a statesmanlike way for Australia to deal with these unfortunate people! Why should not the same principle be applied to the kanakas of the South Sea Islands? They are persons with human susceptibilities, and many of them have probably as much sense of self-respect as have people of a different colour. But there is not the slightest attempt to deal with them in this indirect method.

Mr. HIGGINS.—There may be British subjects among them.

Mr. REID.—The clause may include British subjects. The expression used in clause 3 is that no Pacific Islands labourer shall enter Australia after the 31st March, 1904. The definition of "Pacific Islands labourer" is that the words include "all natives"—that is whether labourers or not.

Mr. HIGGINS.—And whether British subjects or not?

Mr. REID.—Yes; the definition will include any British subjects. We are told that the words "Pacific Islands labourer" includes all natives not of European extraction "from any island except the Island of New Zealand, situated in the Pacific Ocean." I hope I am not wrong, but I have an idea that Japan is an island in the Pacific Ocean. I may be wrong in my geography, but I think I learned at school that Japan was an island in the Pacific Ocean. If that be correct, we must take care that we do not get into trouble. This is a matter I commend to the earnest attention of the Prime Minister, after all he has gone through, in order to let the Mikado alone. Surely the Prime Minister will be careful in committee to have inserted the words "of any island except Japan," or "all the islands in the Southern Pacific except Japan," or something to that effect.

Mr. BARTON.—I will chance it.

Mr. REID.—I have no doubt the Prime Minister will chance anything; but what will Mr. Chamberlain think of that? Here is a Federal Government who have represented in the strongest terms that their principles are opposed to any legislation excluding on the basis of race and colour, and another Bill goes ahead in accordance with that minute. Then within perhaps a week there comes a Bill in which appears the stigma and disqualification on account of race and colour, and which provides that no human being not of European extraction born in the islands of the Pacific Ocean shall enter Australia after the 31st March, 1904. In this Bill we have the amendment of the honorable member for Bland accepted and adopted by the Federal Ministry. I hope the Ministry will pay some attention to this, because, in view of the arrangement—I do not say it is a binding contract—or of the understanding which has been voluntarily entered into between the two Governments in respect to this matter, this Bill presents a flagrant breach, seeing that it excludes men on account of race and colour. It is an impudent, bare-faced outrage on the Pacific Islanders. But the Pacific Islanders have no Mikado, no ironclads, and no large army, and they are not in a position to be of some use in connexion with the Chinese question, or in stopping

the aggressive march of Russia. Surely this Government of humanity and toleration will not descend to these methods of legislation simply because the islanders of the Pacific are friendless, or because they have no material strength or resources behind them to avenge this outrage on their colour and nationality? This Bill seems to me a fitting ending to the hypocritical beginning which was made with the other measure, after all the professions of consideration for humanity and the adoption of the basic principles on which the British Empire is built. One of those principles is that when a man of any colour gets beneath the British flag he is safe. Now, however, we must add the proviso—except he be black and born in the South Seas. The basic principles to which I have referred are infringed by this Bill. Could we have a better revenge on the inconsistency of the Government and of the House, who have adopted the Immigration Restriction Bill, than this Bill which is to follow it? The poor kanaka is to be branded with a race disqualification. He is to be singled out from among the peoples of the earth for this insulting legislation. There might have been some consideration for the kanaka. Surely the ingenuity of the Government is great enough to discover some other test for him. I should say that a physical test would floor most of the kanakas. Why should not the Government provide that no kanaka who cannot carry 2 cwt. on his shoulders shall be admitted to the Commonwealth? That would exclude every kanaka in the South Seas, and the provision would not be offensive to them, their fathers, their mothers, or their “sisters, and their cousins, and their aunts.” Or why not put them on a diet of Scotch oatmeal for a month, which would kill them off under the guise of hospitality?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I think there can be no question as to the importance of the subject now under consideration. The Prime Minister, in his second reading speech, gave us some figures which indicate the overwhelming importance of the subject. But, notwithstanding its importance from a pecuniary and material point of view, it seems to me that the attempts of honorable members to vie with each other in endeavouring to secure the most effective way of dealing with the question must be set down to the patriotism of the House and of the country. There is only one desire on the part of honorable

members, and that is to get rid of black labour in Queensland in the speediest and most effective manner. There can be no doubt as to what the mind of the people is upon this question. Both sides had to unmistakably declare their attitude at the recent elections. The Government made it clear that it was to be part of their policy to abolish black labour in Queensland, and the Opposition did the same.

Mr. HIGGINS.—At what stage?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—At every stage of the campaign the Opposition, as a body, were in favour of getting rid of the kanaka traffic. Although the leader of the Opposition, when in Queensland, said that he would not say his final word upon the subject then, his attitude was one of declared hostility to the traffic. One of the main reasons for federating was that we might deal with this matter. It was not so much that we might prevent the immigration of undesirable people, as that we should get rid of conditions in connexion with the growing of sugar-cane in Queensland which are a menace to the continent. So strongly did many parties in Queensland feel upon this subject, that considerations in respect of the sugar industry alone caused them to hesitate about giving adherence to the movement which was progressing in the other States; but when the people of Queensland had an opportunity to make their opinions felt in the only effective way possible, they left no doubt as to what their mind on the subject is.

Mr. McDONALD.—It was the first time they had an opportunity to speak on the question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Although it was sought in the press, in Parliament, and in various other places to minimize the importance of the vote which was given, there can be no doubt that Queensland spoke decisively as to the conditions under which the growing of sugar-cane must be carried on there; and there can be only one question for us to address ourselves to, apart from all party considerations, and that is—What is the best course to pursue in order to carry out the undoubted wishes of the people? Whatever the considerations involved, the kanaka must go from the continent. In pursuance of that clearly expressed mandate of the people, this Bill is being introduced, and is being cordially supported by all parties in the House. We

have been told that if it passes, its provisions will have a disastrous effect upon Queensland, and will involve almost the bankruptcy of that huge State; but I cannot help thinking that such talk is very largely twaddle. Those who expressed themselves in regard to the extremely disastrous effects which the measure will have must know that they are not voicing the clear, temperate opinions of reasonable men. How can the results be considered likely to be so disastrous to Queensland when we compare the sugar industry there with some of her other primary industries? The value of the sugar produced in Queensland is £1,000,000 a year, whereas her gold is worth three and a half times as much, and the produce of her pastoral industry six or seven times as much. To say that Queensland will reel and stagger if legislation of this kind is passed, is to speak as the result of oblique vision regarding the actual condition of things. That there may be temporary disarrangements to a slight extent may very well be conceded, because we cannot interfere with an industry like this without temporary displacement and disadvantage, but it will be only temporary, and whatever the disarrangement, we must carry out the will of the people of the continent. It is but natural, in considering a matter involving such large material interests, that there should be a multitude of counsellors. It has been written that "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety," and we have no lack of counsellors upon this question. They tell us in tones of warning, and almost of menace, that if we proceed to execute the legislation now proposed, serious consequences will result to Queensland, and serious action must be taken by the rulers of that State. On the other hand, we are told by men who are thoroughly conversant with the industry, that nothing very serious will result either to Queensland or to the industry affected. In this connexion I should like to refer to some of the statements of Dr. Maxwell, who is supposed to be the expert upon the question for the whole Continent. I understand that he has been engaged by the Queensland Government at a huge salary to confine his attention to the sugar industry in that State. Everything bearing upon it is referable to him. Mr. Chataway, equally with the Premier of Queensland, had to consult him before taking any steps in connexion with the industry. I cannot

Mr. Joseph Cook.

help feeling, however, that his report to the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth is to some extent inadequate. He omits to say many things which he might fairly be expected to say, and there is a great difference between the tone of that report and the tone of the report presented to his own chief in Queensland. I do not know that there is any need for this difference. We have been told that in Queensland he holds an absolutely independent position so far as the Government are concerned, and that while his tenure of office lasts he cannot be affected by the movement of party politicians. Consequently he is able to express his views, whether they happen to be satisfactory to the Government or otherwise. In his statement to the Premier of Queensland, however, he says—

I consider it certain that cane will not be grown solely by white labour north of Mackay to keep the mills in existence. In a more formal and reserved sense, this view is expressed in my statement made to the federal Premier.

I take it that when the Prime Minister asked Dr. Maxwell for a report, he did not ask him for a suppressed, reserved, and formal opinion. He asked for a frank expression of his views upon the whole question. Therefore, the statement of Dr. Maxwell is disappointing, and detracts largely from the value of his report. We might have expected that Dr. Maxwell, in furnishing data on which we could form an opinion, would have shown us how the sugar growers are distributed over the three main sugar producing districts of Queensland, but, instead of doing so, he lumps them all together. He tells us that the sugar industry north of Mackay will assuredly—if not instantly, yet certainly—cease; but he does not tell us how many growers there are north of Mackay, which the destruction of the industry there would affect. He demonstrates in almost mathematical language that, so far as the southern portion of Queensland is concerned, white labour is more valuable than black labour. He says that at Bundaberg white labour is cheaper and superior to black labour, and that even at Mackay there is a slight advantage in favour of the white man. It is only when you get north to Cairns, he says, that the white man is inferior to the black man. Why, therefore, in speaking of the probably fatal effect of this legislation upon the sugar-producing interests of Queensland, does not

Dr. Maxwell tell us of the number of sugar planters north of Mackay who will be placed at a disadvantage, instead of speaking generally as to the possible effects upon the 2,601 sugar-cane growers in Queensland? All this is misleading, and we had a right to expect Dr. Maxwell to tell us how many of these men north of Mackay would be affected. Then he might have told us the difference between the economic value of the labour of the black man and that of the white man, but he leaves us to figure this out for ourselves. He supplies us with certain data, it is true, but we do not know whether, in working it out for ourselves, there may not be factors that we are overlooking, and we had a right to expect that an expert of high order, such as Dr. Maxwell, would have made up this sum for us. If he had done this he would have helped us greatly in the consideration of the matter. Whilst Dr. Maxwell undoubtedly supplies much valuable information, there are certain aspects of his report which I think are rather unsatisfactory. The question we have to consider in discussing this Bill is this—Can the white man do the work of producing sugar in Queensland? This question is, however, important and supreme only when we are considering the matter in the abstract. After all, the people of Australia have settled that question as far as this Legislature is concerned, because they have said that, whether the white man can do the work or not, the black man is no longer to be allowed to do it. That is the will of the people, as expressed unmistakably at the recent elections. Now we are told, by gentlemen who have been up to Queensland to specially investigate this traffic, that the white man can do this work. I think that is made very clear in the series of admirable articles which appeared in the *Melbourne Herald*, written by a special commissioner. He reports that on the whole, with the exception of trashing cane, the white man can do all the work, and that the trashing of cane is not absolutely necessary in the dry districts. I should like also on this occasion to refer to some statements made by a gentleman who has been sent down here post-haste to inform this Parliament as to the true facts of the case, and try to influence our decision in favour of the retention of black labour. This gentleman, who is a member of the Queensland Parliament, has given a description of the conditions under which the

sugar industry is carried on. Now, what is the traffic which we are supposed to have under our especial care, and with reference to which we are asked to exercise the utmost prevision, so that we may do no damage to it? We get some valuable side-lights as to the nature of it and the kind of industry that we are asked to preserve, from some of those gentlemen who are advocating the continuance of it. Take, for instance, a statement like this. Speaking of the obstinate members of this House, Mr. Paget says—

They cannot, or will not, be made to understand that no amount of money, no manipulation of a Tariff, will alter the climatic conditions of a country. White men cannot be got for any length of time to do work for which they are physically unsuited. And it is something to be thankful for that we have not yet reached that stage in the industrial development of Australia when civilized beings are compelled from economic considerations to endure the life and soul destroying drudgery of the tropical cane-fields.

Mr. Paget describes this life in the tropics as one of soul-destroying drudgery, and then he goes on to say that it is only the drudgery that the kanakas are permitted to do. The same gentleman gives us a glowing account of the happiness of the kanaka who is engaged in this drudgery. He says that the kanakas have so much money in the bank, and then he goes on—

Slavery that permits of aborigines being clothed and fed, of being Christianized and civilized by missionary effort, and, above all, of accumulating a bank balance, would appear to be limited indeed.

I think there is a slight inconsistency here which Mr. Paget ought to explain. How can a work be life and soul destroying drudgery and then open up realms and vistas of happiness as far as the kanaka is concerned? In the first place, can white men do this work? Mr. Paget says they cannot. I say that no effort has ever been made to get white men to do this work at wages such as men ought to receive for working in a climate like that. That is the whole gist of the matter—it is a question of economics, and the test has never been made as to whether white men will work in Northern Queensland at decent wages such as are sufficient to compensate them for their labour under such trying conditions. When men go to such places as Western Australia, where in the early days the conditions of life were particularly unfavorable and such as would probably correspond with the drudgery that is spoken of by Mr. Paget—when these men went away and endured the hardships and

discomforts attaching to life in Western Australia, they had wages given them which were out of all proportion to what they had been previously receiving. That is to say, that those who employed them had to pay such wages as would attract them from the more comfortable conditions of life in the eastern colonies, and the rule was to go from their wages here to better wages, under harder conditions, in Western Australia. In Queensland, however, the further north men go in search of work, and the more difficult and uncomfortable the conditions are, the less they receive for their labour; and I shall show how very shockingly the wages in the north of Queensland compare with the rates paid in the southern colonies. In Queensland there seems to be a universal law which enacts that the greater the drudgery and the more uninviting the conditions under which it has to be done, the less shall be paid for it. Dr. Maxwell speaks of the kanakas being clothed and fed at a cost of about 25s. per year—I wonder how we should like to be clothed at that rate?—but Mr. Paget says that they are quite happy. As to the feeding of these kanakas I have not very much to say, but Dr. Maxwell makes it clear that the greatest possible economy is exercised in the feeding of the kanakas, and that they do not get much more than is absolutely necessary to keep them in health and in working form. Then as to the kanakas being Christianized and civilized by missionary effort, I should much prefer to take the statements of those men who have lived in the islands and have worked amongst the islanders for years trying to Christianize them than any statement made in an off-hand way to a newspaper interviewer. Against Mr. Paget's statement, we have the testimony of the Rev. J. D. Paton, the veteran missionary, who wrote to the *Argus* recently, pointing out what he considered to be the absolute duty of this Parliament, namely, to put an end—and an instant end if possible—to a traffic which he describes as worse than slavery. He says it is a crying shame upon our civilization and an injury to the kanaka himself. He writes as follows:—

In a letter just received from Tanna, from a missionary in the New Hebrides, he says, "Labour schooners have been doing their deadly work lately, and many of our lads and young men have gone away in them, in too many cases to their graves. The mortality in Queensland is simply appalling."

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They say that the white man cannot do the work in North Queensland, but, according to the best testimony we have, the kanakas die off like rats there. Mr. Paton goes on to say—

But the evil does not end there. The fresh young life is sucked out of the islands by these labour vessels. Family supports are taken away and families rapidly decay. I know villages which have gone to pieces through this cause. Men talk glibly about the wearing of clothing by the natives depopulating the islands. It is no such thing, for the heathen are dying out faster than the Christians. In the best interests of humanity, in common with all who know of the cruel wrongs, oppression, fearful mortality among the kanakas in Queensland, and the blood-stained character of this kanaka labour traffic all along its history, though only now and again brought to light in law courts, as in the cases of the "Hopeful" and "Wm. Manson," and many other trading in the persons of boys and girls, and of men and women, we rejoice, and praise God that by the legislators of our Australian Commonwealth it is likely now gradually to be suppressed, and this dark stain on Australia's honour blotted out for ever. No doubt very many of them will be laid in their graves like dogs in Queensland before the expiration of the proposed five years, and no doubt the collectors, employers, and many blinded by the gain of this shocking traffic, will, as in the past, minimize and cloak its evils, and praise its blessings to the kanakas, and the ruin to Queensland's great sugar industry by its suppression, to get its continuance extended. To the kanakas it has been, and is now, an unmitigated evil—taking away wives from husbands and husbands from wives, children from parents and parents from children, all they can get hold of, and so breaking up all family relations on the islands, and causing much suffering and want to those dependents who remain.

According to the Reverend Mr. Paton we are depopulating the islands and bringing about the worst possible results in family and domestic relations. This is the statement of a missionary who was engaged in this work. He describes the attempts to Christianize and civilize them by missionary effort.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—Is that the Rev. J. G. Paton?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—I have very little confidence in him.

Mr. WILKINSON.—Every word of what he says is true.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall leave the honorable member for Melbourne to deal with him. I am bound to accept his statements in good faith. At any rate he has a reputation throughout Australia as a zealous, enterprising missionary, who has devoted his life to his work.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—He is a bit of a crank on this particular subject.

Mr JOSEPH COOK.—It is a very singular thing that nearly every missionary who has been to the islands is a similar crank. Let the honorable member for Melbourne find missionaries who have been to the islands and who are in favour of a continuance of this traffic. That is the best way in which he can answer the statements of this gentleman. It is not quite fair for the honorable member to say that this gentleman is a crank unless he can prove his statements. Now, as to Mr. Philp himself. That he is disappointed goes without saying. I always knew that he would be. One of the peculiar features of the last election was that the right honorable and learned gentleman at the head of the Government received the support of two sections in Queensland over this very question of a "white Australia." He had the labour section heartily supporting him, and Mr. Philp, who represented the kanaka sugar growers, also supported him, because he believed that the Prime Minister was going to do justice to the planters. During my election campaign I pointed out that disappointment was sure to come to one or the other party in Queensland, and that the Prime Minister could not satisfy both parties in that State as he appeared desirous of doing. I am glad that the disappointment is on the side that it is. I am glad that the Prime Minister has determined to put an end to this traffic. Mr. Philp must make the best of his disappointment so far as we are concerned. He threw in his lot with the Prime Minister, and ought not now to complain of what the latter is doing. Mr. Philp sets up a very strange theory in his letter to the Prime Minister.

Mr. FISHER.—Has the Prime Minister received that letter yet?

Mr. BARTON.—No.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope that when it turns up the Prime Minister will promptly pay the deficient postage upon it, if that is found to be the cause of delay. Mr. Philp sets up a very strange doctrine. I have yet to learn that the Federal Government is under any obligation to consult with the State Governments as to what shall be done regarding a purely federal function. When Mr. Philp voted for Mr. Barton at the recent election, he voted to give him absolute control over the kanaka traffic of Queensland, and to do what he chose to

secure its obliteration. He, therefore, has no standing when he makes a claim for consultation regarding the abolition of this kanaka traffic.

Mr. BARTON.—I venture to say that I said nothing in Queensland to warrant the remark that my action justifies surprise.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I cannot say what the Prime Minister said. He certainly managed to get the support of both sections during the campaign.

Mr. BARTON.—I do not think that was quite so.

Mr. WATSON.—The two leaders were upon a par in Brisbane.

Mr. BARTON.—I think the "white Australia" men were duly opposed in Queensland.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In my judgment all the potter which has been worked up in Queensland regarding this legislation conclusively proves that, underneath all the talk as to the temporary character of the employment of the kanakas, there has been a sincere belief that the planters were going to keep this coloured labour for all time. That is what all the trouble at the present moment really means. The planters are disappointed now that they see a prospect of this labour going away from them. I cannot help thinking that the strenuousness with which they are fighting for its retention merely shows that they had no idea that it would be absolutely abolished.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Federation would not have been assented to in Queensland but for that belief.

Mr. BARTON.—I told them very plainly that it would be swept away.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I wish now to come to the question of whether the white man can perform the work of producing sugar in Queensland. After all it is a very serious question, and it rests upon us to show that white labour can do the work. We can only prove this by the citation of authorities who are supposed to know all about the conditions, and who have specially investigated them. I turn again to the report of the special commissioner who was sent up to Queensland to investigate this question. He says that the trashing need not be done in the northern districts of Queensland. He quotes a Cairns grower as showing that white men can do trashing if need be. He says that he has seen girls doing it without any very serious results, and points

out that if thrashing must be done in North Queensland it has only to be done in the cool months of the year—during April, May, and June—and that therefore the white men can do it without any very serious trouble. He sums up the position in this way—

No man can truthfully say that white men cannot do the work; but it is hardly fair to bring the white man down to the level of Chinamen and Hindoos. Whites must be paid a reasonable rate, a rate that will bring them to the work, and they must receive a guarantee such as is given to the Chinamen and Hindoos that they will get the season's work.

That is the statement of a Cairns planter, Thomas Mackay, upon the question of whether a white man can do the work. The same gentleman proceeds to produce a balance sheet. He goes into particulars and brings out a net profit of £229 10s. for farming 50 acres of sugar cane in Queensland by white labour. If a person can make that amount from 50 acres of cane which is tended and matured by white labour, I do not think it can be argued that the introduction of white labour for the fields generally is likely to smash up the industry in the ruthless way we have been led to believe. As to the moral phase of this question, there is another testimony which I should like to commend to the honorable member for Melbourne. It is from the pen of the Rev. William Gray, an old missionary in the islands. He says:—

There are four mission societies carrying on work in the recruiting grounds of the Queensland kanaka labour traffic, and the missionaries throughout, almost to a man, are agreed that the supply of kanaka labour under the present regulations is not compatible with British honor and Christian sentiment. I am personally acquainted with the captains of the traffic, the Government agents and the recruiters. I have seen the work before the days of the Hopeful case, and since. It was thought that the traffic had been shorn of its flagrant abuses, until the William Manson trial shattered that belief. And in spite of this "eye-opener," I willingly admit that a better class of men are now in the traffic; but the more I know of natives, the more I know of "good men" in the traffic, the more I know what the kanaka labour traffic was and is, the more I am convinced that this traffic must be at heart what it always was, and still is—a cruel, unjust, un-Christlike, demoralising traffic, in human flesh.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—What is the date of that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The date is not given.

Mr. McDONALD.—It is taken from a pamphlet which was issued in 1895.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The letter may be of a back date.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The extract is from a letter of recent date. Its author speaks of the better conditions under which traffic is now conducted. But he describes the traffic even under those better conditions as being

A cruel, unjust, un-Christlike, demoralizing, traffic in human flesh.

I quote now from the *Sugar Journal and Tropical Cultivator*. Mr. Givens, who, I am informed, is a reliable witness, and whose statements may be taken as truthful, in discussing this matter in the Queensland Parliament, pointed out some of the causes which hampered the growing of sugar by white labour in the north of that State. He speaks of the exorbitant price which has to be paid for money with which to farm sugar lands. The interest paid in some cases is as high as from 8 to 12 per cent. When people have to pay such a high rate of interest, it is a drag upon the industry, and tends to crush it more than anything else could do. Speaking of the other causes which oppress this traffic, that gentleman says:—

It will hardly be credited that the sugar grower gets only 55½ per cent. of the total market value of the sugar, and that, for the mere process of refining it and putting it on the market, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company grab 44½ per cent.

That may enlighten us further as to what is the real trouble in regard to the sugar industry. It would seem, from a statement of the witness, that one cause is that the sugar growers are largely in the hands of the banks, who command high prices for their money. In the next place, there are trade conditions of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which exacts tribute to the extent of 4½ per cent. of the total value of the product for the process of refining. I do not know whether these statements are correct, but I say again, that from all I can find out, the gentleman who makes them is a trustworthy witness. If what he says is correct, we get at once an insight into some of the trouble which oppresses the sugar growers. But I come back to the question—is this an industry in itself which is worth paying exorbitantly for? That is the question we ought to face, and we ought not to be mealy-mouthed about facing it in its nakedness. Is it an industry which on the face of it we ought to take special precautions to maintain, even

though its maintenance should involve a great deal of sacrifice on the part of Australia? I admit that an industry in which £7,000,000 is invested is an important industry; but there are other points of view to be considered as well as the point of view of the capital invested. We ought to investigate the conditions obtaining in the industry as they relate to the social ideals of the people, and to the decency and comfort of the homes of the persons engaged in producing the sugar. That is a point of view as much entitled to consideration as the point of view of the man who has millions invested in the industry; and I invite the attention of the House to that view for a moment. What are the conditions as to wages and labour in this industry? Here, again, I quote Dr. Maxwell, who tells us that the whites earn £1 10s. 11d. per week, and the kanakas 14s. 1½d.; that is to say the cost of the kanaka is 14s. 1½d. per week. According to Dr. Maxwell, I find that the mill hands—if we exclude engineers, who are professional men, and the sugar boilers and mechanics—earn an average wage of £1 13s. 5½d. per week.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is, including rations.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes; that is the total payment in each case. We are told that one strong reason why the labour traffic in kanakas must be maintained is that work may be given to the whites of Queensland. Does it come to this: That we must impose a duty of £5 per ton in the first place, and give the growers the privilege of importing cheap black labour in the second place, in order to maintain an industry for white men, which gives them in the one case 5s. 2d. per day, and, in other cases, 5s. 6½d. per day? What would be said of a man in these southern latitudes who kicked up all this pother, and asked Parliament to specially interfere to protect him in order that he might pay wages as low as those I have mentioned? The reason men will not go north is that there is nothing to attract them. The further north we go the more devastating—perhaps that is not the correct word, but it will do—the labour is, and the more severe and soul-and-body destroying it is, according to Mr. Paget, the less is paid for it. It is a total reversal of the rule of trade in relation to every other industry. The real secret of the refusal of white men to go north is that there is not a living wage sufficient to

attract them there to do the work required. The Minister for Trade and Customs last night, in unfolding his Tariff proposals, said that the sugar industry was one natural to the soil and climate of our country. If this natural industry is to be protected up to the hilt to the extent of £5 per ton, and if all we can get out of it for the working man, is a wage of 5s. 2d. per day, I say that that is a glorious example of the benefits of a protective policy. We are told that we must support the kanaka traffic in order that whites may have work at, roughly, 5s. per day. That is the traffic we are going to continue to surround with a protective duty equal to £5 per ton. I have been through these refining mills myself, and I must admit, as one honorable member pointed out the other night, that since that visit of investigation I have not had much sympathy with sugar either for eating or for any other purpose. I venture to say that it is about the only industry on this continent where we can see men working under such conditions. When it comes to men having to work without a stitch of clothing on, because of the atmosphere in which they are engaged, for an average wage of 5s. 6½d. per day, it would not appear to be an industry so vital to the well-being of Australia as is sometimes sought to be made out. Such an industry is a black man's industry.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—That is what we say.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Exactly, but the difference between the honorable member for Melbourne and myself is that I prefer to let the black man do the work in his own country, rather than in a white man's country. Of course I know how all the difficulty has arisen. We have allowed this traffic to grow up, and these large vested interests to become established. But I repeat that if these are the total results of a protective duty on sugar, they present a fine glowing argument in favour of the Ministerial policy. In this connexion I should like to say a word regarding the proposals of the Government as to the Tweed farmers. It is well known, for instance, that in Queensland the cane-growing areas are more prolific in results than are similar areas in New South Wales. That is to say, the yield per acre in Queensland is over 16s. more than it is on the New South Wales rivers. And the Queensland growers have the advantage

of £2 per ton in the way of Tariff, and have had that advantage for some years past. The Queensland growers have had this very decided advantage over the white sugar-growers on the Tweed River. Yet, notwithstanding that the yield of the Tweed is 16s. per area less than the yield in Queensland, and that the Tweed growers have enjoyed £2 per ton less duty, the wages earned on the Tweed, according to Dr. Maxwell, have been 7s. per day. How can it be argued, therefore, that if we make it incumbent on the producers in Queensland to employ white labour their industry is necessarily going to fall to the ground? There is the fact that while these wages men are getting 5s. a day for working in a broiling sun, and under the very worst possible conditions, some of the companies are paying 10 per cent. and upwards on the capital invested. I suggest without the slightest qualm of conscience that there is a margin, if a margin be required, in dealing with this question of alien labour versus white labour. Until we see that some of these companies have failed in their efforts to produce sugar with white labour, we need not be so very squeamish in our treatment of the kanaka question. The Government are proposing a rebate on white-grown sugar, so as to compensate for the difference in their judgment between the value of the labour of black and white men, and in order, as the Government put it, to assist in the banishment of black labour from the continent. I think these were the words used by the Minister for Trade and Customs last night. I understand that much of the black labour is indented to growers in Queensland and that they are bound to employ the kanakas until the period of the contract has expired; this, in many cases, extends over at least the next three years. If that be so, it occurs to me that, instead of imposing a rebate, it would be better for the Government to state plainly in the Bill that the growers must get rid of black labour. That would be better than to give them a time limit with the one hand, and to take it away on the other hand, in the shape of a rebate of the kind proposed. The rebate is about equivalent, I understand, to the difference between black and white labour as carried on in Queensland. The more straightforward course, instead of bothering about a rebate at all, would be

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for the Government to say that, in obedience to the wish and mandate of the people of the continent, black labour shall go. This is a species of legislation I cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, appreciate, and I do not think that the sugar planter in Queensland will appreciate the treatment. The planter would prefer the straight-out method of telling him what we mean, rather than covering up the intention in the way we are doing in this proposal. It would be far better to tell him that kanaka labour must cease at once than to tell him it may continue for three years, and then fine him as much during the three years as the advantage which he derives from the black labour.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The choice remains with the planter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Of course; but this is supposed to be a concession, so that dire results may not come to the planter and his industry. That is the proposal made by the right honorable gentleman all through the last election, and all through the life of this Parliament; and yet we find him giving concessions in the Bill, and taking those concessions away in the form of rebate. We are told by Dr. Maxwell that the difference in labour value varies in accordance with the climate and district. For instance, the two classes of labour are about equal in Mackay, and the white man is more valuable than the black man in and around Bundaberg. But supposing there is this difference between black and white labour throughout the whole of the industry, the figures work out, so far as I have been able to gather, at about £420,000. That is to say, that by the substitution of white for black men in the sugar industry in the Northern districts of Queensland, there will be a difference of £420,000 in the cost of labour. On a capital value of £7,000,000, which the Prime Minister mentioned as the amount invested in the industry, that would be equal to about 6 per cent.

Mr. BARTON.—I said the figures showed the capital invested in the industry to be about £6,000,000, although it was generally spoken of as £7,000,000.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is nearer £7,000,000.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then it would be about 6 per cent. on the total capital invested in the industry. There will be no trouble about this matter, according to Dr. Maxwell, except north of Mackay,

and it is a thousand pities that that expert has not given us the number of growers carrying on operations north of that district. If he had done so, we should have known what was really at issue so far as the £ s. d. aspect of the question is concerned.

Mr. McDONALD.—The bulk of the sugar comes from below Mackay.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The point I want to make is that, even from the worst view of the case, the displacement of black labour by white in the sugar-growing industry will mean only a consideration represented by 6 per cent. on the total capital invested. Dr. Maxwell makes it clear in his report that the displacement can only affect sugar-growers north of Mackay, and, therefore, only a modicum of the growers of Queensland. I cannot bring myself to believe that with all the resources of science and our civilization an adjustment cannot be made without any serious consequences to the State of Queensland. I think the position was well put by the honorable member for South Sydney when he said that it was simply a matter of manure, mechanism and a market. I cannot believe that the resources of science as applied to sugar production, are so meagre that we cannot adjust this difference without difficulty. In dealing with this matter we have to consider not only Queensland, but the kanaka himself. One would imagine from the statements made about him by his advocates that he is brought to Australia to lead a happy life in the elysium of North Queensland. We have the testimony of many men to the contrary. They show that the result of bringing the kanaka into contact with the white man is detrimental to himself, and disastrous to his nationality and his home. On the moral aspect of this question we have gentlemen rising up to tell us that we have a duty to perform to the kanakas in North Queensland, and that the sooner we realize it the better it will be. They tell us that if for no other consideration than the moral welfare of the kanaka, we ought not to prevent him from coming here, and that his importation to Australia must result to his infinite advantage. As to that, I should like to point out one fact, which seems to speak eloquently upon the moral aspect of this question. Honorable members have heard what the Rev. Mr. Paton, and the Rev. Mr. Grey, have to say on the moral aspect of this traffic. Let us take one fact alone,

which seems to me to speak volumes. In the first place, the conditions under which kanakas are brought here are such as do not lend themselves to the cultivation of the best morality, as applied to their home and domestic life. We have been told by some honorable members from Queensland that the kanakas are an absolute menace and peril to some of the villages in North Queensland where they live. With over 8,000 kanakas employed on the sugar plantations up north, there are less than 500 females of the same race, so that evidently they are not mated in the sense that white people are supposed to be. Knowing their condition as we do, we need not be surprised at the tales of rapine, assault, and plunder that we hear of now and again. The very conditions of their existence predispose them to these things, apart altogether from their natural characteristics. How can it be a means of teaching or aiding their moral developments, and cultivating their higher and better nature, to bring them to a foreign country—as this is to them—under such circumstances as I have just indicated. We see the result upon their family life: that it breaks up their families, destroys their homes, and depopulates their villages. Whether it is right for us to encourage the certain depopulation of these islands of the Pacific, for the purpose of carrying on this industry, is a matter for very grave and serious consideration. Not only do we not improve their moral conditions by bringing them here to live, but we constitute them a menace to our wages rates and our social life. If we want to do something in the way of improving the morals of the kanaka, in the way of uplifting his life and engrafting upon him some of our civilizing influences, we have a much better chance of doing it in his own home than we possess when we bring him here. It is far better to go and Christianize him in his own islands than to bring him here, expose him to new temptations, and attempt to do it under the conditions in which he lives in Queensland. If we want to improve his moral development we shall not do it in the best way by importing him to Queensland. We can do it far better—as the work has been done for years past—by the efforts of those self-denying men who are willing to live with the kanaka in his own home, than by importing him to Australia and subjecting him to the further temptations, which

undoubtedly exist in the circumstances under which he lives in Northern Queensland. Environment has everything to do with the formation of character, and environment such as that which surrounds the kanaka in Northern Queensland tends, not to his moral development, but rather to his moral degradation. There are weird stories told in the reports of the missionaries relative to the moral effects of the kanaka's contact with white men. To our shame be it said that in some cases his contact with white people in Queensland has led to the complete decimation of villages when he has returned home, taking with him the diseases which are common to white people in this country. All the missionaries who have lived with him in his own home say that the conditions under which the kanaka lives here expose him to moral temptations, and cannot tend to his moral enlightenment and progress. Every consideration, both economic and moral, should induce us to take the action contemplated by the Government, to prohibit the introduction of kanakas. We should keep them in their own homes, where they can enjoy their natural environment, and develop their own character, surrounded by their own people. That is the ideal we should aim at. We should do away once and for all with the menace which exists in North Queensland, no matter what the consequences may be to the sugar industry. I sincerely hope they will not be serious. I want to see no rough and rude displacement of the industrial conditions of Queensland, and I do not believe that this measure will have any such effect. Temporary displacement there may be, but I do not think it will be serious. If the growers only betake themselves to the doing away of this labour, and the giving of employment to their own kith and kin, the result will be anything but deleterious in its effect upon the industry as a whole. I believe that they will in the long run make up the difference, whatever it may be at the present time, between the cost of black and white labour; and they will have the consciousness, when they do so, that they are doing nothing to repeat the troubles that have occurred in other lands where coloured labour has been tried before. I sincerely hope that, in considering this matter, we shall always keep in mind the fact that we are trustees for the future of this continent for those who have to come after us. We have not only to think of the occupation of to-day, but to

Mr. Joseph Cook.

remember that we are fixing the conditions under which people will live for generations after we have passed out of existence. We are trustees for them. We are concerned in their environment, and in their social ideal. If we betake ourselves to a serious apprehension of the issues involved in this question, and rid the continent of this black spot, then those coming after us will applaud our action for its resoluteness and courage. But if we have regard only to the passing considerations of the moment; if we lend an ear to the people who would keep this black labour on our continent as they have done, then—when the trouble is complete, when contamination of our race has taken place, and we have a colony in our midst fructifying and multiplying just as has been the case upon other continents—those who come after us will not commend us for our action, but rather condemn us for our tardy, timorous performance of duty in a great crisis. That crisis exists at the present time. The trouble is in its incipient stage; we can nip it without disastrous consequences to the trade as a whole, and our duty therefore ought to be clear.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN (Melbourne).—I acknowledge that the Prime Minister has endeavoured to deal with this measure in a fair spirit, but I do not think that he is fully seized of the true position. If he had visited the sugar-fields of North Queensland he would be able to realize the damage that will be done by the Bill which is now before us, and the unfairness of its operation on those who have very large sums invested in the industry.

Mr. PAGE.—The Prime Minister went to Bundaberg.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—But the right honorable and learned gentleman may have seen very little there. Very often such a trip made by a gentleman in the Prime Minister's position is merely a junketing.

Mr. PAGE.—The same may have occurred in the case of the honorable member for Kooyong.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It may have happened, and, judging by the newspaper extracts read by the honorable member for Maranoa, I should think his trip was a mere junketing expedition. If he had been in the honorable member's company he would have seen a great deal. I do not agree that this question is on the

same footing as that of the restriction of Asiatics. If Asiatics were allowed to remain in Australia they would constitute a danger from which we should have much to fear, but there is no evidence whatever to show that the kanakas exercise in any way a baneful influence among us. If there was any likelihood of the contamination of the white races by permitting them to remain in the industry, the Prime Minister would have brought forward evidence to show it. I approach this question rather from a plain, straightforward point of view, and I consider that the cry for a white Australia, so far as the kanakas are concerned, and the endeavour to introduce into this question of the kanaka the feeling that exists in relation to Asiatics, is wrong altogether. The plain fact is that there has been an attempt to placate the labour vote, both in this and in the election cries that were raised in Queensland on various dates. I am not going to say a word against my honorable friends of the labour party, whom I have learned to respect since coming into personal contact with them. I think they have done a very great deal of good. They have shown their ability in debate, and have done very useful work in committee. I am not going to blame them; I admire them rather for the straightforward way in which they do their work. There is no mincing matters with them, but I think it would be better for those who debate the provisions of this Bill to acknowledge the fact that its sole object is to placate the labour vote.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—At all events that is my view, although the honorable member may differ from it. Let me say at once that their real aim is to secure a monopoly for white labour, and I should be willing to go with them if I believed it was at all possible to carry on this industry by means of white labour. I should not be one to put forward the kanaka to take work away from our own people, but I believe I shall be able to show that, so far from being able to assist the white laborer, we shall be really working him a considerable amount of harm by doing away with this kanaka traffic. The Prime Minister has stated the capital invested in the sugar industry at £6,000,000; but he has omitted to consider the sum of about £600,000 that has been advanced by the Queensland Government. Beyond that the Government have built railways,

and tramways, and wharfs, and in other ways have expended a very large sum of money. Therefore the amount of £6,000,000 will have to be very considerably added to in considering the amount of capital invested in connexion with the sugar industry. In this matter, we have not only to consider the planters, but also to bear in mind the position in which we stand towards the state of Queensland, which, I am convinced, would never have joined the Federation had her people been aware of the drastic measure that was to be submitted to this House.

Mr. BARTON.—I believe they joined us in the hope of abolishing black labour.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I always like to agree with the Prime Minister, but on this occasion I cannot. I believe that if there were a dissolution such as the honorable member for Wide Bay has referred to, a vote taken in Queensland would show that the people there consider this Bill to be an extremely unfair one.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member does not know Queensland.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I think I know it as well as the honorable member. However, whether my views be right or wrong, we should be extremely careful how we treat the State which joined Federation after considerable hesitation.

Mr. McDONALD.—I deny that. It was on the part of the Government that there was a good deal of hesitation.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—We know that the Government lead in these matters.

Mr. McDONALD.—They led very crookedly in that case.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—That may be in accordance with the honorable member's views, which are not always correct.

Mr. SALMON.—The Queensland Government were very loyal to federation.

Mr. McDONALD.—They were the most disloyal Government in Australia.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—We know that a very strong feeling exists in Queensland, and I am very sorry that the Prime Minister should have made the references he did yesterday to the correspondence with Mr. Philp. I know Mr. Philp personally, and I am sure he would not intentionally put a slight upon any one; and I hope that there may be such an explanation that the Prime Minister will

be disposed to smooth matters over rather than create any difficulty. The Prime Minister mentions 5,715 whites as being employed in connexion with the sugar industry in Queensland, and he averages the families of these men at five each, and concludes that about 28,000 whites are depending on the sugar industry. Now, I think he has omitted to take into consideration matters that should have induced him to extend his figures. There is the general trade dependent on the sugar industry. I have some figures here relating to the business of the A.U.S.N. Company only, but the Adelaide Steamship Company, and the Howard Smith Company also carry large quantities of sugar. The A.U.S.N. Company pay to their seamen £36,000 per year, and to wharf labourers £60,000 per year, whilst their steamers consume 40,000 tons of coal. The dairying trade to the north is said to be worth £300,000 per annum, and various other trades carried on in the north are solely dependent upon the sugar industry.

Mr. PAGE.—But do the A.U.S.N. Company's steamers carry sugar only?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No; but the trade in which their steamers are engaged is carried on very largely owing to the volume of traffic created by the sugar industry, and if it were not for that industry there would not be so many steamers running, and the public convenience would not be by any means so well served. At any rate the sugar industry is a very important one, and any injury to it, will seriously affect the amount of wages paid in the directions I have indicated. We should, therefore, pause before we do anything that would be calculated to destroy the industry—as I believe it will be destroyed if we decide to shut out kanaka labour.

Mr. WATKINS.—But the people of Australia will not live without sugar.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No, perhaps not; but if we do not produce it ourselves, we shall have to import it, and the money which is now spent in the form of wages among our own people, will go to foreign countries to a very large extent. At a meeting of the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce, held some short time ago, statistics were produced to show that something like 20,000 people are occupied directly or indirectly in connexion with the sugar industry, and if we take the same average as was adopted by the Prime Minister, namely, five members per family of those

engaged in the industry, we shall have a total of 100,000 people interested directly or indirectly in the trade. These figures are derived from very reliable sources, and if a large amount of labour, such as I have indicated, is to be thrown upon the market owing to the injury that must be done to the sugar industry by abolishing kanaka labour, I do not think the constituencies of some of the representatives from Queensland will be very pleased at their action. The honorable member for Parramatta hit upon the crux of the whole question when he stated that the point was whether white labourers could do the work in the cane-fields. On that point the Prime Minister quoted the utterances of several leaders in politics in Queensland down to 1885.

Mr. BARTON.—I quoted them down as late as 1892.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I have not noticed that in the report of the right honorable gentleman's speech, but, at any rate, I propose to quote a few instances from the Queensland *Herald*, starting in March, 1892.

Mr. BARTON.—Is any statement to be found in Dr. Maxwell's report that white men cannot do the work on the sugar plantations?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No, but I can tell the Prime Minister what Dr. Maxwell does say, and he is the Ministry's own expert.

Mr. BARTON.—No, he is the expert of the Queensland Government, from whom he receives £3,000 a year.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—He was loaned to the Federal Government, and is therefore their expert so far as this report is concerned.

Mr. BARTON.—Any one who reads between the lines of his report will be convinced of the justice of my action.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I do not say for one moment but that the Prime Minister has endeavoured to be just; but I do not think that he is sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of Northern Queensland to enable him to do the people there complete justice. I have here an extract from a newspaper report, which states that Dr. Maxwell presented a lengthy report setting forth his views, and that he asserted that this measure if passed would paralyse the sugar industry. That statement is as good I think as any contained in Dr. Maxwell's

report. In connexion with the debate on the address in reply in the Queensland House in March 1892, Sir Samuel Griffith gave the full text of his manifesto, which is interesting reading, showing as it does that whatever his views may have been in 1885, he had had reason to see the damage that had resulted from his action, and had determined to do what only a bold man could do—namely, make a complete change of front, acknowledge that he had done wrong in the past, and do his best to put the industry right for the future. The manifesto reads:—

In common with the rest of the community the Government have of late had their attention directed to the present condition of the sugar industry in Queensland, and especially to the difficulty of obtaining labour for carrying it on. It cannot be too often impressed upon our minds that we all directly or indirectly depend for our livelihood on the products of land of the colony. Any serious falling off in its productiveness, from whatever cause, is therefore a matter of national concern. It has been urged that a revival of the sugar industry, which is at present in a condition of depression and uncertainty, would result in the restoration of prosperity throughout the colony. But while I am unable to attribute to this cause alone so much of the prevailing depression as some people are disposed to think, many other causes being apparent, not only in Queensland, but throughout the rest of Australia, I have arrived at the conclusion that it is the imperative duty of the Government, and perhaps more especially of myself, to whom rightly or wrongly, much of the blame or credit of the existing state of things has been attributed, to review the present position, and to state plainly what we think is the right policy to be adopted by the country at this time. The urgency of the case induces me to adopt the present somewhat unusual mode of declaring that opinion.

He then goes on to say—

Yet every opposition has been offered to the introduction of any additional labour, the opinion has been promulgated that field labour in tropical agriculture is degrading, and the employment of white labour in that industry has been denounced; except at rates of wages which the industry cannot pay. In short, these men will neither engage in the work themselves, nor, so far as they can prevail, allow any one else to do so. Again he says—

If then the system, now happily insurged, of small farmers is to be carried on to a final success, I can see no alternative but to permit for a time at any rate the resumption of Polynesian immigration.

He further says—

Some of us—who for one—have been struggling for years to induce white people to engage in that industry—taking the place of the kanakas whom they desired to displace. I have done my best—and what do we find? How many amongst the unemployed persons in the community who are

clamouring to go upon the land, have been found willing to go to work upon the cane fields at reasonable wages? Not one of them. In one instance some men did go; they were said to have been sent by the unions. But there is very strong reason to believe that before these men went on to that plantation it was arranged that they should make the experiment a failure. That was the only experiment that was tried. It is a fact that these men, who are clamouring for access to the land, and to keep out the kanaka, have absolutely refused to do his work.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Will you give the reference for that quotation?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is the *Queensland Hansard* for 1892, page 10. The same gentleman goes on to state:—

Here we find a great agricultural industry in such a condition that there are only two alternatives—either to let it be carried on with the assistance of coloured labour, or to let it die; and I say that any man in this colony, or any member who will stand up in his place in Parliament, and say he would allow a great industry to die is a traitor to his country.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is after he had coalesced with a traitor.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Sir Thomas Mollwraith is dead. Let him rest. Continuing, the Chief Secretary said:—

I believe the only chance we have of saving a great industry is to remove the existing prohibition with regard to Polynesian labour.

Reference has been during the debate upon this Bill to one of our greatest statesmen, who, unfortunately, is not present to see the consummation of that for which he had worked so hard, namely federation. I am alluding to the late Sir Thomas Mollwraith, who was declared by the Prime Minister to have been at one time in favour of the abolition of the kanaka traffic. The honorable member for Kennedy stated that Sir Thomas employed kanakas upon his station. I took the trouble to telegraph to Brisbane in order to find out whether that was the case or not. I find that it was not the case.

Mr. FISHER.—He was against the kanaka traffic.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—In 1885 he was against kanakas being employed, except in the cane fields; but in the same debate upon the address in reply, he said—

I am not going into the kanaka question, but I will simply state, as a fact, that the introduction of kanaka labour, or the mere promise of it, will give a great impulse to the colony at the present time. If the honorable member for Enoggera—

the present Postmaster-General—

studied public opinion, he would see that the labouring classes, who are so much out of employment, are the men who have been converted.

The white Australia cry was a splendid one upon which to go to the country, because it was bound to catch the labour vote. Will any one say that the restrictions imposed upon the introduction of kanakas are not such that we could prevent all possibility of racial contamination or trouble? Certainly not. But that is not the question at all. The general desire is to get the kanakas out of the country. I am absolutely in accord with that desire if white men can do the work which is now being performed by the kanakas. But they cannot. Reference was made by the Prime Minister to leading politicians of Queensland, and in this connexion it would have been better if the right honorable and learned gentleman had gone further, instead of limiting himself to the period when they changed their views. The Honorable B. D. Morehead was referred to. That gentleman is reported in the same volume of *Hansard* as follows:—

I say that from one end of the colony to the other—from the bloated capitalist on the lower side to the working man at the top end—I think the passing of this measure will do good to all. Holding these views, I shall most heartily support the Government in the second reading of this Bill, and do all I can to pass it into law.

Again the Chief Secretary declared that he could not agree to the amendment moved by Mr. Glassey, which provided that the Act should not come into operation till the 1st July, 1893. To quote *Hansard*, he said:—

He could not agree to the proposed new clause. The object of the Bill was to give immediate relief in a pressing trouble.

I have quoted these gentlemen in order to show that the whole of the facts of the case were not placed before the House, and that those who were supposed to be so much against kanaka labour had to change their minds to prevent the industry being entirely wiped out. In Queensland in 1889, a Royal commission was appointed, which has also been referred to. I have had an opportunity of perusing a very admirable report by the late Mr. W. H. Groom, which is based upon the evidence given before that commission. That gentleman took up an attitude quite different from that of Messrs. Cowley and King, the

other commissioners, and stated his reasons for so doing in a plain, straightforward, and admirable manner. His report is worth reading, because it evidences the care which he must have bestowed upon its preparation. But even his expressions of opinion were based rather upon the fact that it was a foregone conclusion that the desire of the country was to do away with coloured labour. He says—

The question of coloured labour, so far as legislation is concerned, may be said to be practically closed. The people have already pronounced an authoritative opinion upon it, and the principal public men of the colony have, whenever opportunity has occurred, more or less emphatically declared that they are not disposed to reopen the subject. . . . Consequently, if the question “Is Queensland able to do without the sugar industry, except on the basis of a white population?” is answered in the affirmative, then undoubtedly a very large portion of the coast districts of the north will not be cultivated, at all events for a long time to come, and from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 of capital which has been vested in the sugar industry will be wiped out of existence, and the whole of the population now dependent upon the sugar industry for a livelihood will, for a time, and until new industries arise, be thrown out of employment. Can Queensland at the present time afford to do this?

That is the opinion of our late lamented colleague, who was opposed to the views of the other members of the commission. Talking of the Herbert River district, Messrs. Cowley and King say:—

In this district there was absolute unanimity amongst all the witnesses examined that white men could not cultivate cane. Putting on one side altogether the evidence of planters and employers of labour who have tried to get field work done by white labour ineffectually, we find the small selectors all telling the same tale. At Port Douglas, Mr. Jones says—“Europeans will not cultivate with the hoe, and withdrawal of black labour means shutting up of Northern districts.”

The commissioners say:—

In the districts south of Townsville a different condition exists. Here white labourers can work without such great danger to life or health, but they dislike the handwork in the field so much that they will not willingly undertake it, and never continue at it long, and then the question arises whether, though they can do the work, it can be done by them profitably.

The cost of labour has been gone into very fully by the honorable member for Parramatta, and I do not wish to weary the House with statistics, but merely desire to show as far as I can from the evidence which has been taken, that this industry cannot be carried on without the employment of kanaka labour. In the examination

of a selector who gave evidence before the commission, page 14, the following passage occurs—

Then is the high cost of labour the only reason why Europeans do not cultivate their land? No; there is another thing. You cannot get white men here to work. You might get them to work seven months out of the year. When the hot weather comes they cannot stand it, and you cannot get men to work. I myself cannot stand it, and I would not expect a man to do what I could not do myself. When the thermometer stands at 120 degrees a white man cannot work.

Mr. WATSON.—Where is that?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—On the Mosman River.

Mr. PAGE.—Who built the Cairns Railway?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—That is a totally different thing. The honorable member must know that.

Mr. PAGE.—It was 120 degrees in the shade there.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—But the honorable member could work anywhere. He has the strength to work anywhere, and the strength also of his opinion.

Mr. WATKINS.—Railway work is as hard as any.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is different to working in the fields. The same witness, Johnson, who is a selector, was asked—

What did the white men do?—In the summer time, nothing at all.

What were they, overseer or labourers?—Labourers. I kept them chiefly fencing and splitting timber.

Then there was a witness who had five years' experience on the Johnston River, and whose evidence was—

From your five years' experience, do you think that white men can work and do a fair day's work here, or can they not?—Certainly not. I am positive they cannot. If you wish, I will give you one year's experience I had six years ago.

He then refers to the fever and the difficulty he had in getting white labour. Mr. Cowley asked him—

Supposing that the land was cleared of scrub and brought under the plough, can white men work then?—No. The weather gets so hot during five months of the year that I consider that it would be dangerous for white men to work in the field.

Then there is a witness named Montgomery, who was a selector with 160 acres of land

in the Port Douglas district. His evidence reads—

If the scrub was once cleared and stumped could white men earn a good living in the neighborhood?—Yes; if they liked to?

Is it necessary that they should have the scrub cleared and stumped in the first instance?—Yes; unless they have plenty of money to help them.

Then they must either have cheap labour or let the land to Chinamen?—Yes; unless they have money to aid them to pay for white labour. We could not have done it ourselves without leasing it to the Chinamen, and no one else would take it.

The evidence right through is almost all to the same effect. We have Thomas Mackay, who, I believe, was quoted to-night, and whom somebody called "a right good man." At any rate this is his evidence in Cairns—

Do you find the climate affect the health of yourself and other Europeans at all?—I have been in Northern Queensland for seventeen years, and nine years in Cairns. The climate is good, but I cannot do the same amount of work that I could in the South, and the men I employ cannot. Even the horses cannot do the same amount of work.

Then we have a hospital attendant who perhaps does not know much about the condition of labourers, except that he had many sick men through his hands. His evidence was—

Did you do any work yourself when you were with them?—No.

Do you think you could have done it?—I could have done it I dare say.

What work were they doing?—Weeding and trashing.

Do you think that is work that white men could do?—No; not weeding.

Do you think a white man could not do that?—No.

Have you ever seen any white men doing work in the cane fields?—No; not the trashing.

Have you seen them weeding?—No; I have not.

Then we have the evidence of a ganger—

Have you seen any Europeans engaged in field work?—No; except in driving horses and ploughing. They do not work in the cane.

Would you, as a ganger, like to do the same kind of work as the kanakas?—No; not on any account.

Why?—Because it is too hot.

But supposing you were paid 30s. a week and your board for doing it?—I would do some part of it, but not the whole of the work that they do.

How long have you been living in the Northern districts?—Seven years.

Then the manager of a sugar plantation, who evidently had some contracts, was examined as follows:—

From your experience do you think that the climate of this district is more trying to white men than that of Maryborough?—Very considerably.

How so?—I may mention that I am Chairman of the Divisional Board and a case came before me which is a case in point. About a month ago a large contractor doing work for the board wrote me a letter, not asking for extension of time, or to stop, but saying that he had knocked off work on all of his contracts as the men could not go on on account of the excessive heat. If you like I will have the letter put before you.

We would like to know from the contractor whether he knocked off on his own account or whether in consequence of the men refusing to work on account of the heat?—On account of the men.

Will you read the letter?—Yes, it is as follows:—

December 16, 1888.

To the Chairman of the Johnstone Divisional Board.

Dear Sir,—

I have to stop all board contracts on hand at present as none of my men can stand the heat. I will start when the weather gets a little cooler. Trusting you will not be strict on appointed time.—I have, &c., DAN BEHON.

There are numerous other witnesses who all speak to the same effect, and show to my mind that even if evidence were taken at the present time it would be conclusively shown that it would be impossible to carry on the industry with white labour. Dr. Maxwell, in addition to the telegram he sent down just lately, said:—

These conditions rendering continuous labour by the white man, even in the kinds of work reserved to him by the Polynesian Labourers Act, a great physical strain and difficulty; while for the classes of work, such as trashing and cutting cane, which are done by the lower types of labour, the white man is practically unfit.

He went on to give reasons why white men cannot work there, and said:—

The situation remains, however, that the personal estate of the islander upon the plantations and cane farms is strongly satisfactory, in general.

That will show that the honorable member for Parramatta was not quite correct in the statement he quoted from Mr. Paton, that the kanakas go to the islands to die. As a matter of fact, kanakas very often ask to be taken to Queensland, knowing that they get medical attendance there. The death-rate was referred to by the honorable member for Parramatta, and I have here statistics up to the 26th September of this year. These figures show that the death rate for the five years, from 1891 to 1895, was 42·73 per 1,000, and that in the last five years the death-rate has been 30·08.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the death-rate on the islands?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—On the islands the death-rate is often so great

that the population of whole islands are wiped out. They enjoy much better health on the cane-fields, where the death rate is very low.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not what the Rev. Mr. Grey says. He says it is 12 per cent.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The above statement is prepared from the Queensland immigration agents' Pacific Islands Immigration Reports. The physique of the kanakas is not such as to enable them, wherever they live, to show the same death rate as Europeans.

Mr. WATSON.—And yet they are taken to a dangerous climate.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is a dangerous climate to work in, but not dangerous to health. The white man cannot do the work, whereas kanakas can. Honorable members who have seen the kanakas in the cane-fields must have observed that the majority of them are strong able-bodied men. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports, who has interjected more than once, paid a short visit to Queensland, and seems to have come back a perfect authority. He reminds me of somebody who once induced me to read a book of 250 pages entitled *A Peep into Russia*. It was an extremely interesting book, but I learnt that the writer had gone three miles across the border of Russia, and not having a passport, had been turned back; but, of course, he had a lively imagination.

Mr. FISHER.—Before the honorable member leaves the statistics, has he got the death-rate of the white people?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I have not; but I should say it is somewhere about 23 or 24 per 1,000.

Mr. FISHER.—For men, women, and children it is about 10. Queensland has the best climate in Australia.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I now want to refer to the distribution of the money which is produced from the sugar-growing industry. The crop of sugar at present is about 150,000 tons, which at the 1900 price of £10 15s. per ton, including freight to the refinery, would realize £1,612,500. Out of that total, aliens receive one-eighth, or £200,000, and, therefore, white labour must receive seven-eighths. These figures are very important, as showing that the amount which goes to the kanakas is very small compared to the great good

that is done by the distribution of the rest amongst the white labourers.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is £262 10s. per head. I worked it out this afternoon.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I have given the figures which have been prepared. Those who look at Dr. Maxwell's report will see that the kanakas are paid more than similar workers in France, Germany, and Russia, taking only the wages paid; and also that that white labour is paid much more in Queensland than in any other place where sugar is produced. I contend that I have proved, as far as any one can prove, from the evidence of the Royal commission, that it is utterly impossible in Mackay, and north of Mackay, to carry on this industry without kanaka labour. I think I have shown that the industry must die—these are the words of Sir Samuel Griffith—unless there is kanaka labour, and that something like £1,000,000 of money will cease to be distributed amongst white labourers. If the industry be destroyed a great deal of labour will be thrown on other markets. Our commerce will certainly be lessened, and a great injustice will be done to a State with which, I am sure, we all desire to be on perfectly friendly terms. I am convinced that if the reverse of what I have stated had been the case the Prime Minister would have laid before us some facts to show that white labour can carry this industry on. I do not know whether he is aware that the Queensland Government advanced a considerable sum of money for the establishment of the Roma Race-course Mills. The contract contained a stipulation that only cane grown by white labour should be crushed by the mills. They were forced, however, to alter those regulations, and to allow kanaka grown cane to be sent there. That shows clearly that even the Queensland Government have failed to bring about that which honorable members desire, and which I am as anxious as any one to secure, if it is possible to obtain it without entirely destroying the industry. The Prime Minister referred to the possibility of some machinery for cane-cutting being invented. That consideration must have been put forward, because he feared that, unless something in that direction did occur, there would be more than a prospect of damage being done to the industry by the passing of this Bill into law. Why did not the Prime Minister, with this idea in his mind,

propose some further relief for the industry until such time as machinery is invented which will enable the grower to carry on without black labour?

Mr. HIGGINS.—It will never be invented until we put a stop to black labour.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I am told there is a machine now being patented which will do the work. I feel as strongly as any one that the kanakas should be kept in their own islands if they are going to keep white men out of employment. We all know, however, that the sugar mills are not doing well; the plantations are struggling, and are heavily in debt to the financial institutions. The planters are endeavouring to rid themselves of that debt, and why should we, immediately upon the creation of the Commonwealth, which it was thought was going to do so much good for all the States, pounce down upon one State and say—"You are to have this labour taken from you, the only labour by which you can support the sugar industry"? It is manifestly unfair to bring in a Bill allowing such a short term within which the employment of coloured labour must cease. At least ten years should be allowed; at the end of that time the industry could cease entirely, if necessary. We should have no concern with what happened after that. We should be able to say we had done what was fair; that on a previous occasion a request was made for more time, and that ten years was granted. It may be said that at the end of the seven years the planters would be urging for a further extension of time. I do not think, however, that those interested in the industry would deserve any further extension, because in the meantime they should put their house in order, and endeavour by some other means to carry on the industry.

Mr. MAUER.—Would two years make all that difference?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It would be more than two years. A certain number of kanakas are to be deported in the first year, and a certain number the next, and so on. That makes the difference. If those engaged at present in the industry remained for the time being the industry could go on as it is now, and every one of the kanakas could be out of Australia at the end of the three years. That would be a fair thing, and would help the industry very considerably. At present

there is a great feeling of distrust on the part of those who have money invested in industries in Queensland. There is a great feeling of distrust in Queensland itself, and I do hope the Government will consider this matter carefully. I know it is useless to ask for the appointment of a commission to make further inquiries. The feeling of the House is for a pure "white Australia," but I do say that we should consider the matter very carefully before we pass such a drastic measure as this. The industry is a very important one, and has been carried on under considerable difficulties for many years past. I would appeal to honorable members of the labour party, who are perhaps most desirous of doing away with this kanaka labour, to say whether it is fair to fix such a short term within which the employment of kanaka labour must cease as that provided in the Bill. I would ask them to say whether it is not likely to have a very serious effect upon the white workers themselves, and whether it would not be better to ascertain the correctness or otherwise of my statements before they take steps which must, to a certainty, destroy a very important industry.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I am glad that the Government have introduced this measure at a comparatively early period of the session. I for one am hopeful that it will become law before the session closes. I must say that the speech made by the honorable member for Melbourne was couched in very moderate and fair terms, but in regard to the words just uttered by him as to the wisdom of honorable members refraining from taking a step which is so drastic, I should like to say that I do not consider this measure a drastic one. I look upon it from a contrary direction altogether. The feeling that I entertain upon this question is that even if it means the absolute annihilation of the sugar industry, I am prepared to vote for the abolition of the kanaka. In my appeal to the electors of my constituency I expressed that opinion in no uncertain terms, but I am convinced that there is no likelihood of the annihilation of the industry because of the action proposed to be taken. So far as the general question is concerned, I think that the people declared very distinctly upon it on that occasion. With regard to the statements put forward this evening by the honorable member for

Melbourne, and advanced a few days ago by the Premier of the State of Queensland—

Mr. FISHER.—Only on hearsay.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. The statements made by those two gentlemen were to the effect that if the people of Queensland had known of the treatment likely to be meted out to them in this respect they would not have joined the federation. I desire to say that the man who, being a resident of Queensland and knowing the feeling of the southern states—which has been for years past against coloured labour—was not aware at the time of the federal elections that all the probabilities, almost the certainties, were in favour of the abolition of kanaka labour, must have been politically and commercially, very simple indeed. It seems to me that those of the sugar-planters of Queensland who voted for federation were quite alive to the probability of the kanaka traffic being stopped; but they thought that the opening up of the large markets of the south would be worth more to them than the retention of the kanaka. I do not say that their votes alone were sufficient to carry the Constitution Bill, because we find that there are only some 2,600 white men engaged in growing sugar cane. Their votes would not be an exceedingly large factor in the determination of the matter, but so far as they did cast a vote for federation, it seems to me that they had their eyes fully open to what was likely to occur. They reckoned on getting a market for their sugar, with protection against the outside world, and on being placed in a better position commercially than they were before. Now, having got the market secured, with the probability of some protection against imported sugar, they desire to keep both the market and the black labour. I have always shown a leaning towards the protectionist side of the fiscal question; but if the planters do not get rid of black labour, they will get no protection from me. I have no ambition to pay more for the sugar that I consume, or to force others to do so, in order to keep in employment a number of degraded individuals such as these kanakas. These gentlemen in the North are rather overreaching themselves in the demands they are putting before the country at the present time.

Mr. ISAACS.—Protection is to maintain the standard of white labour.

Mr. WATSON.—Precisely. That is the only justification from my point of view for the contention of the protectionist. It does not seem that we can get these gentlemen to view the matter from anything like a reasonable stand-point. Another aspect of this question is its industrial bearing. While I believe that the white man is not likely to be employed under present conditions in the general field work of sugar growing—although I understand that a large proportion of Queensland sugar is grown by white labour, and white labour only—I would point out that it is useless to refer to the scarcity of white labour while the rates of pay now being offered obtain. According to Dr. Maxwell's report, I find that in the Cairns district, which admittedly has the worst climate, the wages given to white labourers working in the sugar-fields amount on the average to £1 4s. 7½d., or, roughly speaking, 25s. per week, and rations. In these southern districts, with all the advantages of a good climate, men cannot be got to work on stations for less than £1 per week and rations, and yet the honorable member for Melbourne expressed his horrified surprise to find that white men would not undertake work in the Cairns district at this low rate of pay. I do not suppose that if the honorable member for Melbourne himself were able to do the work ten times over in that climate he would be anxious to undertake it at that remuneration, and I should be sorry to ask any white man to do such work unless I was prepared to pay a much higher rate of wages than that. The whole question is one of wages and general conditions, and if white men are offered fairly good wages, and have a reasonable prospect of steady employment, there is no doubt that in the greater portion of Queensland they will be found to do the work reliably and well. White men will go wherever they can get good pay, and will perform their tasks in all extremes of heat and cold, from one pole to the other, much more efficiently than any black men. It is stated that, unless we are prepared to allow the kanakas to be employed in Queensland or in the Northern Territory generally, a large proportion of our resources there will remain undeveloped. We have to consider not only the probability of the contamination of our race, but also what work of development can be carried on by means of kanaka labour in the Northern Territory; that is to say,

how many of our own people will find profitable employment. I do not desire to see a development which means only the encouragement or the bringing into existence of a number of Legrees, who take advantage of the slave labour which is, practically, at their command; but I would rather see a development there under conditions which will permit of our own people living in comfort, and allow them to bring up their children in the proper way. It has been argued that the kanaka is able to stand his work in the cane-fields a great deal better than the white man; but, with regard to that point, I should like to direct the attention of the honorable member for Melbourne to some inconsistencies in his own speech. He said that the black man was much better able than the white man to carry on this class of work, but, in explanation of the large death rate among the kanakas, he stated that their physique was bad.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No, I said their physique was good. They send over a great many who are sickly, but I stated that on the cane-fields you will find strong men.

Mr. WATSON.—Dr. Maxwell mentions that, in the first year of their employment in Queensland, the kanakas lose about six weeks through ill-health, and the death rate amongst the kanakas should be compared with the death-rate amongst whites of practically corresponding ages. The death-rate amongst the kanakas quoted by the honorable member for Melbourne was 30 per 1,000. By reference to Coghlan's *Seven Colonies* I find that in Queensland during 1898 the total deaths amongst whites numbered 3,771. Of these 1,353 deaths occurred below the age of 15, and 1,285 over the age of 50. I think that if we take the age of the kanakas as ranging between 16 and 49 we shall be quite within the mark. The figures I have quoted include females, so that I am giving the honorable member for Melbourne all the benefit of the comparison. Out of the total of 3,771 deaths, we have to exclude 2,638 as being outside the ages which we have selected for the purpose of comparison, and that would bring the death-rate of the white people in Queensland between the ages of 16 and 49 to between 6 and 7 per 1,000. This is to be compared with 30 per 1,000 among kanakas, and is a very considerable improvement upon the death-rate quoted

by the honorable member for Melbourne. It may be that a large proportion of sickly people are introduced there, but if so, what becomes of the regulations under which these kanakas are supposed to be imported? The regulations state that no islander shall be allowed to land unless he is physically fit to perform the work.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I was speaking of my experience when I was up there years ago.

Mr. WATSON.—If physically incapable men are introduced into the State in spite of all regulations, serious questions must arise as to the efficiency of the regulations, and we must conclude that in a traffic such as this, where we have on the one hand the human being who is only considered as a beast of burden, and on the other hand the person of superior intelligence who is placed in control over him, we cannot by any regulation bring the two parties into the relative positions they ought to occupy from the point of view of humanity. There is not only a strong probability, but almost a certainty of our being unable by regulation or inspection to prevent unjust, unfair, and inhuman treatment of people occupying such a subordinate position. The honorable member for Melbourne spoke of the comparatively small danger of racial contamination from the kanaka as compared with the Asiatic. I admit that, so far as the present position is concerned, there is not quite the same danger to be feared in that respect from the kanaka as from the Asiatic, but official returns show that quite a considerable number of kanakas marry white women in Queensland.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—We can stop that by law.

Mr. WATSON.—That would probably lead to worse results. The condition of the kanakas, accompanied as they are by only some 5 per cent. of their own women-kind, must necessarily lead to a state of moral degradation not at all creditable to us, and not at all likely to commend itself to a Christian people such as we are. With regard to the provisions of this measure, I think the Bill is essentially a compromise between those—and they represent no inconsiderable number of honorable members in this House—who think that the traffic should be immediately stopped, and those who think that a fairly lengthy period should be allowed for the closing up of the

labour traffic. I am quite prepared to admit that where a large industry has been established under the statute of a State, it is only fair that something like a reasonable time should be allowed in which to bring about a change in the condition of affairs. There is a considerable distinction between the position in regard to the kanaka and that which arises in respect to coloured aliens generally, but no reasonable complaint can be made against the term which is set out in the Bill. If we make the period too long, there will be a danger of the whole matter slipping through our fingers. In Queensland they have fixed two or three periods for the closing up of the kanaka traffic, but on each occasion, owing to the long period allowed, agitation has been worked up which has ended in an extension of the time. I think that we should declare ourselves regarding this traffic in such an emphatic way as to hold out no possible hope to the planters of Queensland of any extension of time being granted. Once this Bill has passed, it should be taken as the final word of the Commonwealth on the subject. I was not in favour of any extended period, but when the Government gives us an opportunity of making a clear and definite declaration, I am willing to go to the extent proposed in the Bill. A suggestion was made some little time ago, and has since been given greater prominence, that it will be possible by differential excise duties as between the sugar grown by white labour and that grown by black labour to make up to the sugar-growers the amount that it will be necessary for them to pay in order to employ white labour. The proposition at present before the country is that sugar grown by white labour shall pay an excise duty of only £1 per ton, and that, as compared with the £6 per ton protective duty, leaves a difference of £5 for the protection of such sugar. It seems to me that 5s. per cwt. is a very fair thing. It ought to be a sufficient protection to enable the sugar-growers of Queensland to be in a much better position than they have been up to the present, so far as the employment of white labour is concerned, because, though there has been a duty on sugar imports in Queensland, it has been absolutely inoperative. Owing to the great production of that State as compared with its local consumption, the duty upon sugar has been absolutely inoperative. As it does not seem likely that, for some years

to come, the whole of the sugar production of Australia will be sufficient to cope with the consumption, it is certain that any Customs duty placed upon sugar by the Commonwealth will not only raise a certain amount of revenue, but will materially affect the price of local sugar. It seems to me that whatever import duty is imposed will have the effect of raising the price. Because our production all over Australia is not sufficient to meet the demand, it follows that any Customs duty will have the effect of raising the price. Although I do not suppose the price will be raised to the exact extent of the duty, it will probably get within 10s. a ton of it. In that case I anticipate that there will be a difference in favour of the sugar grown by white labour of £4 10s. per ton, which means to the sugar grower in Queensland an increase of twice that amount per ton if he grows his sugar by means of white labour. Of course, to the man who grows sugar with black labour it only represents £2 10s. per ton. There is another feature in regard to this suggestion of differentiating between black and white grown sugar which occurs to me. It is argued that differentiating in that way would be unconstitutional, because only one State would be affected. It must be remembered, however, that New South Wales employs in the sugar industry quite a number of *kanakas* and *Hindoos*—more *Hindoos* than *kanakas*—but a fairly large proportion of each. The number of these coloured labourers is given by Dr. Maxwell at just under a thousand. I am sorry to say that the backwash of the Queensland black labour traffic is responsible to a large extent for the existence of coloured labour in the New South Wales sugar industry. We always run that risk. It is all very well to say that these men only come here for a year or two, and are then taken back and thus trouble us no longer; but we cannot prevent leakages. It is impossible under any law to absolutely prevent leakages, and the *kanakas* in New South Wales are almost entirely the result of leakages from Queensland. They number between 300 and 400. The *Hindoos* are chiefly direct importations. In any case the fact remains that we have employed in New South Wales at the present time a considerable number of these people—indeed, nearly all the trashing in that State is done either by *Hindoos* or *kanakas*. That is sufficient at least to get over the

suggestion that any differentiation between white and the black grown sugar would be confined to one State only, and for that reason would be unconstitutional. As a matter of fact, at least two States are involved, and if the sugar industry were extended—as is quite possible—to the Northern Territory of South Australia, a third State would be affected by any such proposal.

Mr. WATKINS.—They are suddenly finding out that the white man cannot cut sugar cane on the northern rivers of New South Wales.

Mr. WATSON.—They are bound to do that, for wherever there is an opportunity of getting coloured labour cheaply, a variety of excuses is always available to those desiring to employ it. In New South Wales the planters are just as ready as are those in any other section of the Commonwealth to take advantage of an excuse of that character. I do not think it is necessary to say much more on this matter. I have only taken that general interest in the question which the citizens of Australia, outside of Queensland, have so far exhibited. There are, I am glad to say, in this House a number of honorable members who are more closely associated with the industry, and who, at any rate, because of its proximity to themselves, have had a better opportunity of giving it a detailed study than have most honorable members. Therefore, we may expect from them a greater attention to details, and a closer acquaintance with the whole bearings of the subject than has been exhibited by the honorable member for Melbourne. As far as I am concerned, whatever the position of Queensland itself might be, I would still argue for the abolition of the *kanaka* traffic in that State. Those of us who hold that opinion are at least confirmed in our general intentions by the verdict of Queensland itself. Not only so, but in view of all the circumstances that were likely to arise, and in view of the almost certainty that the Southern States would declare for a white Australia, Queensland entered the Federation. Also, in the election that has since taken place, that State declared by an overwhelming majority in favour of a white Australia.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—That was on account of the popularity of the candidates.

Mr. WATSON.—It was on account of the popularity of the cry. The honorable member stated a few minutes ago that he was becoming used to politics.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—I am beginning to know what they are.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member said that the candidates in Queensland had taken up the popular cry, but he should know enough of politicians to feel assured that they would never have taken up that cry unless the people were likely to support them. The fact that it was a popular cry shows that the people must have been in favour of it. Otherwise it could not have become popular.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—The honorable member's leader would not decide in Brisbane.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member has no right to refer to any one here as my leader. The leader of the Opposition and the leader of the Government were, I am sorry to say, equally hesitant in Brisbane with regard to the time within which this legislation should become operative. The successful Queensland candidates, however, were not hesitant at all, because they gave the people clearly to understand that they would abolish the kanaka traffic at the first opportunity.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Not all of them.

Mr. WATSON.—I think that I have a recollection of the honorable member for Oxley declaring himself in favour of the abolition of this traffic.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—If it could be done without destroying the sugar industry.

Mr. WATSON.—I understood the honorable member to say that he was not returned as a supporter of the kanaka in the sugar industry. If I was mistaken I apologize. In any case, the important fact to be borne in mind is that a majority of the members returned to represent the State of Queensland in both Houses—not only a majority in sectional districts, but a majority for the whole of Queensland polled as one constituency—has declared in favour of the abolition of kanaka labour. Every man in the Senate representing that State is opposed to black labour, whether it be in the form of kanakas, or of any other coloured persons. In this Chamber I do not know that there are more than two honorable members who were returned in favour of black labour.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—I said that I would not abolish kanaka labour.

Mr. WATSON.—But the honorable member was returned for a district where the pressure of the kanaka does not appear on the surface, and where even the Chinaman is kept out of sight. In the districts from which the Queensland representatives come the evil is close at hand, and is realized by the people. Therefore, it is the more significant that we have had the results to which I have alluded. It has been already mentioned that the recent Darling Downs election affords another instance in which the present State Government took advantage of the opportunity to again raise the black flag. They fought the question there, and yet with all the faggot votes thrown in—the votes of a number of people in Brisbane who did not reside in the district—and with all the other influences in favour of the State Governmental candidate, they did not succeed in winning the seat.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—That was because the honorable member for Darling Downs had the Federal Ministry at his back.

Mr. WATSON.—But as the programme of the present Federal Ministry had been disclosed, they ought, according to the honorable member, to have been the most unpopular men in Queensland; instead of which the more they stiffen their backs upon this question the more popular they become. Then I notice that Mr. Philp seeks to discount the victories of the anti-kanaka candidates in Queensland by a statement of the number of votes which they received. He says that out of a total number of 90,000 votes on the roll, they received only 29,000.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—The others put too many candidates into the field.

Mr. WATSON.—If we count all the votes recorded for the pro-kanaka candidates, we find that they are still a long way behind. The fact of the matter is that of those who took the trouble to vote in Queensland there was a very considerable majority against the continuance of the kanaka traffic. There is only another observation of Mr. Philp that requires comment. He states that if Queensland had desired to herself abolish the kanaka traffic, she would have done so through the local Parliament. But plural voting obtains to a far larger extent in Queensland, so far as the actual

facilities offered to the plural voter are concerned, than in any other State. There are ballot-boxes at Brisbane for quite a variety of places, some of which are 1,500 miles distant—a state of affairs that never occurred in New South Wales, even in the worst days of plural voting. In view of that it is a wonder that so many men were returned to the Queensland State Parliament pledged against the kanaka traffic. But in addition we know that there is an organization in Queensland known as the “bull-cockers,” or some name like that—an association called after the gentleman who is responsible for its existence.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—There is no such organization.

Mr. WATSON.—I have heard it alluded to.

Mr. McDONALD.—It is the National Association.

Mr. WATSON.—It seems that the special province of the association is to take advantage of the temporary absence of any individual from home to have his name removed from the roll if he is not of the right political colour. The result is that the association boasts every year of the number of unsuspecting voters who have been removed from the roll by virtue of objections raised before the purifying magistrate, as he may be termed.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—That is all wrong.

Mr. WATSON.—My experience in other places teaches me that it is pretty well correct, in all probability. However, I say that under all circumstances, even in New South Wales, it is comparatively difficult for one who is a working man, and who has no home of his own in the ordinary sense of the term—who is not a freeholder, and has to shift about from one place to another, following his employment—to continue on a roll, or to get on long enough before an election to qualify to vote. Under the circumstances in Queensland I can quite understand that it is even more difficult, with the result that a large proportion of the community is permanently disfranchised. Therefore any argument founded on the appearance of things, so far as the success of the State elections is concerned, has to be discounted by facts of this character. I have only to say that, so far as the Bill is concerned, I am prepared to give the Government every assistance in carrying it through. But I trust this House will

see the wisdom of not relaxing the provisions of the Bill in the slightest degree. It will certainly be something gained, from my point of view, if at the end of this Parliament we are able to point to the definite date on which this kanaka traffic, in all its various ramifications, will cease. If we extend that period to a too distant time, there is danger always of a successful *ad misericordiam* appeal on behalf of a number of these planters, or of advantage being taken of some temporary aberration on the part of voters generally, when engaged on some other question, to alter the law. I trust that the Bill will be passed in its present state, and that it will be declared without any possibility of misunderstanding that the people of Australia have determined that this semi-slavery shall end, no matter what the consequences may be.

Motion (by Mr. R. EDWARDS) proposed—

That the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I consent to the adjournment, but it is only fair to intimate to honorable members that if they desire, as I hope they do, that we shall finish the session by Christmas, we shall in the future have to sit a little later. It is not, of course, the fault of the Government, any more than it is the fault of honorable members, that the expression of opinion, which is free and untrammelled, takes some time, and we know there has hitherto been no obstruction. That I can frankly say, with thanks for the generosity of those who have not obstructed. Nevertheless, if we do wish to get away to our homes before Christmas, all sides of the House will be with me in seeing that we must sit a little later. I will leave the question of extra days of sitting until I see the result of sitting a little later in the evenings.

Motion agreed to; debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

LATER SITTINGS — ALLEGED THREATENED REBELLION IN QUEENSLAND—JAVANESE AND JAPANESE AT THURSDAY ISLAND.

Motion (by Mr. BARTON) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—As to the suggestion that we should sit a little later at night, I do not think that the progress of business would be facilitated by its adoption. It is utterly impossible for honorable members to read up by parliamentary

papers and to sit here until perhaps after 12 o'clock at night. I enter my protest against what I consider would be an undue strain on the intellects of members if they are expected to sit up all night in order to read parliamentary papers.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—I asked a question at the commencement of the sitting, and got no reply, though I did not expect a reply, seeing that the Minister for Defence was not in the Chamber.

Mr. BARTON.—It was my mistake. I thought the Minister for Defence was behind me, or I should have made some statement in answer to what the honorable member said.

Mr. PAGE.—I desire to ask the Minister of Defence whether he has had his attention drawn to a paragraph from Queensland, which appears in this morning's *Melbourne Age*, referring to an article in the *Pastoralist's Review*, to the effect that responsible men in Queensland are seriously talking of resorting to civil war rather than submit to the expulsion of the *kanaka*. History is repeating itself. This day ten years ago the same gentlemen who are talking about rebellion were asking the Government to send their troops to the west to shoot us; and the Government did send their Gatling guns, their nine-pounders, and their sixteen-pounders, but they did not over-awe us. It is a peculiar thing that these very gentlemen, now that we are in Melbourne, and that it is our defence force, want to make themselves rebels. If such a paragraph as this had appeared in the old country, especially in Ireland, the paper would have been seized, and the writer of the article would have been tried for treason, and sent to Australia, or, now the case, to South Africa. I should like to know whether the Minister for Defence is mobilising the troops so as to have them ready to invade the country before the rebellion arises?

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan—Minister for Defence).—My attention has not been drawn to the statement, nor have I taken any action in the direction indicated by the honorable member.

Mr. BAMFORD (Herbert).—I would like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to a letter I received yesterday from Thursday Island. It is as follows:—

September 23rd, 1901.

Dear Sir,—The large pearling fleet owners held a semi-secret conclave here last week. Partial

results just leaked out. Yesterday Henry Douglas (son of Hon. John Ditto), manager for Bowden Brothers, left here by a passing "tramp" for Batavia to bring down 400 (four hundred) Javanese for (it is understood) Thursday Island pearl fisheries. Mr. J. S. Hocking, manager for James Clark and Company, is to leave here for Japan by the next N.Y.K. steamer, to bring down 500 (five hundred) Japs for Burns, Philp and Company, James Clark and Company, and others to be also used in T.I. pearl fishing. Latter indented three months ago. Make what use you like of this information. *Verb. Sap.*

Yours faithfully.

P.S.—Since writing enclosed, I learn that the Javanese are for New Caledonia, but the Japs are to be smuggled in here on the *pretence* that they are for the sugar plantations.

Has any Executive action been taken to prevent the landing of these people in the event of their coming?

Mr. BARTON.—When are they expected, according to the honorable member's advices?

Mr. BAMFORD.—This letter is dated 23rd September, and as these people were indented three months before, they may arrive at any time.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I was very glad to hear the Minister for Defence give a peaceful answer to the honorable member for Maranoa. I know that, like an old war-horse, the honorable member for Maranoa scents the battle afar off, but I do not think we are going to have any fight. Any attempt to enlist white men in favour of the employment of black labour would not, I think, be successful in Queensland. As to the question put by the honorable member for Herbert, I anticipate no trouble about the Javanese he speaks of, because we find that all the drafts of Javanese that have hitherto arrived, have been intended for New Caledonia. Where they have landed or were intended to be landed in the ports of the Commonwealth, the course I have pursued is to enable the ship-owner to unship them in a convenient place, such as a hulk, and to take a bond that they will pursue the journey to the place for which they are designed. That course has proved successful. With regard to the Japanese, it is a more difficult question. Pending the passage of legislation, honorable members will recollect that there is an agreement, within the Japanese treaty, between the Queensland Government and the Government of Japan—an agreement made under circumstances which received the approval of the

Imperial Government. I do not mean that the agreement received the approval of the Imperial Government, but that the liberty to make it was allowed by the Japanese treaty. That agreement was to the effect that the Japanese Government would restrict the emigration from Japan for Queensland of Japanese subjects to an extent which would replace only the existing number, so that the new arrivals would not exceed the departures from Queensland.

Mr. McDONALD.—Yes; that was the agreement.

Mr. BARTON.—I have some reason to suppose, from figures I have seen, that more Japanese have arrived annually in Queensland than have left that State. That, perhaps, has not gone on to any serious extent, and it certainly has not occurred during the last two or three years. For the last three years or thereabouts, the departures have exceeded the arrivals. It is only fair to Queensland to make that statement.

Mr. McDONALD.—The departures have exceeded the arrivals by about 1,000.

Mr. BARTON.—These arrivals are, no doubt, under that agreement, and we cannot and will not interfere with the operation of the agreement until our legislation takes effect. When it does take effect, it may be a serious question for us to consider to what extent we can interfere with the agreement. If we had passed our Bill in the form which the honorable member for Bland desired, instead of in the form which it now assumes, the same question would have arisen. So far as this Government is concerned, we shall make a most strenuous effort to see that our legislation prevails. It will prevail in its present condition, so far as this agreement is concerned, just as much as it would have done if passed in the form proposed by the honorable member for Bland. It would be idle for me to deny that such a large influx as 500 Japanese is a matter of no concern to the House or to the Ministry. All that I can say is that until our legislation is passed we cannot interfere with the operation of the agreement which exists.

Mr. WATSON.—Who has the administration of the Act in Queensland to insure that the agreement is not contravened?

Mr. BARTON.—The Queensland Government.

Mr. WATSON.—Do not the Commonwealth Government oversee it?

Mr. BARTON.—Until we pass legislation no one else can do it. That was one of the reasons which impressed me with the advisability of getting something on the statute-book as soon as possible.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.34 p.m.

Senate.

Thursday, 10 October, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITIONS.

Senator CHARLESTON presented a petition from the South Australian Conference of the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Church, praying that the Senate would reject the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill.

Senator Major GOULD presented a petition from the Standing Committee of the Synod of the Church of England for the Diocese of Sydney, containing a similar prayer.

Petitions received and read.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Several times lately, Sir, senators have found it necessary to refer to *May's Parliamentary Practice*, and they have had to send into the Library for a copy. I venture to suggest that it would be a very great convenience to honorable senators if two or three copies of *May* and *Bourinot* were placed within the Chamber.

The PRESIDENT.—I quite agree with the honorable senator that we ought to have in the Chamber copies of all the standard books of reference on parliamentary practice, including not only *May* and *Bourinot*, but also *Todd*, *Cushing*, *Jefferson*, and other books of a similar nature. With the approbation of the Senate, I shall see that the books are procured. There is one difficulty, and that is, where are we to put them?

Senator O'CONNOR.—In a stand on the table.

The PRESIDENT.—The table is pretty well encumbered. We have room on the left of the chair, and I shall see what can be done. It has also been suggested—and I think it ought to be done—that we should have copies of the statutes of the States in the Chamber. The same difficulty crops up there; but I shall endeavour to make the necessary arrangements.

MILITARY SENATORS.

Senator HIGGS.—In view of the talk of rebellion in the *Pastoralists' Review*, does the Vice-President of the Executive Council know of anything in the State Acts which would prevent the Commonwealth from utilizing the services of the military senators—Major Gould, Lt.-Col. Neild, and Lt.-Col. Sargood—to preserve its integrity?

Senator Major GOULD.—What about the buccaneers?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I am on the retired list.

Senator O'CONNOR. — I think the honorable senator should give notice of a question of that sort.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

In Committee—(Consideration of amendments of House of Representatives resumed from 9th October, *vide* page 5799).

Clause 27 (Registration of newspapers).

Senator DRAKE (Queensland—Postmaster-General).—The House of Representatives has made several amendments in this clause. The clause, as it left the Senate, provided that the proprietor of a newspaper should register at the office of the Deputy Postmaster-General, and that the Deputy Postmaster-General might at any time refuse to register or remove from the register any newspaper which contained certain objectionable matter. It is considered that that would put rather too much power in the hands of the Deputy Postmaster-General, and would not sufficiently protect the rights of the newspaper proprietor. Therefore the clause has been amended so that the Deputy Postmaster-General shall have no power to refuse to register, but that if anything of an objectionable nature is published he may call upon the proprietor to show cause why the newspaper should not be removed from the register. After that the name may be removed, but an appeal is allowed to a justice of the

High Court or a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State.

Senator Major GOULD.—Where is the clause providing for the appeal?

Senator DRAKE.—Perhaps it will be convenient if I read clause 27 as amended—

(1) The proprietor, printer, or publisher of any newspaper may at such time and in such form, and with such particulars as may be prescribed, upon payment of a fee of 5s., register it at the General Post Office of any State, and the Deputy Postmaster-General of such State may from time to time, subject to appeal as herein-after mentioned, revise the register, and may call upon the proprietor, printer, or publisher of any publication a posted copy of which contains indecent or obscene matter, or which, by reason of the proportion of advertisements to other matter therein, or for any other reason is not within the description aforesaid, to show cause why such publication should not be removed from the register, and if sufficient cause be not shown he may remove it accordingly, and any publication for the time being on the register shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed a registered newspaper.

(2) No publication which after the expiration of one month from the commencement of this Act is tendered for transmission at any post office in the Commonwealth shall be sent by post as a newspaper, unless the provisions of this section have been complied with.

(3) Any Deputy Postmaster-General may refuse to transmit or deliver any issue of a publication if such issue contains indecent or obscene matter.

(4) Any posted newspaper found to contain indecent or obscene matter may be destroyed by order of the Postmaster-General.

(5) No action shall be brought against the Postmaster-General or any officer of the department for anything done or purporting to be done under the provisions of this section, but any person aggrieved by anything done or purporting to be done by the Postmaster-General or a Deputy Postmaster-General under this section may appeal to a Justice of the High Court or to a Judge of a Supreme Court of a State by summons or petition in a summary manner. The Justice or Judge may decide whether the action taken under this section was justified in law or in fact, and may make such order as to restoration to the register or otherwise as to him may seem just and may award damages and costs or either in this direction.

(6) All unregistered or irregularly posted newspapers, and all newspapers having any matter which is not a supplement accompanying them, shall be treated as packets.

The clause as amended provides that, instead of the Deputy Postmaster-General having the power of striking a newspaper off the register, he can only call upon the proprietor to show cause. If the proprietor does not show sufficient cause, the newspaper may be struck off the register, but subject to an appeal to a justice of the High Court, or to a Judge of the Supreme Court,

by summons or petition. There are one or two other alterations. The words "seditious" and "blasphemous" have been struck out. The reason is that it is extremely difficult to define what is "seditious" or "blasphemous." The House of Representatives deem it sufficient to retain the words "obscene or indecent matter." The clause has been practically re-drawn in consequence of the amendments made; but though these are numerous, there is no other amendment of substance to which I need call attention.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—As I understand, the clause now provides that this power may be exercised only in respect of any publication containing indecent or obscene matter; but a publication may contain slanderous, libellous, or seditious matter.

Senator DRAKE.—The alteration is in striking out the two words "seditious" and "blasphemous."

Senator Major GOULD. — For what reason?

Senator DRAKE.—So far as I can judge from the reports, because there is a very great difficulty in defining what is "seditious" and what is "blasphemous."

Senator WALKER.—We know what "sedition" is, surely!

Senator DRAKE.—Every one knows that certain expressions are seditious, but it is extremely difficult to take any particular expression that is on the border line and say whether it is seditious or not. I move—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives inserting before the word "revise" the words "subject to appeal as hereinafter mentioned."

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales). — I think the committee may well agree that the particular amendment now under discussion is an improvement on the clause as it left the Senate. There was a great deal of difficulty raised by a number of honorable senators with regard to placing such uncontrolled power in the hands of the Deputy Postmaster-General without any appeal to a Justice of the High Court of Australia, or a Judge of any Supreme Court. But this appeal has now been given, and I think the clause has been amended in a right direction.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It was subject to appeal before.

Senator Major GOULD. — Not so clearly. The clause calls upon a

man whose newspaper is alleged to contain obscene or indecent matter to show cause, and if he is removed from the register he may appeal. I should like to say a few words with regard to the omission of the words "seditious" and "blasphemous." There was a great deal of uneasy feeling, if I may so express it, amongst honorable senators as to how those words would be interpreted. Once it is made perfectly clear and certain that the interpretation is not to be left in the hands of a Government official, but will be, if necessary, in the hands of a Judge of the High Court or a Supreme Court Judge in any State, we safeguard the newspaper proprietors and the public generally. It would be a very reasonable thing to re-insert the words "seditious" and "blasphemous" and then accept the whole clause in its amended form. By that means we should agree to the amendment inserted by the other House with regard to the revision of the register being only made after notice has been given to the proprietor of the paper to show cause why his journal should not be removed. Then there is a further provision that if an officer says that a certain paragraph is seditious or blasphemous, the newspaper proprietor shall have a right to appeal from that official to a Judge. We know perfectly well that our Judges are placed in such a position that they are absolutely free from any pressure that might be brought to bear upon them. In fact, no man would attempt to influence a Judge of one of our Supreme Courts. By this means we shall protect the newspaper people and the public. It would be a dangerous thing to say that a newspaper containing seditious or blasphemous matter should be allowed to be transmitted through the post. To do so would be to outrage the susceptibilities of a large section of the public, and to gratify a certain amount of malicious feeling that may exist amongst a few people in the community. We should be doing an intense injury to the community at large by allowing the Post-office to be used for the transmission of matter of that description.

Senator DAWSON.—The most insulting matter can be put upon a post-card.

Senator Major GOULD.—I agree with the honorable senator, but that is safeguarded by another clause of the Bill. This clause only deals with newspapers, and I hold that if the words "seditious" and "blasphemous" are reinserted, we shall be

safeguarding the general public, and not injuring newspaper proprietors. It will be perfectly safe to leave it to a Judge of the High Court or of any Supreme Court to determine whether matter is "seditious" or "blasphemous" if there is any doubt about it.

Senator MCGREGOR.—A Judge of the Supreme Court cannot determine that any better than any one else.

Senator Major GOULD.—The honorable senator might as well say that a Judge cannot decide any matter that comes before him better than any one else. We must have some tribunal to decide such points, and if we are not satisfied to allow them to be determined by the deputy Postmaster-General, we shall be absolutely safe in leaving them to be decided by a Judge. This power of appeal will make the Deputy Postmaster-General more cautious than he would otherwise be, because it will be known that the exercise of the power conferred by the clause will be subject to consideration at the hands of the highest tribunal in the Commonwealth, the High Court of Justice. If we cannot trust a Judge of the High Court or of a Supreme Court to deal with matters of this kind, we are in a very parlous state indeed.

Motion agreed to.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) proposed—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives omitting the words "seditious, blasphemous," be agreed to.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—I shall vote against the omission of these words for the reasons I have just stated.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I hope the amendment of the House of Representatives will be agreed to. I hold no brief for any one who would attempt to distribute through the Post-office blasphemous or seditious matter. But there is considerable difficulty in determining what is seditious or blasphemous. While, as the honorable and learned senator has said, it will be safer to leave the exercise of this power in the hands of a Judge, nevertheless a certain amount of inconvenience and damage may be done to a newspaper proprietor before the matter comes before the Judge. The Deputy Postmaster-General can call upon a newspaper proprietor to show cause why his paper should not be removed from the register on the ground that "seditious" or "blasphemous" matter

has appeared in it. The proprietor will thereby be put to expense on account of what may be an unfounded suspicion on the part of the Deputy Postmaster-General. I do not know whether in that case the Judge would award costs against the Post-office. His power enables the Deputy-Postmaster-General to persecute a newspaper proprietor by calling upon him to show cause why a certain edition of his paper should not be treated as containing "seditious" and "blasphemous" matter, and why he should not be liable to the penalty of having his name removed from the register of newspapers. A wide interpretation is sometimes placed on these words. What is "blasphemous" to one section of the community is not to another. To some extent the same remark applies to the word "seditious." After all, can we not rely on the good judgment of the people who keep these papers in circulation. If a paper uses seditious and blasphemous language will it not damage itself? This is grandmotherly legislation, which will not have the effect intended. I have sufficient confidence in the people of Australia to believe that any newspaper that uses such language within the meaning of this clause will be so treated by the people as to make it unprofitable for it to be published. I trust that the committee will agree to the amendment made by the House of Representatives.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I hope we shall adhere to our previous decision, and not agree to the omission of these words. Senator Pearce says that we can rely upon the people. The people are right enough, but the minds of young persons could be easily poisoned and ruined were we to allow blasphemous and seditious stuff to go abroad. I think that to do so would be a danger and a menace to the welfare of the young of the community.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Can the honorable senator give us any definition of what "seditious" is?

Senator FRASER.—I am quite willing to leave that to the Postmaster-General or a Judge, or to both. But I say that it is unsafe and dangerous to the welfare of the community to allow such stuff to be circulated broadcast. When it is said that we can rely on the people it must be remembered that the people, in the aggregate, do not take action. I should be quite willing to trust people of mature age, but we dare

not, and ought not, to trust children in this matter. Why are children sent to school, and kept under discipline from their infancy to womanhood and manhood? Is it not in order to discipline and train their minds, and where shall we be if we allow this kind of matter to be circulated to counteract that training and discipline? I hope we shall do what is right in this case. There will be no danger to the community if we follow on the lines upon which the old country, and every other country whose history is worth talking about, have gone.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—I am surprised that we should be asked to accept this amendment. There is or is not such a thing as sedition in the world, and surely a Judge of the Supreme Court knows what sedition is. I believe that every member of the committee knows it, and if an article is seditious, we should not allow it to go through the post-office. With regard to the word "blasphemous" there may be a difference of opinion, but we shall, I think, be safe in keeping that word in also. We have seen something which was very like a rebellion in a part of Australia before now, and we may see such a thing again. I hope we shall adhere to our previous decision in this matter.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—In my opinion we should adhere to our decision, so far as the word "seditious" is concerned. Sedition is a term which is very well known, and there is no possibility of misunderstanding it. In this respect I think the alteration made by the House of Representatives is a distinct weakening of the protection we give to the community. I am in very much greater doubt as to the other word, because what is religion to-day, may be blasphemy to-morrow. About 50 years ago Darwin wrote his *Origin of the Species*, and if this provision had been in force, that famous work would have been held to be "blasphemous." Every Bishop in the land, and every dissenting clergyman too, would have agreed that it was abominable and blasphemous. We should not only have had Darwin, but also Huxley in gaol—a most religious man in reality, but not religious according to the religiosity of certain people. We should have had all the greatest intellects of enlightened humanity during the last 40 or 50 years wiped out by a term. I am prepared to move an amendment if necessary, but

before doing so I ask the Postmaster-General to insist upon the word "seditious," but not to insist upon the word "blasphemous."

Senator HIGGS.—Will the honorable and learned senator give us a definition of sedition?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—No. In an hour and a half or two hours I might be able to give a fair idea of what sedition is, but nobody knows what it is better than Senator Higgs. I understand sedition to be something against the good order of the community. I consider that sedition and conspiracy are practically co-equal terms.

Senator PEARCE.—Would the honorable and learned senator call the free-trade meeting held this morning seditious?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Certainly not, though probably the Government would take the view that it was a highly improper meeting. "Sedition" is a well-known term, and it means defiance of good order and Government, and is very much the same as conspiracy. "Blasphemous" is a term which has to be applied to the local beliefs of the moment, and there what might be true to-day might be wrong to-morrow in the equal opinion of the whole of the people.

Senator DRAKE.—I think really that it is almost as difficult to define "sedition" as it is to define "blasphemy." That has been shown by the speech of Senator Downer. The honorable and learned senator has said that he is not prepared at the present time to tell us what is "sedition." It has to be borne in mind that if the proprietor of a newspaper is guilty of sedition he can be got at in some other way. The only question arising here is as to whether he shall be punished by this method of striking his paper off the public register.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I hope the committee will support the amendment made by the House of Representatives. The word "seditious" is a word of very elastic meaning. What may be sedition to-day may be quite the opposite to-morrow.

Senator FRASER.—Each generation will decide for itself.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Political events sometimes move so quickly that it does not take a generation to make changes. In times of political strife and change, a statement might be considered seditious which a

few months later might be regarded as perfectly innocent. We might never have such things occurring in Australia as have occurred in the United States of America, but it is possible that they may occur. What was sedition before the American revolution was quite a different thing a few months after the revolution.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—No; it was the same thing, only the Government was different.

Senator DE LARGIE.—As a matter of definition it was different. I hold that we should stand by the amendment of the House of Representatives. Certainly very little danger or harm can follow from it.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion (by Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER) proposed—

That the amendment be amended by the omission of the word “seditious.”

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—If I had to choose between the two words, I should prefer to retain the word blasphemous. I can well believe that on some occasions a newspaper proprietor may find it necessary in his opinion to write an article against the King, or against some vice-regal personage, and while it may not be very seditious it may be deemed to be so by the Postmaster-General. Again, if some enthusiastic journalist were to write a seditious article, and it were to be circulated throughout the Commonwealth by means of the Post-office, I cannot believe that the same harm would accrue as from the circulation in the same way of a filthy, blasphemous article which would, as Senator Fraser very forcibly put it, besmirk the minds of the children of the community. I should prefer that seditious should be left out rather than blasphemous, and I shall, therefore, vote against Senator Downer’s amendment.

Senator O’KEEFE (Tasmania).—I hope the committee will accept the amendment made by another place. When this question was before us on a previous occasion I was one of those who voted for striking out the words “seditious and blasphemous,” and I am still of opinion that they should be omitted. It can readily be imagined that their retention in the Bill would be an interference with the liberty of the press.

Senator Major GOULD.—With the licence of the press.

Senator O’KEEFE.—I anticipated that interjection. I do not believe in a licensed

press, nor would I allow it to be circulated through the Post-office. We shall be taking a backward step in this age of progress and enlightenment by insisting upon the retention of these words. Senator Downer has well pointed out the difficulty of defining the word “blasphemous.” I am sorry he did not refer also to the difficulty which surrounds the definition of the word “seditious.” I think we might leave it to the common sense of the Australian public not to support any newspaper which circulates seditious, blasphemous, obscene, or indecent matter. I am not exactly in favour of allowing the words “indecent and obscene” to remain in the Bill, but it would be far easier for the Postmaster-General to determine what is indecent and obscene than to decide what is seditious or blasphemous. I objected to the retention of the words “seditious and blasphemous” before, and my objection is equally strong to-day.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—As there seems to be some difficulty with regard to the interpretation of these words, I may point out to the committee that they are defined in “Wharton’s *Law Lexicon*,” which may very well be accepted as an authority. The definition given of the word “blasphemy” is as follows:—

An offence against God and religion, by denying to the Almighty His being and Providence, or by contumelious reproaches of our Saviour Christ. Also all profane scoffing at the Holy Scripture, and exposing it to contempt and ridicule.

Senator PEARCE.—What religion is referred to?

Senator Major GOULD.—The Christian religion, I presume. Then the definition of the word “sedition” given by “Wharton’s *Law Lexicon*” is as follows:—

An offence against the Crown and Government, not capital, and not amounting to treason. All contempts against the Sovereign and the Government, and riotous assemblies for political purposes, may be ranked under the head of sedition.

It would be definitions of this character which the postal authorities would give, subject to appeal to the High Court or Supreme Court, in cases of this kind.

Senator O’KEEFE.—The greater the danger, therefore, in placing such power in the hands of the Postmaster-General.

Senator Major GOULD.—As the law stands to-day a man is liable to punishment for sedition or blasphemy. That being the case, honorable senators may ask why

we should interfere with a newspaper. My reply to such an argument is that if these are offences against the State, the Government should not be the means of disseminating them broadcast throughout the country when committed through the medium of a newspaper. If we say it is a crime for a man to be guilty of sedition, then by what process of reasoning can we justify the demand that the Postmaster-General should spread sedition over the country. The same argument applies to blasphemy. If blasphemy is a crime, how can we say that the Government should spread a blasphemous publication all over the Commonwealth?

Senator PEARCE.—We do not say that. We ask—"What is blasphemy or sedition?"

Senator Major GOULD.—I have given the committee a definition. An honorable senator has suggested that by inserting these words in the Bill we shall interfere with the liberty of the press. The interjection that it would be an interference with the licence, and not the liberty, of the press was well justified. Then it is said that the public themselves will be the judges in this matter. Do we not know, however, that at times certain newspapers are guilty of gross sedition and blasphemy, and yet they live, to the disgrace, be it said, of the community in which they exist. I am not going to name any newspapers, but we must recognize that fact. These words constitute no menace to any respectable well-conducted journal which is prepared to expose with no sparing hand abuses that exist in our midst. If honorable senators say it is improper to permit the Postmaster-General to distribute through the Post-office newspapers that contain indecent or obscene matter, how much more justified are they in declaring that seditious or blasphemous publications should not be permitted to go through the post?

Senator GLASSEY.—A definition of indecent and obscene literature can be given, but it is difficult to define what is seditious or blasphemous.

Senator Major GOULD.—I have already shown that there is a definition of these words in existence. If a Deputy Postmaster-General determines to remove a newspaper from the register, and the matter goes on appeal to the High Court or to the Supreme Court, the presiding Judge will not manufacture a definition or a law in order to mete it out to any particular newspaper. He

will take a broad definition and say—"Does this publication come within that provision? If I have any doubts in my mind I will uphold the appeal against the Deputy Postmaster-General."

Senator O'KEEFE.—Let the Judge decide it, and do not let the Deputy Postmaster-General interfere.

Senator Major GOULD.—The Judge does decide. The Deputy Postmaster-General is only the medium by which the case is brought under his notice. He says to the newspaper proprietor, "I want you to show cause why your publication should not be removed from the register because of this seditious matter." Then the proprietor can show cause.

Senator PEARCE.—In the meantime he is being ruined.

Senator Major GOULD.—In the meantime the newspaper is going through the Post-office. If a Deputy Postmaster-General gives a decision with which a newspaper proprietor is dissatisfied, the matter will go at once before a Judge of the High Court or of the Supreme Court, who will determine it according to the liberty of the subject, and not with a view of imposing any artificial restraint.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The circulation of the newspaper through the post is not stopped in the meantime.

Senator Major GOULD.—No, under the clause as it stands, it cannot be removed from the register until the matter has been dealt with finally. That is a big concession to give to a newspaper if the article complained of is really seditious or blasphemous. I admit that fresh copies of the newspaper containing seditious or blasphemous matter might be brought forward as a justification for stopping it.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable and learned senator considers that fresh copies should not be allowed to go through the post.

Senator Major GOULD.—My argument is that we should allow the newspaper to go through the post until it is finally decided by the highest tribunal that it should be removed from the register.

Senator HIGGS.—Why did not the honorable and learned senator help to bring the *Argus* to book for publishing the article on King James the other day?

Senator Major GOULD.—I did not see the article, and I did not consider it was

my business any more than it was that of the honorable senator to take action.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable and learned senator voted against the motion that the editor of the *Argus* should be brought to the bar of the Senate for publishing that article.

Senator Major GOULD.—I voted against the motion as I would vote against any motion placed on the notice paper by an honorable senator for the purpose not only of ridiculing Parliament, but of covering himself with ridicule. I have no desire to put a newspaper in an unfair position, but I have a desire to protect public decency in matters of this kind. I shall always endeavour to do so, but fairly and justly, and with full consideration for the proprietor of the newspaper. I trust that honorable senators will see that it is not unreasonable to ask them to insist on the retention of the words which they declined to omit in the first instance.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—There is one argument which has been addressed to the committee, to which I should like to refer. Senators Pearce and O'Keefe have expressed a desire to have these words, blasphemous and seditious, eliminated because of the faith they have in the common sense and good instincts of the people. That is a very fine sentiment.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is a very true one.

Senator MILLEN.—It is one that is absolutely true, particularly when expressed from a public platform upon the eve of an election. It is one of those things which I have never heard contradicted by any audience to which it was addressed. But the honorable senators who enunciated that sentiment here do not act up to it. They show, by agreeing to the inclusion of certain words in this clause, that they have not got that good faith in the common sense and good instincts of the people which they profess. They decline to believe that people would support a newspaper which contains seditious or blasphemous matter. How much more should they be prepared to believe that the public would decline to support a newspaper publishing indecent or obscene matter? Yet they place a restriction in the Bill against the circulation of obscene or indecent literature. Having provided that restriction, they show at once that they still consider that a portion of the community would be prepared to support a

newspaper of the kind. Therefore, their protestations of belief in the common sense of the community has its limitations. I am of opinion that there is a section of the public which would support newspapers containing seditious or blasphemous matter, just as I believe that there is a section which would support newspapers containing obscene or indecent matter if they could do so. It is for that reason that I propose to support the amendment suggested by Senator Gould.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—The attitude of the Opposition has made me a much firmer believer in the amendment made by the House of Representatives than I was when I last addressed the committee. The position taken up by them reminds me of their inconsistency. A few months ago scandalous references to a deceased monarch of England, which appeared in the *Argus*, were brought under the notice of the Senate. Senator Gould has the audacity to talk of the desire of those who brought the matter forward as ridiculing Parliament and making themselves ridiculous. But I contend that his inconsistency shows how dangerous is the proposition made by him and by certain honorable senators who share his views.

Senator MILLEN.—Did not the honorable senator bring on the motion relating to the article in question as a matter of buffoonery?

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable senator must not discuss that matter.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I only refer to it by way of illustration. I brought on the motion in order to show how a so-called respectable free-trade newspaper could publish sedition when it desired to do so. No doubt such a journal would not be brought to book by our free-trade friends, but if it were the *Bulletin* or *Sydney Truth* that offended—

The CHAIRMAN.—I will ask Senator De Largie not to deal with the free-trade party. That question has nothing to do with the matter before the committee.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I only want to show that if such an article were published in reference to the present monarch of England the Government would not allow it to go through the post; yet it is quite safe for a newspaper to traduce a deceased monarch of England. These respectable loyalists overlook that fact, and try to

cover those with ridicule who brought the matter forward.

Senator MILLEN.—It is not seditious to attack the personal character of a sovereign.

Senator HIGGS.—Of course it is.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I think it is. "Seditious" is a word of such elastic definition that it ought to be knocked out. The word "blasphemous" is also a word of very elastic definition. We are told that it means traducing religion. What religion? I suppose it is the Christian religion which is meant. But what about the highly philosophical religions of other countries? The religions of certain countries can be traduced, but one must be very cautious in speaking of the Christian religion. Supposing that a case of blasphemy came before Chief Justice Madden; what he would look upon as blasphemous no doubt Mr. Justice Williams would consider very harmless. We should be very cautious before we insert a provision of this kind in the Bill.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—I rise to correct a wrong impression which may get abroad from the remarks of Senator Millen. I was rather surprised to hear the honorable senator, who is generally so clear and logical in his remarks, misinterpret what I had said. I believe he did it unintentionally. I ask him to remember that I objected to the words "seditious" and "blasphemous," mainly because of the difficulty which the Postmaster-General would have in determining what was seditious or blasphemous. I do not object to the words "indecent or obscene" remaining in the clause. I was also surprised to hear such a high authority as Senator Millen say that an attack on the personal character of a monarch is not seditious, because, if I remember aright, it is not very long since a Member of Parliament lost his seat through an attack of that character.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—I hope that the committee will agree to the amendment of the other House. Surely if a House of 75 members has calmly reasoned out a question of this kind and come to the conclusion that the words seditious and blasphemous can be eliminated, a Senate of 36 members has no greater right—not even so great a right—to its opinion as that House has, if we agree with the maxim that "in the multitude of counselors there is wisdom." Suppose that Mrs.

Besant delivered a lecture in an Australian capital and that it was reported verbatim in some newspapers. There are persons in the Commonwealth who would consider the lecture the height of blasphemy, and there are Members of this Parliament, too, who would hold that view. But would it be blasphemy?

Senator MILLEN.—She did give lectures and they were fully reported, and she was not prosecuted.

Senator MCGREGOR.—But these words were not in the State law. Do Senators Millen and Gould consider her teachings for the last twenty years blasphemous? There is not a word of blasphemy in them, but there are thousands of persons who have said that they are blasphemous.

Senator FRASER.—A Judge did not say so.

Senator MCGREGOR.—There are some Judges narrow-minded enough to say anything and they have done so. Judges have banished and hanged people in Ireland for saying far less than appears in the newspapers to-day without any notice being taken of them. Again, suppose that a teacher of the Mohammedan religion visited Australia and gave us an idea of the tenets of his religion and that a report of his lecture appeared in some newspapers. No doubt some of the expressions he used would be considered blasphemous, and yet there would be no blasphemy in them. The definition which Senator Gould quoted from Wharton's *Law Lexicon* did not refer to the Christian religion but only to religion. He interpolated the word Christian. I have heard leading men amongst the Brahmins give lectures in Australia and in Glasgow. There are doctrines involved in their teachings which thousands of our Christian friends, even amongst the Judges, would be inclined to call blasphemous from their point of view. But there is no blasphemy in them so far as the Brahmins are concerned. It requires as keen an intellect to understand sedition as it does to understand blasphemy. I remember once being in a very important town in the North of Ireland, and at two different times in the year. When a friend of mine went into one portion of the town, he was asked—"Are you a Lanty," and as soon as he said, "yes," down he went; he was seditious. When he went to another portion of the town to get peace and quietness, he was asked if he was a Tague. He said he was a

Tague, and down he went again; he was seditious. These things occurred in the nineteenth century, and probably will occur in this century. It shows the inclination of narrow-minded people. Surely Senator Fraser does not imagine that the Judges either here or elsewhere have lost all these prejudices? The Lanty might be seditious and the Tague might be seditious. Whenever you come to a question of defining what is or is not your true relationship to your country, your Government, and your creed, if I might refer again to blasphemy, there is a multiplicity of opinion not only in the old world but in Australia. It would be more to the credit of the Senate to leave out of the clause words upon which honorable senators do not all agree. I am sure that Senator Fraser and myself will never agree on some expressions either in respect of sedition or in respect of blasphemy. There is any amount of room in the State Parliament to deal with such situations. I think we had plenty of evidence recently that they are always prepared to act. Therefore I recommend that we agree to the amendment.

Senator CHARLESTON (South Australia).—I am sorry that such warm feeling has been exhibited. From the arguments of honorable senators, it is quite clear that there is almost a unanimous opinion that the word blasphemy might be omitted. The word seditious is not so difficult to define as the word blasphemous. One word deals with spiritual matters, and the other with material matters; and seeing that sedition is practically opposition to the civil law, we might retain that word and omit the other. I know there is sometimes a feeling that even the very active spirits in a strike over labour matters may be charged with being seditious. But I do not think there is any possibility, in a fair strike for better conditions, of any of the actions of the parties concerned being brought under the word seditious, so long as it is a legitimate agitation for better conditions socially or politically. I do not think we shall jeopardize our liberty one bit by retaining the word. We want to prevent a newspaper or a person from using the post-office to stir up an agitation against civil law which may lead the people into an insurrection. In the present state of society, we are perfectly justified in retaining the word "seditious," but I shall support the omission of the word "blasphemous."

Question—That the word proposed to be omitted stand part of the amendment—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 11 |
| Noes | ... | ... | 14 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 3 |

AYES.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | McGregor, G. |
| Dawson, A. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| De Largie, H. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Drake, J. G. | Styles, J. |
| Higgs, W. G. | Teller. |
| Keating, J. H. | O'Keefe, D. J. |

NOES.

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Best, R. W. | Macfarlane, J. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Playford, T. |
| Clemons, J. S. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Dobson, H. | Symon, Sir J. H. |
| Downer, Sir J. W. | Walker, J. T. |
| Ferguson, J. | Teller. |
| Fraser, S. | Millen, E. D. |
| Gould, A. J. | |

Question so resolved in the negative.

Motion agreed to.

Question—That the amendment, as amended, be agreed to—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 14 |
| Noes | ... | ... | 11 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 3 |

AYES.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Dawson, A. | Playford, T. |
| De Largie, H. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Downer, Sir J. W. | Styles, J. |
| Drake, J. G. | Teller. |
| McGregor, G. | Keating, J. H. |
| O'Connor, R. E. | |

NOES.

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Best, R. W. | Macfarlane, J. |
| Clemons, J. S. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Dobson, H. | Symon, Sir J. H. |
| Ferguson, J. | Walker, J. T. |
| Fraser, S. | Teller. |
| Gould, A. J. | Millen, E. D. |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) proposed—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives inserting after the word "aforesaid" the words "to show cause why such publication should not be removed from the register, and if sufficient cause be not shown, he may remove it accordingly."

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—I find a very great difficulty in ascertaining how these amendments fit in with the Bill, through not having a proper copy of

the measure before me. We ought to be able to compare the amendments made by the House of Representatives with the Bill as it was sent up to them.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—I wish to make a personal explanation with regard to the two divisions which have just taken place. I regret not having been able to take part in them, and I make the explanation in order that the matter of which I complain may be rectified. I was called away a little while ago to receive a deputation, and before going I stated to the Postmaster-General that I should be in the waiting-room, and that as soon as the division bell rang I would come in and vote. But there seems to be no bell in the waiting-room. No sound came to me to warn me that any division was about to take place. Otherwise I should have been in my place. Surely it is too bad that honorable senators who are called away to discharge duties in connexion with public matters should not be informed when divisions are about to take place on most important matters. I trust that this defect will be rectified. I strongly object to being excluded from any division through the lack of proper appliances in the waiting-rooms. I resent what has happened very much.

Senator DRAKE.—I can corroborate what Senator Glassey has said with regard to the fact that he informed me that he had been called out of the chamber on important public business. I thought he was within hearing of the division bell, or I should have taken steps to find him.

The CHAIRMAN.—I can assure Senator Glassey that I can quite recognise that the matter of which he has complained requires attention, and I will bring it under the notice of the proper authorities.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—I desire to say that if I had been here I would have voted with the Postmaster-General.

Motion agreed to.

Amendments Nos. 19 and 20 consequentially amended, and agreed to.

Clause 55 (Power in certain cases to refuse to register or deliver letters).

Senator DRAKE.—We are dealing now with the celebrated 55th clause, and the amendments which have been made by the House of Representatives do not alter the sense in any way except with regard to one amendment—the omission of the words “not sanctioned by law.”

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable and learned senator has changed his opinions slightly.

Senator DRAKE.—I have not changed my opinions. These words “not sanctioned by law” were put into the Queensland statute in order that the provisions of the clause might not apply to the case of a lottery, or church bazaar; which had been sanctioned by the Attorney-General. The clause, as we passed it, provided for the interference of the Postmaster-General, if he had reasonable ground to suppose any person to be engaged in the Commonwealth, or elsewhere, in receiving money or any valuable things—

For promoting or carrying on a scheme connected with any such assurance, agreement, or security, or a lottery, or scheme of chance not sanctioned by law, or an unlawful game.

Some of these amendments may be said to be exceedingly hypercritical. I move—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives, omitting the words “if he,” be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

Senator DRAKE.—I have already referred to the subsequent amendment. I move—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives, omitting the words “not sanctioned by law,” be agreed to.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—The Postmaster-General will admit that this amendment raises the original question discussed upon the clause. I do not propose to reopen it. My opinions on the subject are as strong now as when we previously debated it; but I am always willing to give my adherence to the majority, as the voting in this Chamber indicates. I rose to ask a question of the Postmaster-General with respect to the expression “not sanctioned by law.” I pointed out when we were discussing the matter previously that if the Senate wanted the wishes of the majority carried into effect these words “not sanctioned by law” should be left out. The Postmaster-General at the time said he could not agree with me. If I felt that the Postmaster-General were now of the same opinion as he was when we previously discussed the matter I should deem it my duty to urge the committee to restore the words; but I am convinced that the honorable and learned senator, like the rest of us, occasionally makes a mistake, and freely recognises it. I therefore do not propose to move for the restoration of these words. We all know

that this clause 55 aims at suppressing the institution known as Tattersall's, and aims at suppressing what has received the sanction of Tasmanian legislation.

Senator DAWSON.—It aims at all of them.

Senator CLEMONS.—Yes; but it particularly aims at the institution known as "Tattersall's," and I remind Senator Dawson that these very words "not sanctioned by law" have been carefully taken out in another place in order that "Tattersall's" should not be allowed to go on. I do not rise to plead on behalf of "Tattersall's," but I deem it my duty to remind the committee that in this case we are proposing to suppress something that has the legislative sanction of one of the States forming the Commonwealth. I am not demanding compensation in any way, but in the case of private individuals it is generally recognised as a fair business transaction, that before we suppress something which has acquired a vested right, we should at least give some notice to the persons affected. We know that "Tattersall's" has acquired rights sanctioned by the law of the State; and I desire to ask the Postmaster-General if he can give me any indication as to when he proposes to put this clause into force. Before the honorable and learned senator answers the question, I desire to say that I should be satisfied, and, I believe, the State of Tasmania would be satisfied also, if this clause were not enforced until that State had an opportunity of appealing to the Federal High Court. That, I think, is a suggestion which should meet with the support of every honorable senator, however desirous of suppressing "Tattersall's" he may be. It is purely a State question, and if this clause is enforced at once, as it may be, the State laws of Tasmania will be entirely ignored. I submit that it would not be fair treatment to a private individual to suppress him without notice, and I submit that where we are dealing with one of the States forming an integral part of the Commonwealth, it is worthy the serious consideration of every honorable senator who hates gambling, that he should give the State a right of appeal where there is some distinct question of State rights being infringed. This appeal has no reference whatever to gambling, and I am not instigated, in the slightest degree, by any desire to defend the position of the proprietor of these sweeps. In what I am saying I am representing the

State of Tasmania, and I think I may fairly ask that she should be given an opportunity of appealing before the Postmaster-General interferes with her direct legislation.

Senator PLAYFORD.—This is not interfering with her direct legislation. They can go on gambling in Tasmania as much as they like.

Senator CLEMONS.—Senator Playford is much too fair-minded a man to look at the matter from that narrow point of view. The honorable senator knows as well as I do, that it is directly interfering with the State legislation of Tasmania. If the honorable senator does not know it, let me assure him that by this legislation Tasmania is going to lose £15,000 a year. That is taking the very lowest ground, and I am sure Senator Playford is not going to limit his view of the question in the way he has suggested. I am not dealing with the legal aspect as to whether we can stop it, but I do say that in all fairness we should give Tasmania the right of appeal, if she is of opinion that her rights have been infringed.

Senator PEARCE.—We cannot take it away from her.

Senator CLEMONS.—If this is enforced at the present time, Tasmania will have no right of appeal, because there is no court to appeal to. All that I am urging now is that the Postmaster-General should not attempt to enforce the clause until the Federal High Court is established. I am urging this on behalf of my State, and I put it to every honorable senator, however anxious he may be to suppress gambling, whether it is not a fair and rightful thing to give Tasmania an opportunity of appealing directly this clause is put into force. If it is put into force before the High Court is established, the legislative action of the State will have been interfered with without giving her an opportunity of redress, even though her demand for redress may be based upon solid grounds. If the Postmaster-General will give me an assurance to that effect, I shall say no more. I have deemed it necessary to draw the attention of the committee to the existing state of affairs, and to remind honorable senators that if the clause is passed as it stands, and enforced, Tasmania will have no right of appeal. "Tattersall" will be suppressed at once, and Tasmania will have no opportunity of making a formal and legal protest.

Senator DRAKE.—With regard to the earlier remarks made by Senator Clemons, my frame of mind corresponds with his own. I am prepared to bow loyally to the views of the majority in regard to the amendment omitting the words—"Not sanctioned by law." I pointed out before that they are in the Queensland statute, and that they were placed in this Bill in order that the provisions of this clause should not apply to a bazaar or art union lottery, for charitable purposes, which had been expressly sanctioned by the Attorney-General. I admit that it seems somewhat inconsistent that one lottery should be exempted while another is not. At the same time, my feeling has been that if these particular lotteries can be exempted without violating any principle, it is advisable to do so. The House of Representatives have, however, omitted these words, and I am bound to admit that the clause is more logical without them. I am prepared to consent to the amendment. As to the second matter referred to by Senator Clemons, all I can say is that I propose to ask the committee to insert "the 1st of December" in clause 1, as the date on which this Bill shall come into operation. What departmental action will be taken after that it is impossible for me to say, because I may not be in office. If the 1st December is fixed upon as the date upon which the measure shall come into operation, I shall then be able to frame a resolution, and it will become competent for the Postmaster-General of the day to insert a notice in the *Gazette* in the terms prescribed by this clause.

Senator Major GOULD.—Until that notice appears no action can be taken.

Senator DRAKE.—No. As I am advised at the present time, it will be competent for the Postmaster-General to publish a notice in the *Gazette*, setting forth that letters addressed to a certain person or name shall not be delivered after a certain date. The notice may be put in the *Gazette*, to take effect at a later date. I believe that can be done under the clause as it stands. Of course, it is impossible for me to say what action will be taken by the Postmaster-General.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—As one of the representatives of Tasmania, I desire to say that I do not agree entirely with my honorable and learned friend,

Senator Clemons, that the whole of Tasmania wish to have proceedings taken in this matter with a view of testing it on appeal. I certainly think, however, that as Tasmania is to be deprived in this way of so much revenue, it is only fair that the Commonwealth should compensate her to the extent of the loss incurred.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Compensate her for encouraging gambling?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Surely the honorable senator does not think that Tasmania should be compensated because the power of vice is taken away from her.

Senator MACFARLANE.—That is the honorable and learned senator's opinion.

Senator Major GOULD.—The business only went to Tasmania after it had been driven out of every other State.

Senator MACFARLANE.—All that I wish to say is that I think it is fair that Tasmania should receive some compensation.

Motion agreed to.

Clause 78 (Postmaster-General to have exclusive rights in respect of telegraphs).

Senator DRAKE.—I move—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives inserting after the word "railways" the following words—"and (b) the owners of any railway or tramway may maintain for the time and to the extent authorized by any State Act any telegraph lines which were erected before the commencement of this Act in pursuance of rights conferred by any State Act, and which are required for the working of the railway or tramway."

This perhaps is rather important. We come now to the telegraph clauses of the Bill, and it is right that the amendments should be understood before they are passed. The new paragraph inserted by the House of Representatives has probably been introduced because of the powers that have been given, mostly by the Queensland Government to private companies to work telegraph lines in connexion with their own railways and tramways. It seems to me to be reasonable that where such powers have been conferred by State Acts they should be continued under the Commonwealth. I do not see that in taking over the Post and Telegraph department we can claim the power to interfere with rights which have been conferred on those companies under State Acts.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—I should like to point out to the Postmaster-General that the amendment

requires some amendment in order to make it perfectly clear. It provides that—

The owners of any railway or tramway may maintain for the time, and to the extent authorized by any State Act any telegraph lines which were erected before the commencement of this Act.

These companies have power under the State Acts to erect telegraph lines, and some may be in course of erection at the time of the coming into operation of the measure. Therefore, I would suggest that the amendment be amended, so as to read that the owners of these railways or tramways may maintain the lines, which were erected before—

Or may be erected after the commencement of this Act in pursuance of the rights conferred by any State Act passed prior to the coming into operation of this Act.

Senator DRAKE.—That would apply to telegraph lines erected under the authority of any future Act. I will ask leave to withdraw my motion, and to postpone the consideration of the amendment so that I may look into it. I quite agree with the principle suggested by Senator Gould.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment postponed.

Clause 83—

A person so authorized may whenever it is necessary for continuing or completing a telegraph line cause a wire or cord to be supported by affixing or annexing the same to in or upon through or against any part of a house building or other structure in a city town or village.

Senator DRAKE.—I move—

That the committee disagree with the amendment of the House of Representatives omitting the words "in or."

This is a very important amendment. Although it looks very simple, it means a great deal so far as it affects the carrying out of the work of supplying telephone communication. In a great many cases it is necessary for the department to pass its wires through a building, and more particularly through cellars in connexion with the underground system, and it will cause an immense amount of inconvenience and loss if we have to go round an intervening building in all cases in order to reach the premises to which it is proposed to take the wires. It is no hardship to the proprietor of the intervening building for the department to take the wires through the basement or the cellar. The provision has never caused any inconvenience where it has been

in operation, but it has been amended in such a way as to deprive us of the opportunity of going through a building if desired.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Quite right too.

Senator DRAKE.—I know that is the honorable senator's view, because he expressed it when the matter was before us on a previous occasion. I only desire to point out, on the authority of the officers of my department, that the amendment of the clause in this way will cause a very great deal of inconvenience.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—The department can carry its wires over buildings.

Senator DRAKE.—We could not do that with a cable. We are introducing the underground system, and to carry a cable containing probably 100 wires over a building would involve an enormous expenditure. Surely it is much better that we should be able to take the wires through the cellar or basement of any intervening building.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—I entirely disagree with the Postmaster-General. It is quite right that permission should be given to the department to attach their wires to buildings, but it is a different thing altogether to allow the wires or cables to be carried through private buildings. Such a course would not only cause inconvenience, but would carry with it the right of the officers of the department to go through the premises at all reasonable times in order to see if the wires were in repair. It might seriously interfere with the title to a property. Such a power is not taken in London. There all the wires are carried over or along and not through buildings. I would give the department every legitimate assistance in carrying out its work for the benefit of the community, but we should not interfere unnecessarily with private rights.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—I think that the omission of the words "in or" would destroy the ordinary meaning of the clause, to say nothing of the principle involved. It would make the clause absolutely nonsensical. It is not readable or acceptable in its present form. But, coming to the principle, why should the Minister and his officers be hampered in their desire to serve the public?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Why should he go through private property?

Senator GLASSEY. — No property should stand in the way of the public good. That principle must be insisted upon in all legislation without attempting to confiscate property. It is clearly the duty of a proprietor to give way to the Postmaster-General in order that the public weal may be served. Senator Sargood says that the authorities do not ask for this power in Great Britain. I should be sorry indeed to see the proprietary rights of Australia placed on all fours with the proprietary rights of Great Britain. I know Great Britain very well, and the enormous power which the property owners wield in legislation and elsewhere. In our legislation the rights of property must in no way stand against the rights of the people, and if it be necessary that the Postmaster-General should fix a wire upon, through, on, or over a property, then private rights must give way. At the same time if it be necessary to give reasonable compensation, that is another matter.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL (Victoria). — I am entirely with Senator Sargood in this matter. If the word "over" is retained instead of the word "in," it will answer all the purposes of the department. There is no case on record of an electric cable going through a man's house. In the neighbourhood of Malvern, about twelve months ago, a young lad had seen something pitch on the wire. Boy-like he clambered up to endeavour to take it down. His hands happened to be wet, and in catching hold of the wire he destroyed the insulation. It was impossible for him to leave go. He was killed on the wire; his hands were positively roasted. The telephone wire is not placed in my house, but on the top of the roof, and comes down to the proper place where the machinery is put. That is all the Minister requires power to do here.

Senator DRAKE. — We want to take our cables through.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL. — Then the Minister should not get that power, because if a wire is taken through a building, and is not properly cared for, it is dangerous to human life. There seems to be no reason to have a wire going through a building. Can the Minister cite one case where a wire goes through a building? If he can, it should receive proper consideration. We do not object to telegraph wires being laid

through private gardens and cutting off angles and crossing streets, but the Postmaster-General should stop there. We should, at any rate, prevent him going into a dwelling-house with a dangerous wire which might cause the death of some person.

Senator DRAKE. — I think Senator Zeal did not hear my explanation, because he has been speaking entirely of aerial wires. The difficulty does not occur there at all. When the ordinary cables are run up to a height, and distributed from there and become aerial wires, we can take them over a house just as well as through it. The officers tell me that this power is necessary in order, where we have the wires underground already, we may take them through the cellar of a house or underneath the house, in order to reach any other. We are responsible for the safety of the wires. It is almost unthinkable that when we have these cables underground with perhaps 100 wires in a cable, we should have to raise them above ground, carry them over one house, take them down again, and then bring them underneath the street.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL. — Where does that happen? I have not heard of one case.

Senator DRAKE. — It has not happened. The wires have been taken through buildings, and no difficulty has ever arisen.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD. — Has it been done in Queensland?

Senator DRAKE. — Certainly, and it gives no trouble. It simply enables the department to get their wires taken by the shortest possible route and in the safest way to the place where they have to be distributed.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL. — Why don't they go round the street?

Senator DRAKE. — If the department wants to take a cable to a big building in order to distribute the wires, and there is another building right in its way, surely it is a most sensible thing to take it through the cellar or under the building, instead of taking it all round the street.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD. — Is it intended that it should be buried in the cellar?

Senator DRAKE. — It may be buried or put up against the wall. I have seen the cables carried through in that way in Brisbane. If any damage is done, compensation is given to the individual, and no harm is done.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—What about the risk of fire ?

Senator DRAKE.—There is no risk of fire.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Not with 2,000 volts in your wire ?

Senator DRAKE.—That means telephones.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It means both.

Senator DRAKE.—It is for our telephone system. We are not an electric lighting company, or a traction company. We are not using wires with enormous currents of electricity, which can set anything on fire. We are only using wires with very weak currents.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—They are short circuit very often, and might get hot.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not think there is any danger.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—I wish to ask the Postmaster-General whether the department would have any difficulty in taking a cable round a house in ordinary water-pipes ? Every house has a water-pipe, but the main is not taken under a dwelling. I do not see why the Post and Telegraph department should want more power than a municipal council has.

Senator DRAKE.—When the telephone system is laid on to every house, and every proprietor has to pay, whether he wants the service or not, the same as he has to do for his water, no doubt we shall be able to run cables all round the streets to every man's door. We want this power, not for the telegraph system, but for the telephone system. Supposing that a large building is put up, and that a number of persons there desire to be connected with the Exchange, they may want a dozen wires laid on to the building. We wish to take the wires in a cable by the shortest route through private property. If they are aerial wires, the difficulty will not occur, because then we can attach them to the building, and go by the shortest route. But if we can get them underground, which we are trying to do as much as possible, we claim that we should be allowed to take them by the most direct route.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—The Postmaster-General might allow these words to be struck out, because as long as the word "through" remains in the clause he will accomplish all he really wants. It

is wise for us to meet the wishes of the House of Representatives in every way we can.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—The telephone business can be very well carried on without giving this power to the department. It is a dangerous power to give. It may be all very well in Queensland, where there are many buildings that are erected on piles 10 or 12 feet high. One can drive a cart and horse under some of them.

Senator GLASSEY.—The principal buildings in Rockhampton and Brisbane are not built on piles.

Senator FRASER.—A good many of them are, and it is a good practice in hot countries. Such a power as this may be applicable in cases where goats and cattle are allowed to browse under buildings. It does not matter about running an electric wire through under such circumstances. But it would not be applicable to buildings such as those erected in the city of Melbourne.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—I must again impress upon the committee the undesirableness of this clause. Senator Drake suggests that it is necessary in some cases to take a wire through a building. To show how undesirable that would be in many cases in Melbourne let me take my own case. First of all, the wire would have to be taken through foundations 4 feet thick. It is not an easy matter to punch a hole through masonry of that thickness. Then the Postmaster-General says that the cable would be taken through the cellar. It would have to be either buried under the ground or fastened to the walls. In either case when repairs are needed it will necessitate workmen entering the buildings at all reasonable times. That in itself is not desirable. In addition, there is a certain amount of danger. I admit that it is not as dangerous as if the wires were used for electric lighting purposes ; but still, if repairs are needed the repairers will have to use braziers, and all these things tend to increase the risk of fire. We have sufficient risks at present, in the city of Melbourne at all events, without adding to them ; and it is not fair that property should be interfered with in the way proposed. I do not think this power is needed. I venture to say that there is not a single building in Melbourne in regard to which it is needed. If such a power can

be dispensed with in connexion with the enormous telephonic system of London, surely it is not needed for the Commonwealth.

Senator DRAKE.—We are continually being pressed to adopt the underground system, and we all admit that that would be better. I am informed by the officers of the department that, if an underground telephone system is to be adopted at moderate expense, we must have the right to go through buildings with our wires.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL (Victoria).—I will mention to the Postmaster-General a case in point, so far as his own department is concerned. There is a post-office in connexion with the Stock Exchange in Collins-street, Melbourne. The department rents the office from the Stock Exchange proprietary, and there are wires running into the building connecting it with the telephonic system. Would the Postmaster-General contend that it is necessary to burrow underneath that large building in order to take a wire to Queen-street, just round the corner?

Senator MCGREGOR.—The department would not do that; the honorable senator does not understand it.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—It is my business to understand matters of this kind, and I say that the power asked for is not necessary at all. What is the use of spending money when there is no necessity for it? What is the use of making a nuisance of the telephone system? It is not desirable that a cable should be put through any man's house, whereby his children and family will be liable to be maimed for life. Honorable senators know very well that the law prevents a man from keeping gunpowder or other explosives in his house, but they are not half so dangerous as an electric cable.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Oh!

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Let the honorable senator put his hand on an electric wire and get a shock. If he does, it will be a long while before we see him in his seat again. Apparently some honorable senators do not understand the force of the current that runs along these wires. Is it desirable that people should be subject to such risks when there is no necessity for it? I am in favour of giving the department every facility that is required, but I would not go further than that.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—I do not like to have any misunderstanding with Senator Zeal, who is always so genial. When I said that he did not understand something, he was referring to burrowing under a large building like the Stock Exchange when it would be easy to go round. It is very often cheaper to go round a building than through it. What the Postmaster-General wants is that the department shall have a choice. He wants to do whatever would be best in the interests of the department and of the public. He does not mean that in every instance where a telephone wire has to be taken from one place to another the department is going to burrow under a building. That in some cases may be the most expensive way of doing the work. The cheapest method will always be followed. With respect to the great harm that some honorable senators fear is going to be done, I reply that in the first place a child cannot receive a shock unless that child is burrowing in the cellar, doing something that it ought not to be doing. Moreover, the wires would be properly insulated. It is all nonsense to talk of the matter as being dangerous simply because a boy once climbed up a telegraph pole and was killed—probably by lightning. If there is such danger in connexion with the use of telephones, we ought to do away with the civilizing influences which these instruments exert. Judging from the way the subject has been discussed, one would think that for the next 50 years the Telegraph department was going to do very little else except make rabbit holes between one building and another. I maintain that the provision is in the interest of the public, and I trust the committee will negative the amendment made by the House of Representatives.

Question.—That the amendment be disagreed with—put.

The committee divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 17 |
| Noes | ... | ... | 6 |
| — | | | |
| Majority | ... | ... | 11 |

AYES.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | Higgs, W. G. |
| Best, R. W. | Keating, J. H. |
| Charleston, M. | McGregor, G. |
| Dawson, A. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| De Largie, H. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Dobson, H. | Playford, T. |
| Downer, Sir J. W. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Drake, J. G. | Teller. |
| Glassey, T. | O'Keefe, D. J. |

NOES.

Fraser, S.
Macfarlane, J.
Sargood, Sir F. T.
Walker, J. T.

Zeal, Sir W. A.

Teller.

Clemons, J. S.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Motion agreed to.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) agreed to—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives, clause 83, line 26, omit "through," be disagreed to.

Clause 84 (Trees obstructing telegraph lines may be cut or lopped).

Senator DRAKE.—There are three amendments in this clause, and I propose to ask the committee to accept two of them, and to disagree to the other. I should like to say a few words on the clause generally in order to explain the reason of my objection to one of the amendments. In connexion with the last clause, we have been speaking of the underground system of telephones, and I want the Senate to understand some of the difficulties we have to meet with in connexion with the aerial system in consequence of the growing of ornamental trees in towns and suburbs. The practice is very commendable, indeed, from a health and æsthetic point of view, but the difficulty is that the local authorities plant a row of trees just underneath our telegraph wires, and as they grow up in the course of a few years, they come into contact with the wire. We desire to have the power to lop the trees where they interfere with the telephone service. The minimum height of our wires is 18 feet, and what we ask is that when the trees grow so high as to interfere with the wires, we shall have authority to lop them. We endeavour to meet local authorities by giving them an opportunity to lop their trees themselves, but if they do not do so, we want to have the authority to lop them. We are now confronted with this difficulty that the local authorities have taken up the position sometimes of saying—"We want to have our trees, and we will not allow you to cut them. If you do cut them we shall bring an action for damages against you." They go so far as to say that we cannot compel them to cut their trees, and that if we do not like it we should take our wires away and put them under ground. When we consider the miles and miles of trees planted, it must be seen that we must continue the aerial system or else have no telephone service at all in some of the

suburbs, because of the enormous expense that would be incurred in putting the wires under ground. The Bill has been so amended by the House of Representatives that we have no absolute right to interfere with the trees, and another provision has been altered in such a way that a local authority may claim damages against the department for lopping their trees and may insist upon their claim being submitted to arbitration. That would mean that the cost of carrying on the telephone service would be altogether beyond what could be borne. I have a statement here with reference to one instance which came under my notice for the first time the other day. It is a New South Wales case and the statement is as follows:—

Some time since owing to the complaints that were made regarding the unsatisfactory working of a telephone exchange, it was considered necessary by the Post and Telegraph authorities in Sydney to lop some of the limbs of the trees which came in contact with the wires, and interfered with the proper working of the telephone system. Several deputations from the residents waited upon the Postal authorities in Sydney to protest against any interference with the trees, and, as a result, it was decided to defer the matter for further consideration. It was then suggested to the department that it should place the wires underground, but the expense involved (over £3,000) would have been so great that this request was declined. The next proposal was that the wires should be raised about 60 feet from the ground; this was declined, but the department expressed its willingness to meet the wishes of the residents by providing higher poles, on condition that the expense involved would be borne by the residents, but this was not agreed to. Suggestions have since been made to the department by the Mayor to overcome the difficulty by a zig-zag system in regard to the poles and wires, the adoption of which, however, has been reported against by the chief electrician in Sydney on the grounds of expense and impracticability.

I am informed by the department in Victoria that at the present time there is more or less trouble in connexion with this matter with from eight to ten municipalities in this State. I do not object at all to the first amendment proposed by the House of Representatives, amendment No. 60, providing for the insertion of the words "after notice to the local or other authority having the care and management thereof," or to amendment No. 61, proposing the insertion of the words "after consultation with such authority." There can be no objection whatever to giving notice to the local authorities and consulting with them before taking action. The practice already has been, as I say, to give the local authority—if it will take it—the power to do the work itself to

its own liking; but, in their amendment, the House of Representatives proposes the omission of sub-clause (2), which says :—

This Act shall be sufficient to indemnify the Postmaster-General and his officers servants agents and workmen and all other persons whomsoever for what he or any of them shall reasonably do by virtue of the powers by this section granted.

That has to be read in conjunction with an alteration in clause 87, the compensation clause, and it will be seen that the effect of it is to put the local authority in every case in a position of being able to refuse to allow anything to be done, and then to make a claim for damages if anything is done. I move—

That the amendments of the House of Representatives inserting after "may" line 36, the words "after notice to the local or other authority having the care and management thereof," and after "officer" line 37, the words "after consultation with such authority" be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) agreed to—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives omitting sub-clause (2) be disagreed to.

Clause 86 (Laying lines under streets).

Senator DRAKE.—The House of Representatives propose in this clause also the insertion of the words, "after notice to the local or other authority having the care and management thereof." I move—

That the House of Representatives' amendment be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

Senator DRAKE.—I move—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives inserting the following new clause:—

88a (1) The Postmaster-General may, after giving six months' notice, resume any private telegraph or telephone line.

(2) The compensation, if the amount cannot be otherwise agreed on, shall be settled by arbitration.

This is a very important amendment, but I think it is a very desirable one.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—This is indeed a very important amendment. Honorable senators will recollect that when the Bill was first introduced the Postmaster-General claimed the right of control over all telephone and telegraph lines, whether they went through private land or not. The proposal created a great deal of disturbance throughout the States, and protests against this power being held by the Postmaster-General came from all parts, inasmuch as on many large

stations there are a number of private telephone lines. Ultimately the Postmaster-General himself saw the fairness of the complaint, and certain new clauses were put in to allow private owners to erect and maintain telephone lines, and provision was made also for the crossing of roads by private lines. It is now proposed by this amendment that the Postmaster-General shall, after six months' notice, be given the power to resume any or the whole of these lines. I can hardly think the honorable and learned senator is serious in making such a proposal as this. It will not be a small matter in the case of telegraph and telephone wires on station properties. They extend all over the States, and there are many thousands of miles of them. The provision also affects telephones in private houses. They can be resumed under it by the Postmaster-General. I do not imagine that the power would be used so absurdly, but it certainly does embrace all private telephone and telegraph lines. To my mind, it is a most monstrous proposal, and to agree to it would be to conflict with the action that we took on a previous occasion, after very grave consideration of important representations made to us. I should like to hear from the Postmaster-General the reason that has led to his change of opinion, because he acquiesced in the fairness of the former amendment. It is idle to talk of compensation. What compensation could be given to a large stationholder if he received six months' notice that the whole of the telegraph and telephone lines on his runs were to be taken over by the department?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—How could the compensation be estimated?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.

—It could not be estimated. These lines are erected on station properties for business purposes, just as in cities and towns telephones are put up in large and small establishments. No compensation could possibly meet such cases. Apart from that consideration, however, if we adopt this proposal we shall destroy absolutely the principle laid down by us, after grave consideration, that the Postmaster-General should not have anything to do with private lines.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).

—I object on principle to this power being given to the Postmaster-General. I am opposed to giving power to him to purchase any telegraph line. In all matters of this

kind the proper course for the Postmaster-General to adopt, when he wants to purchase a line, is to consult Parliament, so that the owners may have their views represented before Parliament. We should not place ourselves in the position of allowing the Postmaster-General to play ducks and drakes with the public money, by acquiring unpayable lines, or by agreeing to pay compensation where it should not be allowed. The fact is that by adopting this provision we should open the door to all sorts of objectionable practices. It is far better that Parliament should exercise control over the purchase of these lines. If the Postmaster-General desires at any time to acquire a telegraph or a telephone line he should go before Parliament with the proposal that a certain sum be appropriated for the purpose, and in that way obtain parliamentary approval. If he could not do it in that way, then he should bring in a short Bill providing for the purchase of the line, and containing proper conditions as to arbitration and other matters. Under no circumstances would it be wise for us to give the Minister such a power as this, which an unscrupulous man would be able to abuse to the advantage of his friends. If I were Postmaster-General I should rather not possess such a power. I should far rather consult Parliament in regard to a proposal to purchase any private line, let the fact be made public, and allow the light of public opinion to be thrown upon it. Then there would be no chance of abuses creeping in. This hole-and-corner business, this immense power of spending thousands and thousands of pounds of public money without the knowledge of Parliament, is most objectionable. I hope Senator Drake will say he is opposed to it. I see no reason why it should be exercised.

Senator DRAKE. — This amendment seems to me to be in conformity with the principle laid down in clause 78 with regard to telegraphs. That clearly states that, with certain exceptions, the telegraph system is a monopoly, the exception being made, we may say, in the case of private lines. This clause carries out the principle which is generally accepted in democratic communities, that everything connected with communications within the country shall be subject to State control. In agreements for the building of private railways a clause is carefully inserted, in nearly every

case, providing for the right of the State to come in at some time or other and acquire the line.

Senator PLAYFORD.—But they cannot be acquired without the consent of Parliament.

Senator DRAKE.—We make provision in the Bill by which telegraph lines may be constructed by private persons for their own use.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—On their own property.

Senator DRAKE.—But the property might cease to remain in the possession of the person to whom the power to construct the line was given.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—It might be only a leasehold.

Senator DRAKE.—Such a case might happen. But as settlement extends and increased telegraphic communication becomes necessary, why should not the department have the right to acquire any private line on fair and just terms instead of putting up a special line?

Senator PLAYFORD.—The Minister should not have the right to do it off his own bat.

Senator DRAKE.—No doubt this would be an extremely high-handed proposal, if provision was not made for compensating fairly the person from whom a line is taken over. Seeing that the telegraph system is a State monopoly, I do not think it is unreasonable to provide that the Postmaster-General shall have power to acquire these lines and convert them into public ones, if it is necessary to do so, in the public interest. It is all very well to say that the Postmaster-General should shrink from taking such a power, but if it is for the public good, then it is for him to undertake it. That is what Parliament has to consider. The House of Representatives has inserted this provision, and if we assent to it, it will become the duty of the Postmaster-General, as public necessity requires, to exercise this power.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Could we not say that the Postmaster-General may “with the consent of Parliament”?

Senator DRAKE.—That would not be of any use.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—If we provide that the Postmaster-General may “with the consent of both Houses of Parliament” acquire these lines, the objection raised by Senator Playford will be met. We know that it is not the

practice of the Postmaster-General to take it upon himself to erect telegraph lines on his own responsibility, yet clause 78 provides that he may do so.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—This takes away an existing right.

Senator PEARCE.—Not any more than clause 78 does.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—This is something to be done. Clause 78 refers to something that is done.

Senator PEARCE. — With all due respect to Senator Zeal, I fail to say any difference between the two cases. If the Postmaster-General could see his way clear to insert the words I have suggested, the objection which has been raised would be removed. I certainly think we should have some such power as this in the Bill. We have to remember that in Queensland there are long lengths of telegraph lines at present in the hands of railway companies, which it may be desirable to resume at some future date. The railway companies there have such lines, I believe, and surely the Postmaster-General should have the right, in the interests of the public, to resume them? I do not think he would do so without consulting Parliament, where a large expenditure was involved. I admit there is a good deal in Senator Playford's argument. We have had brought under our notice the case of a cable owned by a company which, it was said, it would be unfair to resume, as it is unworkable.

Senator DRAKE.—That was denied.

Senator PEARCE.—But assuming that was the case, the Postmaster-General might resume the cable and make a bad bargain for the Commonwealth, whereas if he had to obtain the consent of Parliament some honorable member might object and point out that it was not a suitable time to exercise this power. If the Postmaster-General thinks he should have this power—and I believe he should—he might amend the provision in the way I have suggested.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not think it would be of any service to put this provision in the Bill with the proviso that the consent of both Houses of Parliament shall be obtained before it is exercised. How could it be secured?

Senator PLAYFORD.—By joint resolution of both Houses.

Senator DRAKE.—Would it not be almost as easy to bring in a Bill? Senator Pearce has put the strongest possible case

in referring to a certain cable which is not under the control of the department at the present time. But let us put a case on the opposite side; the case of a few miles of telegraph line required by the department. Should the Postmaster-General have to wait for Parliament to meet and seek a joint resolution of both Houses empowering him to acquire it?

Senator PLAYFORD.—There is no hurry in such matters.

Senator DRAKE.—If the transaction was of such importance that the consent of Parliament was desirable before the purchase was made, it would be better to bring in a Bill. What would be the advantage of saying that the consent of both Houses should be obtained?

Senator PEARCE.—It is only trusting to the responsibility of the Minister.

Senator DRAKE.—The Minister is charged with a good deal of responsibility. It is not at all likely that he would enter upon any large transaction, such as the purchasing of a cable or an extensive private line, without going to Parliament. He would probably put the amount required on the Estimates, and then under our Constitution the expenditure of that amount would have to receive the approval of both Houses of Parliament.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia). —The Postmaster-General does not appear to thoroughly understand how these things work. If we were to add the words suggested by Senator Pearce, we should not interfere with the taking over of a small line where it was required at once. All that the Postmaster-General would have to do in such a case would be to take the responsibility on his own shoulders. He would say to the owner, "We want this line for certain purposes. I am prepared to give you a certain sum for it if I can obtain the approval of Parliament to the purchase." Subsequently he obtains the approval of Parliament if it is necessary. Although in some cases it may be a line of a mile or two, and worth only a few hundred pounds, still it carries the principle that the Minister can expend thousands or tens of thousands of pounds. Although the Minister may say that he may not exercise the power, still it is a great deal better that Parliament should always be made acquainted with what he proposes to do in that respect. It is a mistake for the Parliament to give this power. It is also a

mistake on the part of the Minister to have the power. If I were the Postmaster-General, I should never desire to have this power. I should prefer to be able to point to the Act of Parliament, and to say—"I am willing to purchase your line for a certain sum, subject to the approval of Parliament." On many occasions in South Australia we have purchased land for closer settlement, but each purchase had to be approved of by Parliament. Very often the Ministry enters into negotiation with the owner of an estate; he agrees to purchase the property subject to parliamentary approval; and directly it meets each House is asked by resolution, generally simultaneously, to approve of its purchase at a certain sum. Senator Drake says it is of no use to insert the words, because it would be just as easy to pass a Bill through both Houses. It requires time to pass a Bill. It has to go through three readings, in one House, besides the Committee stage, and then it has to go through a similar procedure in the other, whereas a motion can be given notice of one day and carried next day after a few hours' debate. As a rule Parliament will be in session nearly six months every year. Surely that will give the Minister plenty of opportunity to get Parliamentary authority to purchase a telegraph line. It is not likely that a few days after Parliament is prorogued there will be an urgent desire to purchase a private line. Do not let Parliament lose its hold on the purchase of telegraph lines; let it retain its hold on the expenditure of its money. Always make the Ministry come to Parliament and get authority for the expenditure of public money. I move—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives be amended by the insertion of the words—"with the consent of the Parliament, and," after the word "may" in sub-clause (1).

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—That will mean a Bill.

Senator PLAYFORD.—It does not mean a Bill. The consent of Parliament can be given by resolution.

Senator DRAKE.—I think the amendment will destroy all the use of the clause. If it is made we may just as well bring down a Bill. It will prevent the Minister, if necessary, from acquiring a small length of line which it might be very desirable to acquire, in order to save the expense of erecting one.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—He has to give six months' notice, and Parliament is sure to meet within that time.

Senator DRAKE.—The six months' notice seems to be a sort of safeguard against any wrongful action on the part of the Minister. He could not do anything to-morrow or next week before public attention would be drawn to it. If there were any objection to his acquiring a length of line, there would be ample time for anyone to enter a protest.

Motion (Senator Playford's) agreed to.

Clause 90 (Certain lines, &c., to belong to Postmaster-General).

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Senator DRAKE.—In clause 90, the other House, in order to prevent any possibility of question arising as to the legal ownership of the lines, has inserted the following sub-clause:—

All telegraph lines erected or maintained by the Postmaster-General, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, are hereby vested in the Postmaster-General.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—As the Minister has just taken power to acquire a line, will not this sub-clause require to be altered?

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) agreed to—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives adding a sub-clause, be amended by the insertion of the word "acquired" after the word "erected."

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 92 (Blasphemous, obscene, and scandalous telegrams may be refused).

Senator DRAKE.—I confess I do not like the amendment of the other House in clause 92. At the beginning of sub-clause (1) it has substituted the word "postmaster" for the words "person employed in the telegraph-office" so that it now reads—

Any postmaster may refuse to receive or transmit a telegram containing blasphemous, indecent, obscene, offensive, or scandalous matter in its contents, address, or signature.

When the clause was before the Senate on a previous occasion, I explained that the reason why the expression "person employed in a telegraph-office" was used was in order that a telegram of that nature might be stopped at once. The person into whose hands it will probably come will be a telegraph operator and he has no power to refuse to

receive it or to transmit it under the amendment of the other House. The person we want to authorize to stop a telegram of this nature is the telegraph operator.

Senator PEARCE.—Would not the operator refer it to the postmaster?

Senator DRAKE.—If the postmaster were there he might, or he might not. But under this amendment he has no authority to refuse to receive or transmit it. The postmaster is not necessarily there the whole time. The House of Representatives has also struck out sub-clause (2), which reads—

Telegrams which appear to contain seditious language shall be submitted to the Deputy Postmaster-General in the State of origin before being transmitted.

I do not know exactly why that has been struck out.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—If the Minister uses the words "postmaster or officer" he will cover everything.

Senator DRAKE.—There are some places in the States where there is no postmaster. I think in sub-clause (1) we had better stick to the original term, which was very carefully considered and had stood fire before. I feel sure that the amendment has been made by the other House without a full knowledge of the circumstances. I move—

That the committee disagree to the amendment of the House of Representatives, in sub-clause (1), omitting the words "person employed in a telegraph-office," and inserting the word "postmaster."

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I would draw the attention of the committee to the definition of the word "postmaster." It means—

The officer in charge of a post-office or post and telegraph office.

I contend that if there is only one employé in an office, no matter what status he occupied, he would be in charge of that office, and would be the postmaster within the meaning of that definition.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not think so.

Senator PEARCE.—If he is the only employé in the office, he must be in charge of that office. Seeing that that definition practically means that there is an officer in charge of every post-office, I think the House of Representatives has made this amendment with a view of giving to every telegraph officer in charge of an office the power to refuse a telegram if it contains libellous matter. If there is a postmaster in charge, the operator will not act upon

his own responsibility, but must refer the matter to the judgment of the officer in charge, who is responsible for the acts of his subordinates. It is just as well that we should be careful about this provision, because the stoppage of a telegram might involve a question of law, and might involve the department in damages. I trust that, in the interests of his own department, the Minister will withdraw his motion.

Senator DRAKE.—Of course there would be no difficulty if Senator Pearce's reading of the definition were correct, and if any person who was left alone in an office might be taken to be the postmaster. But I do not think that is so. That reading strains the interpretation clause. Senator Pearce will notice that the interpretation clause commences by saying that these definitions apply—"Unless the context otherwise indicates." I do not think that the Bill in any part could be taken to mean that a person who happens to be casually left in charge of an office is the postmaster within this definition.

Senator PEARCE.—Does the Postmaster-General think that such a person should have a right to stop a telegram?

Senator DRAKE.—The idea is to give authority to the person to whom the telegram comes, in the natural order of things. The person authorized to receive and transmit telegrams is by this clause authorized to refuse to receive and transmit them.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—I think I am right in saying that a good many of the offices upon our railways are used as telegraph offices, and that the officers in charge there are not in the employment of the Post and Telegraph department. The term "telegraph office" is defined to mean—

A house, building, room, or other place or structure, occupied by or under the authority of the Postmaster-General.

I do not suppose that telegraph offices upon the railways are under the control of the Postmaster-General. As a matter of fact many of these telegraph offices are also booking-offices, which are under the control of the railway authorities.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I would suggest to the Postmaster-General that he should make the clause read—"Any postmaster, or, in his absence, any person under the authority of the Postmaster-General." That would provide that the senior officer would take the responsibility

if he were present ; but where there was no senior officer in charge the operator in charge would take the responsibility.

Senator DRAKE.—I think we might get over the difficulty by making an amendment upon the amendment carried by the House of Representatives. I will therefore withdraw my previous motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) proposed—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives be amended by omitting the word "postmaster," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "person employed under the authority of the Postmaster-General."

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—Practically every person employed in a telegraph office is employed under the authority of the Postmaster-General.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It is questionable in the case of railway officers, who are employed under the railways commissioners.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Then we are to understand that, so far as the railways are concerned, a man can go to a railway telegraph office and get all sorts of indecent and libellous telegrams sent, and that no one can stop him ?

Senator DRAKE.—Under the motion which I propose, such an officer would be under the authority of the Postmaster-General. That would cover a railway officer.

Motion agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 93 (Regulations).

Senator DRAKE.—The House of Representatives have inserted in this clause, which gives the Governor-General power to make regulations upon certain subjects, the following new paragraphs after paragraph (o)—

(o1) Voting by post at elections under the law of the Commonwealth or that of a State, but in the latter case only at the request of the Governor of the State, and on such terms as the Governor-General prescribes.

(o2) Providing for the payment by the receiver or by the Governor of any State, instead of the sender of the rate payable on any postal article.

The matter dealt with is important, and I intend to propose an amendment upon the amendment inserted by the House of Representatives. The new paragraphs enable the Post-office to make arrangements with a State for the transmission of postal matter, to be paid by the person receiving it instead of by the person who posts it. I mentioned previously the question of voting by post. In

Queensland that method of voting has been adopted, and regulations are required so that the voter may be enabled to post his ballot-paper, the postage upon which will be paid on receipt by the electoral officer. But there is also another matter in regard to which we desire to co-operate with the State Governments. That is in reference to correspondence with Friendly Societies. In most of the States, Friendly Societies have been in the habit of having certain of their reports transmitted through the post free. A difficulty arises under the clause as it stands in the Bill. A member of a friendly society sends his contribution card to a local secretary, who gets the cards of the members together and sends them to the general secretary ; whereupon the general secretary sends them to the registrar. It is desired that all this correspondence shall go through the post free so far as concerns the friendly societies. I take up the same position as I have done before, that this is business that concerns the Government of each particular State. If those Governments like to frank the correspondence of friendly societies, they can do so on terms which are just to the whole of the States.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Is this work done free in any of the States now ?

Senator DRAKE.—Yes ; in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, and Queensland, at any rate. I think Tasmania is an exception.

Senator PLAYFORD.—It is returns to the Government that are concerned ?

Senator DRAKE.—Yes ; and also returns to the secretary. I do not propose that this correspondence should be carried free so far as concerns the Federal Government, but simply that we shall provide the machinery by means of which the States may carry the correspondence at their own cost if they like to do so. Under these new paragraphs, the postmaster at any place concerned would say—"There are so many letters coming through the post from members of friendly societies ; we charge the State Government so much postage upon them."

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Is the effect that each State is to please itself ?

Senator DRAKE.—That is exactly the principle. All we want to do is to provide machinery so that if a State says that it desires this postal matter for friendly societies to go through the post free, we shall be ready to make regulations for the

purpose, but always with the proviso that the Federal department is to be paid the postage.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Each State may please itself at its own expense.

Senator DRAKE.—I propose to move the amendment of paragraph (a2) by omitting the words “by the receiver or,” and by the insertion of the words “or by any persons” after the word state.

Senator DONNISON.—After the bookkeeping period we should have to make all these things uniform.

Senator DRAKE.—After the bookkeeping period, of course all this will cease, because then any deficit there may be will be borne equally by the whole of the population, and we assume that the benefits of the postal service will be enjoyed equally by all. I move—

That the words “by the receiver or” in paragraph (a2) of the House of Representatives’ amendment, be omitted.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—I understand that clause 93 is the clause giving power to make regulations for certain purposes under the Bill. But since we passed it clause 25A has been inserted providing for electoral lists and ballot-papers, where there is voting by post and so on, and providing that the State shall pay the cost of postage in such cases. Hence it is necessary to add to clause 93 a power to make regulations dealing with that matter. But the amendment the Postmaster-General now proposes goes further than that, and provides for the payment “by any persons.” I point out that we have not provided an enacting clause dealing with “any persons,” and I think it would be better to postpone the amendment.

Amendment postponed.

Clause 126 (Injuries to telegraphs).

Senator DRAKE.—The House of Representatives proposes three amendments in this clause which I think must have been made under a misapprehension. There are three paragraphs, the first two of which commence with the words “unlawfully or maliciously,” but these words do not occur in paragraph (c). I think the view taken in the House of Representatives must have been that the words had been inadvertently omitted in paragraph (c), and to put the clause into proper form the House of Representatives has proposed amendments which have the effect of striking the words “unlawfully or maliciously” out of paragraphs

(a) and (b) and of making them applicable to paragraph (c). I desire to show why they ought not to be made applicable to paragraph (c). I have no objection to the words appearing in paragraphs (a) and (b), but on no account of the peculiar nature of the offence referred to in paragraph (c)—

Interrupts or impedes the use of any line or the transmission of any messages.

I think they ought not to be made applicable to that paragraph. Referring particularly to the interruption of a line of telegraph, the offence is of such a character, and is of such great importance that we should not give any one any excuse for committing it. A person should not be permitted to take the law into his own hands, and if, for instance, a telegraph line has sagged down, no one has a right to cut the wire. Our wires are supposed to be 18 feet from the ground, and that would be clear of all ordinary traffic. But a difficulty has occurred in this way. I am informed that in Victoria there are people engaged in removing houses on trollies, and they come along and simply break through our wires. That has been done on several occasions. The practice has been that if they give notice to the department, a gang of men is sent to cut the wires for them, and when they have passed through, the wires are immediately replaced. On more than one occasion they have broken right through the wires, and when that is complained of, they say—“Your wire was less than 18 feet from the ground, it was interfering with us, and so we went through it.” Such a thing as that ought never to be permitted. Honorable senators can quite understand that if the clause were amended as proposed it might lead to telegraph lines being cut in the interior, and in consequence to enormous loss and injury to the community. Cutting a line of telegraph communication is a very grave offence, and it should be distinctly understood that under no circumstances is a person justified in cutting a telegraph wire. I move—

That the committee disagree to the amendments of the House of Representatives, inserting in line 23, and omitting from lines 24 and 29 the words “unlawfully or maliciously.”

Motion agreed to.

Senator DRAKE.—I move—

That the committee agree to the amendment of the House of Representatives inserting the following new clause after clause 137:—

137A. In the case of an electric tramway or electric lighting system the electric authority

using such tramway or lighting system shall not be held responsible for its lines or works affecting the lines of the Postmaster-General on which an earthed return is used if such electric authority has adopted all known and reasonable precautions to avoid such injurious affection and has complied with the regulations.

The amendment that we agreed to just now was to pave the way for this new clause. I have considered this matter very carefully. I do not like it altogether. It is not quite fair to the department to throw upon it all the responsibility of having an earthed return. On the advice I have received from the officers of the department I am inclined, to think, however, that, with the proviso contained in this clause, it may be accepted. The latter part of this proposed new clause safeguards us, although it seems hardly fair that the whole of the responsibility should be thrown upon the department if it was an earthed return.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—Before this amendment is agreed to I should like a little fuller explanation from the Postmaster-General as to the meaning of "earthed returns." We are not all experts. I have in my mind the case of overhead lines, which was thoroughly debated on a former occasion, when we came to the conclusion that the Postal department ought to be thoroughly guarded. The overhead line of the Perth Electric Tramway Company interfered with the Postal department's lines, and involved the Government in serious expense.

Senator DRAKE.—Every line must have either a metallic circuit or an earthed return. A current of electricity must be either brought back by means of a metallic circuit or through the earth. The metallic wire is by far the better, but it is also the more expensive system. We have earthed returns in many cases, because we have not been able to go to the expense of providing a metallic circuit. This proposed new clause provides that if the line of any electrical authority injuriously affects a Government line in connexion with which the more expensive system is not employed, that authority is not to be liable for the damage if it can show that it has adopted all known and reasonable precautions to avoid it, and has complied with the regulations. If we have a metallic circuit, then the case comes under clause 142, and if our wires affect those of any private authority the question arises as to which was erected first. The unfairness of

this proposal is that it compels us to adopt the metallic circuit, but does not compel the electric lighting authorities to do the same.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—Does the Postmaster-General say that the Commonwealth is being compelled to adopt a system which is the least efficacious while private companies are forced to adopt the more expensive one?

Senator DRAKE.—No; quite the reverse.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am glad to have that explanation, because it seems to me to be undesirable that the Commonwealth should adopt a cheap and nasty method while it compels private individuals to do that which is deemed to be efficacious.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I think this clause might very well be postponed. It seems to me at first sight to be safeguarding the interests of private companies, while it makes no provision for safeguarding the public. I would draw the attention of honorable senators to the case of the Perth Electric Tramway Company. That company erected lines along the route of existing lines owned by the Government. The company's line was erected in the centre of the streets, and every telephone wire along those streets was thrown out of order. The result was that the Government had to spend some thousands of pounds in establishing proper communication. I do not know whether any other clause covers the case of a Government line that is erected first; but it seems to me that a company might very well say—"We did not know when we erected our lines that it was going to have an injurious effect on the Government wires. We acted according to the provision in the latter part of this clause. We took every known and reasonable precaution, but it was not until our line was in operation that we found it had an injurious effect upon yours." In the case of the Perth Tramway Company the Government recovered no compensation, although I think it should have been able to do so.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The Government lines being there first, the company was an interloper.

Senator PEARCE.—In the Western Australian case the whole cost of making the alterations was borne by the department.

Senator DRAKE.—In answer to Senator Pearce I would point out that clause 142 provides that when any line owned by the Postmaster-General is injuriously

affected by any line erected by an electric lighting company he may serve notice upon them requiring them to take such action as will correct the error and prevent the injurious affection. If that notice is not complied with the Postmaster-General may order that the supply of electricity shall be discontinued until the fault ceases. Then we have sub-clause (3), which provides—

Where such electric lines or works have been lawfully constructed prior to the erection of the telegraph line of the Postmaster-General injuriously affected thereby, the Postmaster-General shall pay to the person owning or using or entitled to use such electric lines or works the amount of any costs reasonably incurred or damages sustained by him by reason of compliance with such conditions and restrictions.

That is to say, if a company's wire is erected before that put up by the department, we give the compensation for any damage done. What I think is the safeguard in the amendment we are now considering is the proviso that if a company does any injury to a line owned by the Postmaster-General, it has to show that it adopted all known and reasonable precautions, and complied with the regulations. We make certain regulations, and if the company can show that it has complied with them and taken all known and reasonable precautions to avoid the injurious affection, the expense of correcting the injurious affection is thrown upon the department. I propose to accept the amendment, because it contains those words. They throw upon us the responsibility of making such regulations—probably like those of the Board of Trade—that the lines will be protected.

Motion agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN.—The committee have now to deal with the postponed amendments.

Clause 1 (Short title and commencement).

Motion by (Senator DRAKE) agreed to—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives be agreed to, and that the blank in clause 1 be filled by the insertion of the words "first day of December, 1901."

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 78 (Postmaster-General to have exclusive right in respect of telegraphs).

Senator DRAKE.—I propose to ask the committee to amend the amendment of the House of Representatives so as to make it read in this way—

and (b) The owners of any railway or tramway may maintain for the time, and to the extent authorized by any State

Act, any telegraph lines erected in pursuance of rights conferred by any State Act in force at the commencement of this Act, and which are required for the working of the railway or tramway.

I think that will carry out the object of the Council, and meet the objection which was suggested.

Amendment amended accordingly, and agreed to.

Clause 93 (Regulations).

Senator DRAKE.—The amendment inserting two paragraphs in clause 93 was postponed in order to give me an opportunity of taking advice with regard to whether we could carry out the object sought to be attained. During the interval I have seen the Parliamentary Draftsman, and he is of opinion that the amendment which he suggested, and which I moved, will best give effect to what is desired. I move—

That the amendment of the House of Representatives, inserting paragraph (a2), be amended by the omission of the words "by the receiver or," and by the insertion of the words "or by any person" after the word "State."

Motion agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining amendments agreed to.

Resolutions reported and adopted.

Resolved (on the motion of Senator DRAKE)—

That Senator Sargood, Senator O'Keefe, and Senator Drake be appointed a committee to prepare and bring up reasons for disagreeing to amendments, Nos. 6, 58, 59, 62, 87 to 89 of the House of Representatives.

PUBLIC SERVICE BILL.

In Committee (consideration resumed from 2 October, *vide* page 5458):

Clause 5—

1. For the purposes of this Act the Governor-General may from time to time appoint some fit and proper person to be Public Service Commissioner and not exceeding six fit and proper persons to be inspectors. . . . Each inspector shall exercise during the pleasure of the commissioner such powers duties and authorities of the commissioner or inspectors as the commissioner thinks fit to assign to him.

Upon which Senator PEARCE had moved, by way of amendment—

That the words "during the pleasure of the commissioner" be omitted.

Senator DRAKE (Queensland, Postmaster-General).—When I was speaking on this Bill before, I pointed out, after consultation with my colleague, who had charge

of the measure in the House of Representatives, and who will have the administration of it, that the words "during the pleasure of the commissioner" were put in, not with the idea of having any meaning in connexion with the power of suspension, but simply to make it clear that the inspectors should discharge certain duties during the pleasure of the commissioner. That is to say, the commissioner shall at any time have power to transfer an inspector from one place to another. I do not think there is any ambiguity about the provision.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—But there is the power without these words.

Senator DRAKE.—The words make it clearer, perhaps. If the words to which Senator Pearce takes exception are omitted, it would be advisable to put in, after the word "fit," the words "from time to time." There is really nothing in the point, but rather than devote any more time to it I will allow Senator Pearce's amendment to go, and will afterwards move an amendment to the effect I have described.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment (by Senator DRAKE) agreed to—

That after the word "fit" the words "from time to time" be inserted.

2. The commissioner and inspectors shall each be appointed for a term of seven years, and shall be eligible for re-appointment.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I move—

That after the word "commissioner" in sub-clause 2, the following words be inserted:—"Shall hold office during good behaviour, and shall not be removed except by the Governor-General in Council on an address from both Houses of the Parliament in the same session, praying for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity."

It will be remembered that when we were discussing the appointment of a Public Service Commissioner, and the probable influences which would be at work to determine his course of conduct, some honorable senators considered that an appointment for seven years would, to a considerable extent, undoubtedly influence the commissioner, and might make him fear that if he were not amenable to the desires expressed, publicly or otherwise, by the Ministry of the day, he might not be re-appointed. It was thought that he might therefore accede to Ministerial requests. I see very little difference between the powers of this Public Service Commissioner and

the powers of a Judge or of an Auditor-General. In appointing our Judges and Auditors-General, we desire, as far as we possibly can, to place them beyond the reach of political and party influences. We wish to give them a feeling of confidence, in order that they may do their duty by the country, without the fear of removal by the Ministry, or at the instigation of some particular Minister who has influence over the cabinet.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The commissioner would be a regular autocrat if this amendment were carried.

Senator HIGGS.—Are the Judges and the Auditors-General autocrats?

Senator PLAYFORD.—Pretty much so.

Senator HIGGS.—If so, is it not a good thing for the country that they are so to some extent? If we desire to challenge the conduct of a Judge on the Bench, or to find fault with an Auditor-General, we may come to Parliament, and move a resolution criticising the action of the official in question. If a good case is made out the majority in Parliament will beyond question agree to displace the Judge or Auditor-General.

Senator DRAKE.—How many cases has the honorable senator known of a Judge being removed?

Senator HIGGS.—I do not know, of my own knowledge, of a case.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I know of two or three who should have retired.

Senator HIGGS.—If the honorable senator had been in Parliament at the time those cases came under his notice he could have moved a resolution. During the short time I was in the Queensland Parliament I did not notice any particular instance of bad conduct on the part of a Judge, and I had no evidence to warrant me in moving a resolution, asking that a Judge should be brought down from the Bench. If I had known of such a case I venture to hope that I should have taken action. If the Public Service Commissioner is appointed during good behaviour we have the same control over him as we should have if he were appointed for seven years. Honorable senators have agreed that in appointing the commissioner for seven years we can, if there is any fault to be found with him, bring the matter before this or the other Chamber, have it debated, and come to a resolution thereupon. There is something in the contention

that if the Public Service Commissioner is appointed merely for seven years he will towards the end of that term commence to consider his position. Naturally, he will ask himself how he stands with the Ministry and how the Ministry stands with Parliament. If the Ministry has a good following and a big majority, and if the Public Service Commissioner knows this, he will perhaps, say to himself, "It will not pay me to get at loggerheads with the Prime Minister or the members of the Cabinet." Honorable senators have mistaken my attitude if they think I have changed my opinion upon this subject. I stated formerly that I disagreed with the appointment for seven years, and I argued that the commissioner should be appointed for life, because I wanted him to be placed as far as possible beyond any unconscious bias which might prompt him to act in a certain direction if he felt he was beholden to the Government of the day. Being anxious that the Public Service Commissioner should try to make our Public Service effective, I am desirous that if any man has any fault to find with the commissioner he shall come either to the Senate or to the House of Representatives, and that a resolution shall be moved. The matter can then be fully debated, the person making the charge can bring up his evidence, and if it be proved that the commissioner has been guilty of misconduct, or that the Service is not being carried on as it should be, in the interests of the Commonwealth, he may be removed. Senator Drake has asked if we know of any instance in which a Judge has been displaced by a resolution of both Houses.

Senator PLAYFORD.—There is one case in the model State where we displaced a Judge called Boothby by resolution of both Houses.

Senator HIGGS.—Senator Playford has answered himself. The honorable senator asked whether the Public Service Commissioner would not be an autocrat if appointed during good behaviour, and yet the honorable senator has himself mentioned an instance in which a Judge so appointed was removed by resolution of both Houses of Parliament. I see no reason why we should not appoint this Public Service Commissioner during good behaviour. If the Ministry find that he is not carrying out his duty, they can bring down to Parliament the resolution necessary to remove him.

They can advise the Governor-General to suspend him in the meantime, while they consult Parliament as to what they should do. If the Public Service Commissioner is not to be placed beyond the reach of the Ministry, he will be of very little use. I consider there is very little difference between an appointment for three years and an appointment for seven years, and we know what the appointment of a Public Service Board for three years means. We know that the Public Service Board in such cases have one eye on the public and the other on Ministers, and they simply act as a buffer between the Ministry of the day and the public, shouldering the responsibility of any erratic or inefficient appointment. It is because I do not wish to see the Public Service Commissioner made a mere buffer between the Ministry and the public that I make this suggestion, under which, if Ministers want to attack him, they must bring a motion before Parliament, and he may be satisfied if he has done his duty that he shall get defenders enough to keep him in his position.

Senator DRAKE.—I think Senator Higgs is now going to the opposite extreme. Since the Bill has been before the Senate we have heard a good deal about the undesirability of placing the Public Service Commissioner in the position of an autocrat, yet Senator Higgs now proposes to go further, and give him his office during pleasure. I think that would be a great mistake, because it would make him practically irremovable. Of course I know that Senator Higgs proposes that the commissioner shall only be removed on an address to both Houses of Parliament, but we know that such a course would never be taken except in very extreme cases indeed.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It has been taken in the case of a Railway Commissioner in Victoria.

Senator DRAKE.—We have one instance quoted in Victoria, but that does not detract from what I say, that a man appointed during good behaviour is appointed for life, and until he is dropping into the grave. I think that is not desirable. Seven years seem to be a long enough term, and there should be some term fixed after which Parliament may have an opportunity to reconsider the whole matter. This matter of boards and commissioners has been before several of the States, and there is hardly one State Parliament that has not had

cause to alter its mind, not within seven years, but within three or four years. We are commencing our history now under new circumstances, and it is desirable that within the next seven years the Parliament of the Commonwealth should have an opportunity of reconsidering this whole matter. We have had this Bill subjected during the last few weeks to the severest criticism, and are we now to assume all at once that the Parliament of the Commonwealth will not change its mind, not in the next seven years, but in a much longer period, and that it is desirable for us now to appoint a man to this position practically for life? I think it far better to appoint him for the term provided for, and I cannot accept the amendment.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I intend to support Senator Higgs in his amendment, but I do not agree with the honorable senator that the appointment ought to be for life. I think it would be far better to set out with the idea that in this case there shall be no fixed term of office at all, because I feel that, before the half of seven years is over, the Public Service Commissioner we are appointing will be very much discredited, and the Commonwealth Government will desire to do away with him altogether.

Senator DRAKE.—How are we to get rid of him? If he is to be appointed during good behaviour, as proposed, we cannot get rid of him except for proved incapacity or misbehaviour.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I should have preferred an amendment striking out sub-clause (2) altogether, and having no provision as to the term of office at all. By doing that we should place the commissioner on the same footing as any other officer in the service, and for the life of me I cannot see why he should be in any other position. I do not see why the "Commissioner of Toorak" should hold office for a term of seven years, and "George Jones" the postman should only hold his position so long as he does his duty. I hold that, no matter how high and responsible a position may be, the officer appointed to it should not hold it upon different terms to the humblest employé in the service.

Senator DRAKE.—And yet the honorable senator says he will support Senator Higgs' amendment.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I have already said that I should prefer, had Senator

Higgs waited and allowed me, to move the omission of sub-clause (2.)

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—I was not strictly accurate in an interjection just now to the effect that the Parliament of South Australia had passed a resolution which practically removed a Judge. The Parliament did not pass the resolution. The House of Assembly passed it, but the Legislative Council refused to pass it. The House of Assembly being the dominant House, honorable senators can imagine that the Ministry soon found a way of removing the Judge.

Senator DRAKE.—Did they give him some compensation?

Senator PLAYFORD.—So far as the Public Service Commissioner is concerned, I oppose the appointment, and, in fact, I oppose the whole Bill in so far as it provides for this commissioner and inspectors. I believe that if we passed a simple Civil Service Bill, leaving it to Ministers to manage, so long as we laid down the principles regulating appointments and promotions in the service, we should do better. The Ministry would be bound to obey, and we might fairly leave it to Ministers to carry out the provisions we made as they have been carried out in South Australia from the beginning of responsible Government there, and so far as I know, without the slightest hitch. I can only account for the different experience of Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland by the fact that the moral sense of the people of those States must be upon a lower standard than that of the people of the model State. If we passed a proper Civil Service Bill, and had honest and intelligent Ministers, there is no reason why it should not work fairly and well.

The CHAIRMAN.—I draw the honorable senator's attention to the fact that we have already discussed the general question, and there is an amendment immediately before the committee dealing with the tenure of office only.

Senator PLAYFORD.—This is by way of introduction to the point to which I wished to direct the attention of the committee. I bow to the will of the Senate in deciding to appoint a Public Service Commissioner.

Senator DOBSON.—The clause is not yet passed, and I do not think the majority are in favour of it.

Senator PLAYFORD.—If one or two absent senators had been present, I believe the majority would have been on the other

side, but when a fair division has been taken, I am not one of those who, when beaten turn round and continually weary honorable senators. I say that honorable senators should, when they vote, make sure that they vote in the right direction, and when a decision has been arrived at, they should bow to it with the best grace they can assume. I recognise that the Senate has agreed that there shall be a commissioner, and the question now is as to how the commissioner shall be appointed. Senator Higgs was under a misapprehension with respect to an interjection which I made, because I was under the impression that the honorable senator was referring to the inspectors whom he wished to make autocrats as well as the commissioner. I think it a great mistake to appoint the commissioner for any fixed term, and for exactly the reasons given by Senator Higgs that just before the term is up he will be "kotowing" to the Ministry of the day, and doing all he possibly can to placate Members of Parliament who may have any power at all for the purpose of securing his reappointment. It would be a great deal better to appoint the commissioner exactly as we appoint the heads of departments on the understanding that he shall retain his office during good behaviour, or until the office is abolished.

Senator HIGGS.—That is my amendment.

Senator PLAYFORD.—And I am supporting it so far as it regards the commissioner, and also as regards the inspectors. There is a question to be considered which has not yet been brought before the Senate. We have two classes of public servants. We have a class appointed under special Acts of Parliament, and another class of ordinary public servants. The first class includes the Governor-General, in our case, and the Governors in the various States; the Ministers, the Auditor-General, who stands between Parliament and the Ministry, and is the servant of Parliament, and is not responsible to the Ministry, and also the Agent-General, whose appointment has only been for a limited time, of late years. We appoint all these officers under special Acts, and put them on an absolutely higher and different plane from any of the ordinary officers of the public service. What are we going to do in this 5th clause? We are absolutely proposing that, so far as this Public Service Commissioner is concerned, we shall take him out of the ordinary

category of civil servants. We might find some excuse for that in the case of the Public Service Commissioner, because he will be an exceedingly important officer, and it might not be convenient that Parliament should have the right to discuss yearly questions connected with his department unless a special motion is brought forward. But why on earth we should put these inspectors, who are his underlings, on a higher place than the heads of the Customs department and the Post-office department, I cannot understand at all. We are going to put these inspectors, who are merely servants of the commissioner, in a position above that of the Deputy Postmaster-General. I say it is simply monstrous to place these men in that position. This Public Service Commissioner has no more difficult work and no more important functions to fulfil than the Auditor-General, and we propose to give him £1,500 a year, while we propose to give our Auditor-General only £1,000 a year. The Auditor-General is a far more important officer. He is an officer of Parliament, standing between Parliament and the Ministry, and he has to see that the sums of money voted by Parliament are properly expended, and reports to Parliament, if there are any laches on the part of the Ministry of the day. This Public Service Commissioner will only have to carry out provisions of a special Act of Parliament, under which we regulate how men shall be received into the service, and how they shall be promoted. He will have no independent functions to perform as the Auditor-General has, and yet we are giving him a position equal to that of the Auditor-General. If we appoint inspectors to an equally high position, and if they travel about the public offices in the States standing on a higher platform than the heads of the departments in the States, we shall make a great mistake. The salaries of the inspectors ought to be voted by Parliament, year by year, just as the salaries of civil servants are voted. The more numerous you make the body of men who are not subject to parliamentary criticism and control, the greater mistake you will make. Why should the inspectors be above the criticism of Parliament when the Deputy Postmaster-Generals and Collectors of Customs, who occupy far more important positions, are liable to its criticism? The proposition is perfectly monstrous. Not a word can be said in favour of putting the

inspectors on this high plane. I would strike out all reference to the inspectors, and allow the commissioner to appoint his own men, and to call them what he likes. It is outrageous to single them out for special consideration and special appointment. Why should not the Ministry have to come before Parliament and say, "We want so many inspectors—we want a man for little Tasmania at £600 a year, and a man for big New South Wales at £800 a year," varying the salary according to the work which the man has to do. Directly the Bill is passed the Ministry can appoint six inspectors.

Senator DRAKE.—What about the amendment?

Senator PLAYFORD.—I am going with the amendment. I heard Senator Drake say that it will place the commissioner in a much higher position. It will do nothing of the sort. It will place him in exactly the same position as any other civil servant. The endeavour to secure a re-appointment will lead to trouble, and certainly to suspicion, which is bad under any circumstances, even if no wrong is done. It would be a great deal better to appoint a commissioner during good behaviour until the office is abolished.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable senator could not have heard the amendment. The commissioner is only to be removable, on an address by both Houses, on the ground of proved incapacity or misbehaviour.

Senator PLAYFORD.—I do not necessarily approve of all the amendment. I approve of that part which makes the appointment during good behaviour, or until the office is done away with. But I do not approve of the provision that the commissioner is not to be removed until an address is presented from both Houses. There is no necessity for that provision. He ought not to be placed on the same plane as the Judges, or in a better position than the heads of the big departments.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I agree with a good deal of the sentiment which has been expressed by Senator Playford, but I do not arrive at the same conclusion. If he votes for the amendment of Senator Higgs, he will go a long way to defeat the end he aims at, because it provides that the commissioner shall only be removable by a joint resolution of both Houses, and then for proved misbehaviour or misconduct. If in the

opinion of Parliament it became advisable to do away with the office, then under that amendment it would be necessary to prove misbehaviour or misconduct on his part. It would be better to strike out the sub-clause, and then to alter clause 6 so that he shall hold office during the pleasure of Parliament in the same way as any other civil servant. If we had had this discussion on the second reading I do not think clause 5 would have got through at all. The more it is considered, the more unworkable it is discovered to be. The further we debate this subject the more convinced do we become that the commissioner should not be appointed. I suggest to Senator Higgs that he would better meet the end he has in view by withdrawing the amendment, and negating sub-clause (2) with a view to dealing with the question in clause 6.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—I find that we are to have a renewal of the discussion on the question of the appointment of a commissioner. I do not propose to discuss either the appointment of a commissioner, or of inspectors, because I regard those matters as settled. If a question is to be re-opened on every occasion because certain honorable senators are dissatisfied, it will lead to no end of trouble and wrangling. We have had the old argument advanced that prior to the close of the seven-year term the commissioner would pander to the Ministry, or surround himself with a number of influential Members of Parliament, with a view to getting a re-appointment. I contended on a previous occasion, as I contend now, that there is no proof that that course would be taken. I gave information to the contrary. I am not here to be influenced by theory; I am here to be influenced by facts. In Queensland our experience dates from 1888. A Board of Railway Commissioners was appointed in that year for a term of seven years. With three commissioners, there were everlasting wrangles and disagreements, and Parliament had to intervene, and to make the best terms it could with the commissioners, and to appoint one commissioner. One commissioner, who went to England, had been paid a considerable sum—the whole of his salary for the balance of his unexpired term of seven years' engagement. Another commissioner came down here, and we were glad to get clear of him. The other, Mr. Gray, ran his full term of seven years. Did

he, towards the end of his term, pander to the Government, in order to get a fresh appointment? Not at all. He was successful in his administration of the railways, and at the end of his term the Government and the Parliament unanimously agreed to renew his appointment for three years. I was in Parliament all the time. When the term of three years expired, what did Parliament do at the end of its ten years' experience? Mr. Gray was continued in office. The greatest contentment that has ever prevailed amongst the railway employes has prevailed under his successful administration. Did Mr. Gray sneak round the Minister, or gather round him a number of honorable members, in order to get a re-appointment? No; his administration was so thoroughly successful that the Ministry and Parliament unanimously agreed to re-appoint him for three years.

Senator DAWSON.—Not unanimously. I objected.

Senator GLASSEY.—There was some opposition to the increase of his salary by £500, which he got, but I am not aware of any opposition to the renewal of his appointment. There is an instance of successful administration by one commissioner as against three commissioners. There is an instance in which a Government and a Parliament did not find any fault with a commissioner. His administration was so successful, his actions so honest and pure, and his administrative ability so clearly demonstrated, that he was re-appointed. Again in 1889 a Civil Service Board was appointed in Queensland. I supported the proposal. Although it has not given absolute satisfaction, yet it has worked fairly well. The appointment was for a term of seven years, and towards the close of the term the commissioners did not sneak round the Ministry, but the Ministry and the Parliament agreed to renew the appointment. Their term has a little more than expired, and I venture to say that, in consequence of the transfer of so many officers to the Commonwealth, in a very short time there will be a new Act passed in that State which will recognise the value of the services rendered by the board since it was established. I deny that our Public Service Commissioner will indulge in any sneaking habits towards the end of his term. If he is a capable, self-respecting man, his administration will be such that Parliament will be only too anxious to renew

his appointment. He will not be found crawling round Ministers and fawning upon Members of Parliament to get his appointment renewed. He would be unfit to hold the position if he did what some honorable senators anticipate he will do. If I should find him doing anything of that kind, I should not hesitate to protest strongly against his re-appointment, and do what I could to expose such fawning. My honorable friend, Senator Playford, says that we are going to put the commissioner on a higher plane than either the head of the Customs department or the head of the Post-office. Quite right. That is one strong reason why I support the appointment of a commissioner. I want him to be above the head of any department. I want him to stand between the Ministry on the one part and the Parliament on the other. I want him to be the servant of the Parliament and not the creature of the Government. Therefore, I do not agree with Senator Playford and others who say that the commissioner should be appointed like an ordinary civil servant. He ought to be appointed differently, because he is to be head of the whole civil service. He should, therefore, have some security of tenure, and should not stand on the same plane as an ordinary civil servant. I do not agree that the commissioner and his inspectors will not come under review by Parliament.

Senator PLAYFORD.—He could only come under review by special resolution.

Senator GLASSEY.—In the State of Queensland we have officers holding their positions for a term of years, and their salaries are not voted on the annual Estimates, but are appropriated by Act of Parliament. Yet, when I was a member of that Parliament, we were never deprived of the opportunity of discussing the shortcomings, or, so to speak, the "longcomings" of any person occupying a public position in that State.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Surely there had to be a special resolution in order to do so?

Senator GLASSEY.—Not at all. The departments administered by the officers in question came under review, and when those Estimates were under discussion, any member was at liberty to discuss the departments, and all their branches. Of course, we did not light-heartedly pass criticisms upon the Judges, but on several occasions I, myself, have discussed the travelling allowances paid to Judges when

thought they were too high. I think seven years is a reasonable term for which to appoint a commissioner. If he discharges his duty so as to give satisfaction, he need have no fear that at the end of his term his position will not be renewed at the hands of Parliament or at the hands of the Ministry who are the executive of Parliament. I feel certain that there will be no difficulty whatever in regard to the renewal of the commissioner's term of office, and I think it would be a mistake when we are passing the first Public Service Bill of the Commonwealth to fix any other term than that fixed in the Bill.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH (Western Australia).—It may truly be said that honorable senators are possessed of great originality of thought. It seems to me that almost every honorable senator has a different idea of the functions of the commissioner and the term for which he should be appointed, and of the ruling body for our civil service. The Government have proposed the appointment of one commissioner. An amendment has been moved that there shall be two commissioners. Senator Dobson has proposed that a peripatetic commissioner shall be appointed, who shall perambulate throughout the confines of the Commonwealth, and administer justice in the various centres. When we come to the question of tenure of office, we find that the opinions expressed by honorable senators are as diverse as those with regard to the number of commissioners. It is proposed in the Bill that the term shall be seven years. Senator De Largie says that that is more than twice as long as it ought to be. Senator Higgs has proposed that the commissioner shall be appointed for life, or that he shall hold office during good behaviour and shall only be removed on the vote of the two houses of Parliament. I am rather surprised that some senator has not proposed to make the post hereditary, so that the civil service shall be controlled for ever by one family. Then Senator Playford says that the commissioner should be appointed like any other civil servant. I can quite understand Senator Playford advocating that idea, because he is absolutely opposed to any commissioner at all, and wants to nullify the effect which the appointment is intended to produce. The object of appointing this officer for a term of years is to

make him independent of the Ministry of the day. We want to have parliamentary control, but as far as we can to do away with political influence. We do not propose to make the commissioner an autocrat, because he only has power to recommend. If a person goes to the Minister and asks that certain benefits shall be conferred upon a civil servant, the Minister has no power to grant it, and the advantage can only be given to the civil servant by the commissioner, who is not under political control.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The Minister will say—"I will speak to the commissioner about it."

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—The commissioner will not care for Members of Parliament: he is appointed for seven years. If we take the ordinary political life of a Member of Parliament, it is not seven years. Perhaps the average political life of a member of this Senate will be longer, because honorable senators are giving such satisfaction to the country. If we take the ordinary political life of a Ministry, it does not amount to seven years, though if the present Government live as long as they wish, they will remain in office for life. Senator Playford has said that in South Australia nothing like political influence has ever been resorted to, and that therefore a Civil Service Commissioner has never been required there.

Senator PLAYFORD.—I never said anything of the sort.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—I have no doubt that South Australia has reached a pinnacle of moral rectitude that is not approached by the people of the other States. I will admit that the South Australians dwell in a loftier moral atmosphere and breathe a higher ether than the people of any other State. The South Australians must make due allowances for the inhabitants of the other parts of Australia, and if they do that they will see the necessity for appointing a commissioner. In the other States political influence has been exerted. In Victoria it grew to such a pitch that one election was practically fought upon the question whether the civil service should be governed by political influence or by commissioners. In Queensland the system of political influence has been condemned in the most unmeasured terms. In New South Wales, as I have previously shown from quotations from Senator Neild, Mr.

Reid, and other statesmen, the effect of political influence was to overman the service.

Senator DAWSON.—That is not correct as regards Queensland, which objects to a commissioner.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—At any rate Queensland has changed from the political system to control by a commissioner. In a former speech I quoted the opinions of the Premiers and leaders of Oppositions with regard to system of political influence.

Senator DAWSON.—Those opinions must have been expressed a long time ago.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The whole question with regard to the appointment of a commissioner practically rests on whether that officer, during his term of office, shall be amenable to political control or not. If we are going to appoint him for a short term there is a grave possibility of his being amenable to political control. Only the other day Senator Dobson alleged some awful cases of political influence that had occurred in connexion with the Federal Government. He denounced in the most unmeasured terms the scandalous action of some Members of Parliament in approaching a Minister. I do not know whether the honorable and learned senator had approached a civil servant himself, and was championing his cause. Such political influence can only be wiped out by appointing a commissioner for a term of years; and while I do not agree with Senator Higgs, who practically wants to make the term hereditary, I am certainly opposed to any shorter term than seven years.

Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—The question is, I understand, whether the commissioner shall be subject to the will of the Government, or whether he shall be placed in such a position as a Judge of the Supreme Court occupies, and shall only be removed on the vote of both Houses of Parliament. For my own part I am not prepared to put any civil servant in the position of a Judge. I think it would be most inexpedient and exceedingly disastrous to do so. If we placed him in that position he could not live there, because there would be such divergence of opinion in regard to the working of the departments, and such a protest on the part of the very honorable senators who make the proposal, against making any official superior to the people who are governing the country, that they would certainly remove him from it. For a long while in past

years the Judges held office simply during the pleasure of the Crown. They were removed from that position because it was found that the administration of justice became corrupt through the Crown having any will in the matter. A judicial office is quite apart from any ordinary appointment. Politicians may come and go; laws may be passed, to this effect or that; opinions may vary; but the only duty of persons on the judicial bench is to administer the law precisely as they find it. Judges are not subject to any alteration; their position remains the same, no matter what changes go on in the political world. It is not the business of Judges to make laws, but to administer the laws that are made. But what is the position of civil servants? It is entirely different. I care not what we call the head of the service—commissioner or anything else—he has got to do what he is told. I have said over and over again, and will repeat the remark, that it is simply impossible to place civil servants above the control of Parliament. We may appoint a commissioner to hold office under certain conditions, and say that he shall hold office quite apart from Ministerial control, but do honorable senators think it possible that he really will? If we appoint him for seven years do we suppose that he will not, as a matter of course, want to make himself grateful in his office in the sense that he will make himself agreeable to the persons who may continue him there? In all these affairs we have got to remember that there is such a thing as human nature. We may lay down all the statutory rules we like, and say that he shall hold office for seven years, and be absolutely superior to the Government, but still he holds office only for seven years and away goes the whole position. If we made his tenure of office larger, in respect even to transitory matters which occur from day to day, he would still have to be subservient to the powers in authority, and he still would be, whether he said he was or was not. I look upon this question in much the same way as my honorable friend, Senator Playford, from the point of view of experience and common knowledge. We say that these people shall be removed from political influence. Magnificent term! We put them above the Minister so that they shall not be subject to him or to anybody else. We give them a certain tenure of six months or seven years—it does not

matter which—and then we assume that we have removed all possibilities of corruption, and have insured the perfect purity of the public service, for the six months or the seven years, whichever honorable senators like. What tomfoolery! I mean to say that these are mere platitudes which have no sense in them. I have always been what they call a conservative, but I have never tried to fool myself or to fool anybody else by supposing that these boards will not be subject practically to the political feelings of the day, or by supposing that they acquire purity simply by terms being placed in an Act of Parliament. What I have always said about them, even when I have supported boards of this description, has been—“Make no mistake, gentlemen, they are going to be subject to Parliament.”

The CHAIRMAN.—I remind the honorable and learned senator that the question of tenure is before the committee, and not the question of boards as against Ministerial control.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The whole question is involved in the length of tenure. If the tenure is for life, as in the case of Judges, we should understand it, but if the tenure is for anything short of life, the whole question that I have been discussing is opened. I have always said that we may appoint these boards, and they are very good, because they give the Ministry a good way of getting out of a lot of trouble they would otherwise be placed in. They make a most convenient buffer between the Ministry and Parliament.

Senator DAWSON.—And give them a chance to shirk responsibility.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—No, no; they give them a chance to avoid great injustice, and to avoid a multiplicity of details which they have no time to deal with properly. They are, therefore, good. But when it comes to a substantial question of real responsibility, the Ministry have got to bear it. Under all constitutional governments we are acquainted with, these temporary boards are something between the Ministry and Parliament, by which the Ministry throw off from themselves, when they please, responsibilities which their numerous occupations prevent them properly attending to, and which are very well thrown off. They relieve them from importunities which would otherwise be placed on them, but ultimately, when it comes to a truly

crucial question, then let the boards be what they will, and appoint them for seven years, or for fourteen years if we like, and the responsibility ultimately comes back to the Government, which means to Parliament. And it is a bad thing for these so-called independent boards, whether they are appointed for six months, seven years, or fourteen years, if they do not obey the requests of the Government and the Parliament.

Senator DOBSON.—Then what is the good of appointing them?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—There I disagree with my honorable and learned friend. I think there is some good in appointing them. I think it is a very convenient system, because in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the answer to an application to the Minister will be—“You must go to the commissioner.”

Senator DOBSON. — The Postmaster-General says he does not want this buffer.

Senator DRAKE.—When did he say that?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The Postmaster-General does not want them called names.

Senator CHARLESTON.—How long would the honorable and learned senator appoint them for?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER. — I should not appoint them for life. I do not care whether it is for six months or for seven years, but if honorable senators dream that they are going to get a board of this kind that will not be amenable to public opinion through Parliament and the Ministry, they are mistaken.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It is a very good way of spending money.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It is a very good way of controlling public affairs, because these gentlemen will be much better able to judge what is proper to be done than a Minister, importuned by his political friends or fearful of his political enemies. When it comes to the last the Public Service Commissioner will have to be subservient to the Government whether we say he is independent or not. That, however, will only happen occasionally, and in the meantime he will relieve the Ministry of much importunity, and he will relieve the public of very much expenditure that might otherwise be entailed.

Senator CHARLESTON (South Australia).—After a long and hard fight, those who contended against the appointment of

a Public Service Commissioner and inspectors were defeated. I have no desire now to return to that question. We have now to consider for how long the commissioner and inspectors are to be appointed, and those who have been against the appointment of a commissioner are justified in saying that his appointment should be from year to year, the same as that of the Deputy Postmaster-General's, and other public servants. After all, the purpose in appointing a Public Service Commissioner and inspectors, is to organize the public service of the Commonwealth, and we do not suppose for a moment that it will take seven years for the commissioner and his inspectors to properly organize the two departments we have taken over.

Senator WALKER.—There will be others.

Senator CHARLESTON.—Then let us wait until we have taken over the others, and until we have taken over such great departments as the railway departments of the different States.

Senator FRASER.—That will not be in our day.

Senator CHARLESTON.—Just so; and what I am contending is that the commissioner and inspectors are to be appointed practically to organize the two departments of the Customs and Post-office, which we have taken over, and to see that there are no more officers employed in them than are required.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—We have seven departments now.

Senator CHARLESTON.—We are dealing particularly with two departments only. Having decided that there shall be a commissioner and inspectors, we have to consider what services they will have to render to the Commonwealth. We see that their work will be to organize these two departments, to see that no more officers are employed than are necessary, and that appointments shall be made according to the principles of justice. Surely they will not take seven years to do that work? According to the estimates which have been sent to us we find that this department of the public service commissioner and inspectors will cost nearly £10,000 a year, and in the course of seven years the department will have cost us some £70,000. I say we shall not get an equivalent for that large amount of money. If, as honorable senators think, it is necessary for someone to be appointed to organize our service, let us appoint this

commissioner and his inspectors yearly. Let us place their salaries upon the Estimates where they may come up for consideration year by year, when, if we find that the services rendered by these gentlemen are worth the money we are paying for them, we can continue to vote their salaries. If, on the other hand, we find that they have done their work, and that having organized the departments the service will be able to go forward under certain regulations which will be made, we may see our way clear to dispense with these worthy officers. I see no reason why we should not be in a position to do that in any year when we think their services are no longer required. Let us take the case of the Deputy Postmaster-General we have had for years in South Australia. He has given every satisfaction to the State. He has thoroughly organized his department, and has been above all political influence. I question very much whether any legislator in South Australia has ever attempted to bring political influence to bear upon him, yet his service is the same, and his salary is voted year by year on the Estimates in the same way as those of other members of the civil service. We should adopt the same principle with regard to this commissioner. If we say that he is to be appointed during good behaviour, that will practically mean until we can prove that he is unworthy of the position he holds. If we struck out sub-clause (2) altogether the salary of the Public Service Commissioner would appear from year to year on the Estimates. The idea of putting the Public Service Commissioner on the same level as our Judges is monstrous. I quite agree that the Auditor-General should be placed in such a position that he could not be removed except by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. We have to trust him to give us correct statements as to expenditure of money, and he may often have to check Ministers in extravagance, and bring such matters before us. He is not the servant of Ministers but of Parliament, and should be subject to removal by Parliament only. But this commissioner and his inspectors will be dependent upon the Ministry of the day for re-appointment, and they should be placed in such a position as I have suggested. They are officers who will be doing routine administrative work of Government, and their position should come before us from year to year on the Estimates, that we may discuss

the value of their services, and say whether it is desirable to continue their employment or not. I shall oppose the amendment proposed by Senator Higgs, and if no other senator does so, I shall move the omission of sub-clause (2).

Progress reported.

Senate adjourned at 9.27 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 10 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

EXCISE ON MANUFACTURED SUGAR.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I desire to ask the Treasurer whether the statement contained in the morning papers that the Government intend to collect the excise duty of £3 per ton on Australian manufactured sugar lying in bond at the present time in Melbourne, is correct? If so, will the duty also be collected upon Australian manufactured sugar that may be lying at the mills or that may be in the course of transit from the mills to any of the ports of the Commonwealth?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The instructions given to the Custom-house officials are that imported sugar from outside the Commonwealth lying in bond will have to pay the uniform rate of duty under the Tariff. Australian made sugar will be charged excise duty if it is in bond or at the mills. When sugar has once gone into ordinary consumption, it will be very difficult, indeed, to tax it, but the rule is that the excise duty applies not only to articles manufactured after the excise duty was imposed, but to all goods made before that time.

ESTIMATES OF CUSTOMS REVENUE.

Mr. REID.—I desire to know if the Treasurer is in a position to lay on the table the return I asked for yesterday? It would be of great service to me if I could have a copy here, and perhaps it would also be of advantage to other honorable members.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I can get a copy of the return for the right honorable gentleman, but it is not yet in proper order. The return is now being put in the same order as the Tariff, and will be circulated to honorable members to-morrow night. If the right honorable gentleman would be satisfied with a copy of the return before it is put in order, I shall be happy to furnish him with one. The sole object of the delay is to permit of the items in the return being placed in the same order as the items in the Tariff, so that they may be easily referred to by honorable members.

SUPPLY.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I might take this opportunity of mentioning that I circulated late last night a list of items in connexion with which I propose to ask for supply. I had not an opportunity of checking the figures before the lists were circulated, as unfortunately the machinery in our Government Printing-office broke down, and I could not get a proof in time. I find that the departments have asked for more money than I think they ought to have between now and the end of the year for which period we are asking supply. Under these circumstances, I am revising the requirements made, with a view to reducing them to the lowest possible amount that I think the departments ought to have, and therefore I shall not be able to go on with supply to-day. I will have the list circulated as early as possible this evening, and will be prepared to go into supply to-morrow. I do not desire to ask for more money than is absolutely necessary.

PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT FOR RETURNED SOLDIERS.

Mr. McCAY asked the Minister representing the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Whether men who have returned from active service in South Africa, and have been employed temporarily in the Postal department, will be given an opportunity this year of passing a qualifying examination; and

2. Whether, if they pass, they will be appointed permanently in priority to other applicants?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The answer to the honorable and learned member's questions is as follows:—

1 and 2. The action to be taken in connexion with examinations to qualify for entrance into the public service both in the Postal department

and generally, and also to priority after such examination, will rest entirely with the authority to be appointed for these purposes under the provisions of the Commonwealth Public Service Act.

POLLING AT THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

Motion (by Mr. CROUCH) proposed—

That a return be obtained and laid before this House showing the result of the polling, the names of the candidates, and the number of votes at each polling booth at the Federal elections for members of both Houses of Parliament.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I shall oppose this motion, because the figures have been published in all the States, and I think that the return will involve a gross waste of money.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The information is all ready.

Mr. REID.—If the expense has been already incurred I will withdraw my objection. My object was to save expense.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I may say, in personal explanation, that I knew that the information asked for had been prepared, and was in the hands of the Minister for Home Affairs, otherwise I should not have asked for it, because I am just as anxious as the leader of the Opposition to save unnecessary expense.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

Debate resumed from October 9th, *vide* page 5854, on motion by Mr. BARTON—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr. R. EDWARDS (Oxley).—I am sure that honorable members will realize that this question is surrounded by many difficulties. The Bill, as it stands, has a special interest for the people of Queensland because it deals with the restriction of the coloured labour which the sugar planters of that State have been allowed to employ ever since the sugar industry was started in Queensland. I am sure that honorable members by this time must know that that industry is one of the leading industries of the State, and I fear that the stoppage of the Pacific Islands labour traffic at such short notice will very seriously affect the future welfare of the cane-growing there. It has been stated on several occasions that Queensland has decided that the kanaka labour must go, but I deny

that. The question of the expulsion of the kanaka was not before the people of Queensland during the federal elections, as distinct from the question of the exclusion of other alien races. It is true that Queensland is in favour of a white Australia. I am quite as much in favour of a white Australia as are honorable members belonging to the labour party, although we differ as to the method of bringing it about. It has also been stated that the electors of Queensland, by a very large majority, have decided that the kanaka must go, and that three-fourths of the representatives of Queensland in this Parliament are pledged to vote in favour of the abolition of that labour. That statement is not quite correct, because the Queensland electors took very little interest in the federal elections. In some of the federal divisions less than 50 per cent. of the electors voted, and upon an average not more than 60 per cent. of the votes were recorded either for or against the kanaka traffic.

Mr. FISHER.—That would be the percentage at any election.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes, in any of the States.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I say, therefore, that the Queensland people have not declared that kanaka labour must go. The Prime Minister when introducing the Bill said that, like the Immigration Restriction Bill, it referred to the policy not merely of this Government, but of all Australia, and that the measure was designed to set an honest and just period to something we did not want, and at the same time avoid the destruction of the sugar industry. That is where the difficulty arises. There always exists the danger of destroying an industry which has taken many years to build up, and which is of vast importance to this State. In my opinion this Bill, if it does not utterly destroy the industry, will very seriously check it. It will work injury and injustice to those who are directly occupied in cane-growing as well as to many others who are indirectly interested in that industry. I should like honorable members to know that the men who are occupied in sugar-growing were encouraged to lease land for the cultivation of cane because of the conditions of labour then existing in Queensland. They undertook that work with the knowledge that they would be allowed to employ a

certain class of labour which they believed to be the most suitable for growing sugar. They invested the whole of their capital, and spent the best years of their lives in making the industry a success. Now they are quietly informed by the Prime Minister that after two years hence they shall not indent any more coloured labour, because he is determined to bring about a "white Australia," and has resolved that none other than English-speaking people shall have standing room on this continent. That is the policy of the Prime Minister. Is that the policy of a broad-minded statesman? I do not think it is. Some of the legislation which has already been introduced into this Parliament tends to drive away trade and commerce from our shores, instead of encouraging it. It tends to destroy industries which have taken millions of capital, much energy, hard work, and many years to establish. I do not think we ought to do anything of that kind. I am in favour of a "white Australia." But will the expulsion of a few thousands of harmless but useful kanakas bring that about? These men are employed upon one kind of work only, and that is work which white men have described as unfit for slaves. Over and over again it has been said that when white men have attempted to do the work which is being performed by the kanakas, they have thrown it up in disgust, and declared that it was only fit for slaves. They have refused to do it at any price. The Queensland Government have taken every care that the kanaka shall not come into competition with the white worker. The regulations in that State are so strict that the kanakas cannot possibly do other than field work. Those who complain of the kanaka upon moral grounds are, I think, very much in error. They appear to lose sight of the fact that there are 2,000 or 3,000 other aliens in Queensland. I think that what they complain of ought to be placed at the door of these other races rather than at that of the kanaka. I do not regard the latter as perfect, but compared with the others he is certainly very harmless, besides which he has hitherto been very useful to the sugar planters of tropical Queensland. Speaking of other alien races, I am reminded that even if we got rid of the kanaka to-morrow, there will still remain in the Commonwealth something like 70,000 other aliens, who constitute a much greater danger in every way. It is

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somewhat inconsistent that we should aim at sending away a few thousand kanakas, when there are many thousands of other aliens of more dangerous races who will spread over the whole of Australia, and enter into keener competition with the white workers. I almost doubt whether the Prime Minister is sincere in his desire for a "white Australia." If he is, why does he not provide for the expulsion of the greater as well as of the lesser danger from our midst? I think that the driving away of a few harmless people, such as we have in Queensland, when they are doing special work which the white men will not perform, is a very great mistake, in view of the fact that there are 70,000 other aliens scattered over Australia. A few months ago, when speaking on the address in reply, I expressed the opinion that honorable members of this House were not competent to legislate upon such an important question as this, because of their lack of practical knowledge regarding the condition of labour on the sugar plantations in tropical Queensland. After five months' experience of honorable members, and many opportunities of speaking with them on this subject, I repeat that statement. I am more than ever convinced that more information regarding this matter is required, and should be forthcoming, as it is impossible for honorable members to do justice to it without that knowledge. Not one in twenty of honorable members of this House have any knowledge of sugar growing. Even the Prime Minister himself does not possess the least knowledge of the condition of affairs amongst the sugar cane plantations in tropical Queensland. Certainly he does not possess sufficient knowledge to justify him in bringing forward such a drastic measure as this. It is true that he went as far as Bundaberg, and that whilst there he saw one or two sugar plantations. He left the impression there that he would not introduce legislation which would tend to interfere with the industry until he had had an opportunity of again visiting Queensland. That State believed and trusted him. As soon as the Bundaberg planters came to know what the provisions of this Bill were the following telegram was sent to the *Age* :—

The Kanaka Labour Bill has caused the utmost consternation among sugar-growers. The measure is regarded as drastic, and pointing at the speedy extinction of the industry.

That is the opinion of practical men who have been engaged in this industry for many years.

Mr. FISHER.—I have heard nothing of it.

Mr. R. EDWARDS. — As honorable members are not possessed of a practical knowledge of the kanaka question and its relation to the welfare and success of the sugar industry, it would be nothing less than criminal on our part to legislate in the direction of interfering with what is of so much benefit not only to Queensland but to the Commonwealth at large. For these reasons I am still of opinion, as I stated four or five months ago, that in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole a Royal commission or select committee should be appointed to secure more information before this House legislates upon such an important question. At a later stage, I am given to understand, that I shall have the opportunity of moving that the Bill be referred to a select committee, or that a Royal commission be appointed to inquire into this matter.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member cannot do it later on.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I have consulted some of the officers of the House, and have been advised that after the second reading of this Bill I shall be in order in moving that it be referred to a select committee.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is fully in accordance with the standing orders under which we are working for the course which the honorable member suggests to be taken. When the second reading of the Bill has been carried, it will be competent for him, if he so desires, to move that the Bill be referred to a select committee.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—It is my intention, after the second reading of the Bill, to move in that direction. On one day last week there appeared a sub-leader in the *Argus* which deals with this question from a common-sense stand-point, and I should like to read it for the information of honorable members. It says—

If it should become law, the South Sea Islander will have vanished from Australia by the end of 1906. The right thing for Parliament to do would be to inquire into the conditions of the sugar industry during the recess and legislate next session. By voting for federation, as nearly all the sugar people did, the industry was trustfully placed under the control, so far as kanaka labour is concerned, of the Federal Parliament. That is a fact which should not be overlooked.

Had the sugar people been distrustful and voted the other way, as the anti-federalists urged them to do, Queensland would not now be inside the union, and the national Parliament would not be able to stop the incoming or order the outgoing of a single kanaka. Let it also be remembered that in no other State will a leading and distinctive industry be subjected in a similar way, for national reasons, to drastic legislation. Under prescribed conditions, State law has allowed the introduction of kanakas into Queensland. Upon this basis of statutory toleration the industry has expanded to its present proportions. Grant that the kanaka must go—that this is essential to a white Australia—still the time of his going should be determined after investigation has placed the details of what is an intricate matter in a clear light. Seeing that the national Parliament must interfere with a State industry, it should take every precaution to avoid unnecessary harshness. But if the measure now circulated is to be passed this session—and this, under obvious pressure, is apparently the intention of both parties—the question of whether five years, the proposal in the Bill, is a sufficient period, ought in justice to the industry to be thoroughly discussed. Deportation of the last kanaka within a reasonable time is what is wanted. It is not likely that the sugar people will assent to five years as a reasonable time. Why not say ten years, if that term will content them? What are the extra five years in the life of the nation? But they may mean a great deal in easing the friction of unwelcome legislation, and in accommodating the industry to the new labour conditions. The kanaka must go, but care should be taken that the national decision shall not be discredited by packing him off in a hurry which is not called for and might be very hurtful to an important industry.

That is a common-sense way of looking at this very important question. I do not know who the writer of this article is, but I almost wish that he were the Prime Minister of Australia for some time to come. I prefer that a commission should be appointed to make inquiry and take evidence regarding the condition of labour in tropical Queensland before any legislation is enacted. Whatever conclusion such a body might arrive at, I am sure that it would be accepted by the Queensland planters, who possibly might be satisfied. But if this Bill is forced through against the wishes of the State of Queensland, it will always remain a grievance against the Federal Government. That is not a desirable state of things to bring about. We ought not to do anything which will engender bad feeling at the beginning of our national life. The Government should strive to avoid even the appearance of injustice. Honorable members may say that Dr. Maxwell has made inquiries, and has reported to the Government. That is quite true,

but I would point out that his report, to a great extent, supports the argument which I have been advancing. To strengthen that statement, I will, with the permission of the House, read the last report of Dr. Maxwell. Of course, honorable members will no doubt have noticed that last week when Mr. Philp first became aware of the provisions of the Bill, he asked Dr. Maxwell to give his candid opinion as to the effect of the measure. A portion of Dr. Maxwell's report has already appeared in one of the Melbourne papers, but the report in full I received only last night after the tea hour. It is reported in the *Brisbane Courier*, of 7th October, as follows :—

On receiving the text of the Kanaka Bill now before the Federal Parliament the Premier immediately sent a letter to Dr. Maxwell, asking for an expression of that gentleman's opinion on the probable effects of the Act. Mr. Philp has now given us Dr. Maxwell's answer to this inquiry. The following is the correspondence :—

LETTER FROM THE PREMIER.

4th October, 1901.

Dear Sir,—With reference to the introduction in the Federal Parliament of the Pacific Islanders Bill, a copy of which has appeared in Wednesday's papers, I should be glad to be favoured with your views as to the great importance of the sugar industry to the State of Queensland, and should also like you to carefully peruse the Bill, and furnish me with an unreserved expression of your opinion as to the probable effect of such a measure, if passed, on the industry.—Yours faithfully,

R. PHILP.

Dr. W. Maxwell, Director of Sugar Experiment Station, Bundaberg.

DR. MAXWELL'S REPLY.

Brisbane, 6th October, 1901.

To the Hon. Robert Philp, Prime Minister, Queensland.

Sir,—I have the honour to receive your letter of the 4th instant, requesting my views "upon the Pacific Islanders Bill now before the Federal Parliament," and, further requesting me to "furnish you with an unreserved opinion upon the great importance of the sugar industry, and upon the probable effect of such a measure, if passed, upon the industry."

The text of the Bill was set forth in the official telegram recalling me to Brisbane, and is before me.

FINANCIAL AID STOPPED.

Concerning the measure, with its present provisions, if it is passed, I am persuaded it will paralyze the industry. One effect will be instant : A very large proportion of the cane-growers are depending upon the banks, and other financial sources, to aid them in producing and harvesting their crops, and in the permanent development of their farms. This aid will stop, and in many cases at once. My relations with the growers, on

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the one hand, and with money institutions who seek my opinions, cause me to be painfully well aware of the situation, and of what must happen if given action is taken. A further effect will be that the industry

MUST STOP FROM WANT OF LABOUR

to make and harvest future crops if the time provisions of the Bill are enforced. Other kinds of labour are not in the country, and cannot be gotten within the specified time, and the sheer economic result that must follow is patent.

Putting the matter briefly, and assuming that it will be enacted that the Pacific Islander must go, then, in those districts which may survive the abolition of such labour, ten years is the minimum of time within which it will be found possible to adjust the industry to the proposed new conditions, and provide labour for its continuance.

Concerning the "great importance of the sugar industry," and the probable future effect of such legislation upon it, I do not require to reply by mere verbal opinion. The Sugar Experiment Stations Act, which constituted my present advisory relation to your Government, and to the sugar industry, compelled me to formulate a policy ; and while my position justly requires that I shall be silent upon questions, in their political stage of development, the administration of the above Act, which the Executive leaves in my hands, requires me to think and act in view of possible legislative measures.

At this place it appears opportune to inform you that a few days prior to the death of the late Secretary for Agriculture (Chataway), I met him by special appointment in Maryborough, when he requested my opinion upon the state and future of the sugar industry, in view of impending legislation.

In reply to the first inquiry he made, I had to reply that my experience in other countries, with my observation in this country, and the history of the labour experimentation in the State, forced me to conclude that, if the industry should be made wholly dependent upon white labour then

SUGAR-GROWING NORTH OF MACKAY MUST DIE OUT.

It will not be instant, but I consider it certain. It must be primarily understood that cane-growing is totally different to growing potatoes or maize. If labour is short, and the farmer cannot produce 2,000 bushels of maize, then he can grow 1,000 bushels, and find a market for it. But sugar is a manufactured article, and must be made where the cane is grown. If the mill requires 30,000 tons of cane to make it possible to open up and pay running expenses, and only 5,000 tons of cane are grown, then the mill is stopped just as effectively as though not one stick of cane were grown. I consider it certain that cane will not be grown solely by white labour north of Mackay to keep the mills in existence. In a more formal and reserved sense this view is expressed in my statement made to the Federal Premier.

In reply to the late Secretary for Agriculture' further urgent inquiry—"But

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR CANE FARMERS?

We cannot leave them to rot on the ground, like the sheep in the West when a drought overtakes them," I stated that any enactment which involved the closing up of the Northern canefields, if passed for other than economic reasons, should, in common equity, provide compensation to mill-owners and to the farmers for their vested interests, and by such means I considered it possible to remove the farmers to the more Southern districts, where cane-growing may be rendered possible by white labour, aided by scientific appliances.

At that time Mr. Chataway was in a dying state, and said that the policy of the department, in relation to the sugar industry, must be chiefly left with me.

The original proposal of the Bureau of Experiment Stations was to establish laboratories and an experiment station at Bundaberg, and a large station at Cairns, and continue the present one at Mackay. The laboratories are now in use in Bundaberg, and the Mackay station is in active operation; but in the place of large, permanent stations at Bundaberg and Cairns, involving large expenditures, I have determined upon several small experimental plots in the several districts, some of which are already in operation, in order to render the farmers the most immediate aid, in view of either leaving or remaining in cane-growing, and also to lighten the public expenditure.

I trust, Mr. Premier, that this brief statement of the policy of the sugar department of the Government will inform you more effectively than a verbal opinion upon the matters on which you request my views.

I shall, however, have to urge the most careful consideration of the Government in the interest of the cane farmers if legislation should render cane-growing impracticable. We have 2,610 of these men, the backbone of their districts, and they must not be lost. Yet the subjects which are matters of opinion and of divisions in Parliament are questions of life and death to those men in the fields.—I have the honour to be, Mr. Premier, your obedient servant,

WALTER MAXWELL,
Director of Sugar Experiment Stations.

That is the opinion of Dr. Maxwell at the present day. He looks on this as a matter of life and death to the planters, who have spent the best years of their lives, and have invested all their means, in this industry. Dr. Maxwell is of opinion that without the assistance of coloured labour the sugar industry, at any rate for a certain distance north of Mackay, must go.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Why does he think there should be compensation?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Because if their industry is destroyed, the men naturally ought to be compensated. If there were only planters interested in the industry, the matter would be very easily settled,

because it would only mean a new expenditure of possibly £10,000,000 from the Federal Treasury. But there are many other industries dependant in the sugar industry. There are the coal miners in the north.

Mr. PAGE.—And the ship-owners.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—There is the shipping industry, and there are the farmers, not only of Queensland, but also of Victoria and New South Wales, who supply the cane-growers with farm and dairy produce to a very large extent. A telegram from Mr. Philp to Mr. Barton was published in the *Melbourne Age* of Friday last, 4th October—

Mr. Philp to-day telegraphed to Mr. Barton protesting emphatically against the Kanaka Bill, as, in the opinion of himself and colleagues, it would entirely destroy the sugar industry. Seven years at least should be given before recruiting was interfered with, during which period means might be devised for carrying on without coloured labour. In the State Parliament Mr. Philp said:—All they asked was that inquiries might be made before the sugar industry was drastically dealt with by the members of the Federal Parliament, who knew nothing of the industry. Ample time should be given to discuss the question. Mr. Barton had made no inquiries beyond getting information from an inspector employed by the Queensland Government, which, in Mr. Philp's opinion, he had ignored. If Mr. Barton had taken the advice of Dr. Maxwell, he would have gone slowly in his efforts to put the question on a satisfactory footing. No man was more anxious than he (Mr. Philp) to see the question solved, and in five years all the kanakas must leave, and that would only mean total ruin to the industry. He did not think Mr. Barton wished that, but if Mr. Barton was sincere, why not give the industry a fuller trial. Mr. Barton should purchase a mill and a plantation, and allow the labour organizations to demonstrate that they could grow sugar profitably with white labour. Queensland had raised this industry above that of all other States. He (Mr. Philp) was confident that if the sugar industry had reached such a stage in the other States, Mr. Barton's Bill would be howled down. Men who sought to disturb an industry committed a criminal act, and were not true Australians. The planters voted for federation thinking that they would get justice, and this was the sort of justice they got. If Mr. Barton and Mr. Deakin, when they came two years ago to Queensland, had shown their true opinions and been honest with the people, there would not have been a majority for federation at the referendum—and dealing with Mr. Barton's speech on the second reading of the Kanaka Bill, Mr. Philp said Mr. Barton had maligned Queensland. There never had been a majority in Queensland who wished the industry treated as Mr. Barton treated it. He asked—Did Mr. Barton recognise the importance of the

industry, or did he imagine that the people here knew nothing of their own business? They had had kanaka labour for the past 25 years. White labour had always failed, and if kanaka labour were abolished those northern sugar lands would be abandoned to aliens. The sugar industry was never on a sounder footing than at present, and during the last five years the Government had spent half a million on it. The Premier, in conclusion, said he complained of Mr. Barton acting so hastily. What he should have done, and what Queensland wanted done, was to have an inquiry before introducing legislation.

That is what was expected from the Prime Minister, namely, that inquiry should be made before legislation was introduced on this question. The honest opinion of a man like Mr. Philp should have some weight with honorable members of this House. He has lived in Queensland nearly all the days of his life, and has for many years been a prominent Member of Parliament and a Minister of the Crown in Queensland. I think that no one is more familiar with the industries and interests of Northern Queensland than is the present Premier of that State. He is of opinion that if the Bill is passed as it stands, it will entirely destroy the sugar industry in Northern Queensland, and do great injury to the whole State, because there are very many industries in the State which depend upon that industry. As I have said, the planters alone would be very easily compensated, but there has also to be taken into consideration the very large number of persons who derive their living from industries which are dependent upon the sugar industry. I stated in this Chamber on a previous occasion that the number of white men, women, and children obtaining their living in Queensland from the sugar industry was not less than 50,000, and my statement was cavilled at; but I now hold in my hand official figures which state that, leaving out two-thirds of the population of Townsville—Townsville is not looked upon as a sugar district—the number of white people employed in the industry is 48,246, and the number of aliens and other coloured people, leaving out of account the Chinese employed in banana growing and other pursuits, 11,000, so that I was not very far wrong in my original statement.

Mr. McDONALD.—The statement is a ridiculous one. The honorable member does not know the population of Northern Queensland.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think we may take it for granted that the figures

of the Auditor-General are as correct as figures can be. In putting down the number of persons directly connected with the industry at 50,000, no account is taken of the persons engaged in connexion with shipping, in coal mines, in foundries, and in other pursuits which are sustained by the industry. Seeing that so many persons are directly or indirectly concerned in its welfare, a reasonable time should be allowed to the planters to obtain other labour than kanakas to carry on their work. Queensland voted for federation by a small majority, but, without the northern voters, that State would have rejected the Constitution. The people in the north, however, expected consideration, fair treatment, and justice at the hands of the Commonwealth Government. Most of the representatives returned by the State were returned to support the Barton Government, because it was never thought that they had it in contemplation to bring in a Bill whose provisions would ruin so many families. If this Bill becomes law, Queensland will have reason to regret having joined the union, and will look back upon referendum day as a dark and sorrowful one for them. Had the Imperial Government imagined that during the first session of this Parliament a Bill would be introduced tending to seriously injure one of the States of the Union, I am sure that the Royal assent would not have been given to the Constitution Bill, because I believe that it is a principle of Constitutional law that the Royal assent should not be given to any measure of the kind which is likely to injure an individual or a State. The Prime Minister, in moving the second reading, made what was, from his point of view, a very interesting speech. But, while he spoke of the legislation passed in 1885 to put a stop to the indenting of coloured labour after December, 1890, he omitted to say what the condition of the sugar industry in Queensland was in 1890 and 1891. He should have known that, because of the cessation of the coloured labour traffic, the industry almost collapsed at that time. The planters ceased to put in cane because they knew that no labour would be forthcoming to harvest it. Mills containing valuable machinery were abandoned, and many thousands of white workers were thrown out of employment. I do not know how the people of North Queensland speak of the Prime Minister now, but I know

how they spoke of the then Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith, in 1891, when I visited the north. I felt glad on that occasion that I was not the Prime Minister of Queensland. He, however, saw that a mistake had been made, and that the time had not arrived for the abolition of kanaka labour. He recognised that if the sugar industry was to be saved something must be done to provide for the re-introduction of kanakas, and Queensland to a man agreed with him. The workers throughout Queensland rejoiced at his change of policy, and the result was that the industry went forward by leaps and bounds, and was never on a sounder footing than it is at present. I am afraid that the Prime Minister does not realize the magnitude of this industry, and its great importance to every part of the Commonwealth. I have here some further figures, which are official, and which have been prepared expressly for this occasion, so that honorable members may be fully seized of the position of affairs in Queensland. The statement is as follows:—

STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY WHITES AND ALIENS OUT OF THE VALUE OF AN AVERAGE QUEENSLAND SUGAR PRODUCTION OF 150,000 TONS.

BASIS OF CALCULATIONS.

Auditor-General's Report of 30th June, 1901, on the operations for the year 1900 of 13 Central Sugar Mills erected by money advanced under various Acts by the Queensland Government; and amplified, in order to show the analysis of the total value.

| | | | |
|---|-------------------|----------|----------|
| Total value of output from field to refinery 150,000 tons, 88 per cent. net titre sugar at £10 per ton (net price received per ton for crop year, 1900) ... | £1,500,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Average freights, port of shipment to refinery at 15s. per ton ... | 112,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Total value ... | £1,612,500 | 0 | 0 |

ANALYSIS OF AMOUNT PAID TO CANE-GROWERS, OF WHOM THERE ARE 2,610 IN QUEENSLAND.

| | | | |
|--|----------|---|---|
| Average cane per ton of sugar, 9 tons; average price paid, 12s. per ton on tramway. Tons cane, 1,350,000 tons at 12s. per ton... | £810,000 | 0 | 0 |
|--|----------|---|---|

**DIVIDED AS UNDER:
TO WHITES—**

| | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|
| Cost of rations, 2,610 growers and 2,610 ploughmen and labourers, at £22 10s. per annum ... | 126,225 | 0 | 0 |
|---|---------|---|---|

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------|----------|
| Rations, clothing, medical attendance supplied to islanders; also proportion of inward and outward passages at £19 14s. 10d. per annum. 8,710 islanders employed in sugar industry, at £19 14s. 10d. per annum for rations ... | £172,022 | 0 | 0 |
| (See Dr. Maxwell's report.) | | | |
| Wages—2,610 ploughmen and labourers, at an average wage of £1 4s. 7½d. per week ... | 167,105 | 0 | 0 |
| (As per Dr. Maxwell's report.) | | | |
| Upkeep of implements, drays, harness, live stock, buildings, horse feed and growers' profit | 144,648 | 0 | 0 |
| Amount received by whites ... | £610,000 | 0 | 0 |

TO ALIENS—

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------|----------|
| Indentured and re-engaged islanders' wages, average £17 per annum. | | | |
| Wages—8,710 islanders at £17 per annum ... | £148,070 | 0 | 0 |
| Wages to other aliens employed | 51,930 | 0 | 0 |
| Amount received by aliens ... | £200,000 | 0 | 0 |

Nearly the whole of which is spent purchasing goods manufactured and supplied by whites.

GROWING AND HARVESTING OF CANE CROPS.

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|----------|----------|
| Amount received by whites | £610,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. do. aliens ... | 200,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Total value of cane on tramway ... | £810,000 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Cost per ton of sugar to mill-owner as per Auditor-General's report on the central mills for season 1900 was:—Net cost of production per ton (excluding interest, redemption and maintenance of machinery and buildings) ... | £7 | 17 | 8½ |
| Cost of maintenance per ton of sugar made (off season), repairs to buildings and machinery ... | 0 | 8 | 9½ |
| | £8 | 6 | 6½ |

Cost per ton free on board steamer at port of shipment, exclusive of interest and redemption—150,000 tons sugar at £8 6s. 6½d. per ton (in round figures) ...

DIVIDED AS UNDER—

| | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|----------|
| Paid for cane to growers at 9 tons cane per ton of sugar at 12s. per ton, 150,000 tons at £5 8s. per ton ... | £810,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Manufacturing and maintenance, as per Auditor-General's returns, 150,000 tons at £2 18s. 6d. per ton ... | 438,750 | 0 | 0 |
| | £1,248,750 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----------|
| Manufacturing | £1 | 9 | 11 | per ton. |
| Maintenance | 0 | 8 | 9½ | „ |
| Railage to port of shipment, wharfage, and all other ex- penses | 0 | 19 | 9¼ | „ |
| | £2 | 18 | 6 | per ton. |

Growing and harvesting (Whites) £810,000 0 0

Wages in mill paid for mainten-
ance during off season and for
manufacturing in crushing
season (Whites) 222,500 0 0

Paid to merchants for oils, belts,
general supplies, and to found-
ries for repairs (Whites) ... 216,250 0 0

Received by Whites ... £1,048,750 0 0

Growing and harvesting (Aliens) 200,000 0 0

Total cost 150,000 tons sugar £1,248,750 0 0

Total value of 150,000 tons sugar
at prices realized for crop,
year 1900, and freight to port
of refinery at £10 15s. per
ton £1,612,500 0 0

APPROPRIATED AS FOLLOWS:—

Growing and harvesting (Whites) £810,000 0 0

Wages in mills, off and crushing
seasons (Whites) 222,500 0 0

Paid to merchants and found-
ries, &c. 216,250 0 0

Balance for upkeep, improvements
and interest 251,250 0 0

Freight, 150,000 tons at 15s. per
ton 112,500 0 0

Total amount received by
(Whites) 7-8th ... £1,412,500 0 0

Total amount received by
(Aliens) on 1-8th ... 200,000 0 0

Total value of crop ... £1,612,500 0 0

Of the total value of an average Queensland sugar crop, seven-eighths is directly received by whites as against only one-eighth received by the alien.

Honorable members will have very little difficulty in understanding the great importance of this industry—to Queensland, particularly, and to the Commonwealth as a whole, and I hope these figures will to some extent convince them of the necessity of avoiding legislation that would have the effect of checking the very large enterprises that are now being carried on. Charges of cruelty and ill-treatment have been made against the planters, and I am sorry to say that some members of this Federal Parliament have gone on to the public platforms in and around Melbourne, and made very serious accusations against the people engaged in the Queensland sugar industry. The *Argus* of August 26th last

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contained a report of a meeting held on the previous Sunday afternoon, at which Senator Stewart is reported to have spoken to the following effect—

According to the regulations they (the kanakas) were supposed to get tea, bread, sweet potatoes, and meat. He had tasted some of the tea, and found it the "foulest poison possible for any man to put into his stomach." The bread was "sodden damper," the potatoes "not fit for pigs," and the meat "scraggy and wretched," and even worse—"rotten." Continually goaded on at his work by the overseer, the kanaka was also frequently booted and taken into a quiet place and soundly cuffed. That, he explained, was the "average" treatment, such as only a swagman might ascertain, for, on visiting and inspection days "everything was to be seen at its best."

Mr. PAGE.—That is quite true.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—There is not a word of truth in it. Is it likely that the planters would treat their workers in a way they would not treat their horses? The planter has to pay for his horse, it is true, but he also has to pay for his kanakas, and he has to keep him in a fit condition to do a certain amount of work, or else his expenditure and trouble will go for nothing. Therefore, it is to his own interest to see that the kanaka is not underfed or badly fed. In reply to these statements of Senator Stewart, I desire to read a letter which was published in the *Argus* of September 7, under the heading of "Treatment of Kanakas." The *Argus* says:—

We have received a letter from Mr. F. J. Stevens, vice-president of the Pioneer River Farmers' Association, Mackay, Queensland, in which, referring to the statements made at a public meeting in Melbourne by Senator Stewart on the treatment of kanakas in the north, he says:—"We are accused (I use the word advisedly) of bringing the 'boys' here to make large profits by their labour. They cost us about £25 per head for passage-money and Government fees landed here, and we kill them off as fast as possible by inhuman treatment when we get them! Now, the simple facts are these:—The beef is either killed daily on the plantations or furnished fresh every day under yearly contracts by licensed butchers, and, while not professing to be sirloin, roast, or rump steak, is sound, wholesome food. Bread is likewise furnished daily by contract or baked on the spot, and is in every respect as good as that found on any white man's table in the land. If you take the small farmer, common sense will tell you that he cannot keep a separate larder for his two or three 'boys,' and you will find in every instance that their meal, whether meat, bread, potatoes, rice, or tea, comes off the same dish, the same batch, and from the same caddy as his own. Beside the impelling motive of self-interest, which makes a man take care of his own, there is a vigilant inspector in every district to safeguard the 'boys' welfare, and they very quickly appeal

to him if they fancy they are being imposed upon. But I believe I am safe in saying the police records will not show one case in five years where complaint has been made of the quality of food supplied to kanakas."

I believe this letter is perfectly true. I feel that this question is one of the greatest importance to the welfare of the State in which I have been residing for the last 32 years, and in which I hope my bones will some day rest. It is a comfortable land, and I would prefer to be there rather than in this beautiful little garden of Victoria, which Queensland could carry in her waistcoat pocket without feeling at all uncomfortable. Perhaps I ought to say that I have no interest in sugar-growing, or in sugar property of any kind—not one shilling's worth—nor have I any interest in the kanakas, or any other aliens. Further, I am not acquainted with any of the sugar-planters, except one—the Honorable Angus Gibson. Therefore, it cannot be said that it is from personal interest that I am taking up my present stand in connexion with this Bill. I believe that I am acting in the way best calculated to secure the prosperity and welfare of Queensland. I hope that, if this Bill is referred to a select committee, honorable members will be afforded an opportunity to thoroughly understand the position, and come to a just and righteous conclusion. A letter, written by Mr. George Crespin, J.P., of 20 Queen-street, Melbourne, was published in the *Argus* of 7th October. Mr. Crespin says—

Being interested in the Queensland sugar industry for seventeen years, and at present representing some of the largest planters in Bundaberg, I have to enter my protest on their behalf against the drastic legislation proposed in the Pacific Island Bill now under consideration. I have received the following messages:—"The Kanaka Bill one-third returned each year is equivalent to immediate and total stoppage." "Kanaka Bill is abominable and unjust." As one knowing something about the industry (visiting Queensland sugar districts annually) I can confirm these remarks, and I submit that the proposal to abolish the labour within five years is simply a monstrous injustice to Queensland, who entered the federal union believing that her industrial rights and privileges would receive just recognition from southern legislators of the Federal Parliament. The planters all voted for federal union, relying on the good faith of federal rulers as to proper and systematic regulation of labour in the Northern States, whose conditions of climate, &c., are so different from the other States. Queensland is the only State possessing tropical industries. She is differentiated from the other States by her necessities, and possessing the only colonial labour legislation in Australia shows

with what extreme care she has guarded the interests alike of the white labourer and black.

Only last summer "the chairman of the Geraldton Divisional Board reported that all contracts had to be stopped, as the men could not work on the roads owing to the heat." The contractor for the Mourilyan railway tried to get on with white labour, but the mortality was so great that he had to give it up, and employ Chinamen. I say, without hesitation, that when the kanaka goes the sugar industry will go also.

Now, sir, the planters know full well that it is the expressed will of a section of the Commonwealth people that the kanaka must quit Australia, and those whom I represent simply ask that common justice, equality, and honour shall be done to men who have spent the best of their lifetime, their brains, and money in building up an industry a credit to the Commonwealth, and one so wide and beneficial in its influences upon labour and the trading community. They view the provisions of the proposed Act as far too drastic, with a strong tendency to evil consequences, and they ask for moderation, which they are justly entitled to. I have been authorized to make the following proposition to the Federal Government, which I consider very fair and which ought to meet with favourable consideration and support even from the most extreme member of the labour party, viz.:—That on December 31, 1908, all kanaka labour shall cease; that for five years ending December 31, 1906, the kanaka labour shall continue untrammelled, but conducted consistently with the Queensland Act for supervision, &c. That from 1906 to 1908 shall be the period of deportation. It is pointed out that to commence deportation of 1901 expired for boys in 1902 is an unexpected injustice. To remove such a high percentage in two years, as is proposed, with no prospect of replacement, must end in disaster. No planter will attempt to recruit for one year's service, and this is a great fault in the Bill. Fix definitely the term when licences are cancelled, and growers will know what they have to face. Five years is but a drop in the ocean of time of this great Commonwealth.

As Queensland has placed its destiny, to a large extent, into the hands of men who know little of its requirements, and under the belief that its interests would be conserved, the proper course for the Federal Parliament to take, if my recommendations are not accepted, before doing a great injustice to a large section of the Commonwealth, is to appoint a Royal commission of inquiry, and then abide the issue.

If an inquiry were made I venture to say that the planters of Queensland would accept the conclusion arrived at by the commission whether in their favour or against them, but it would be unfair and unjust to the large number of people who have invested every shilling they possess, and who have spent the best years of their lives in connexion with the sugar industry, to pass a Bill such as this, which would tend, if not to utterly destroy

the industry, to very seriously injure it and put it back a number of years. I hope that honorable members will consider very seriously the arguments which I have advanced. I fear that I have not been able to place them before the House as well as I should have liked, or as well as some other honorable members would have done. I am very anxious, however, that everything should be done to promote the welfare of that sunny land of which I am so extremely fond, and whose interests will be dear to me till the day of my death.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—I am sorry that the Prime Minister is absent from the Chamber, as I wish to congratulate him upon the very able speech which he made, from my point of view, upon the second reading of this Bill. He placed the whole position before honorable members as clearly and explicitly as any man could possibly do. He concealed nothing, but told us everything in connexion with the movement since the date of the introduction of the kanaka into Queensland. I am one of those who say that the kanaka traffic is a curse. The sooner we get rid of this curse the better. Perhaps my testimony will not count for much with the Prime Minister, as I am merely one of the rank and file of the third party, but nevertheless I honestly desire to congratulate him upon his very admirable speech. The honorable member for Oxley has stated that the question of the employment of kanaka labour was not made a test one at the last general elections. I deny that. I did not have the pleasure of hearing the honorable member for Oxley on the hustings, but I heard his opponent one night at South Brisbane. I was passing through Brisbane during my electioneering tour, and having an evening to spare, I attended to hear the views of the opponent of the honorable member. That gentleman particularly referred to the kanaka question. He was asked from the body of the hall—“Are you in favour of the immediate exclusion of all kanaka labour?” His reply was “Yes.” I saw by the *Courier*, later on, that at the same place a similar question was put to the honorable member for Oxley, who replied that he was in favour of the kanaka going, but wanted to give him some time. Yet the honorable member comes here this afternoon and says that the kanaka is indispensable. This is the first time during

my political career that I have ever heard the kanaka championed on the ground that he was indispensable. On every other occasion the plea urged has been for a continuance of this traffic for a few years. During the past seventeen years the same old cry has been raised. At the election which the honorable member for Oxley contested, the labour candidate secured 3,299 votes, whilst the anti-labour votes recorded were 3,753. The result, therefore, proves that the labour candidate lost by only about 480 votes. If these figures do not show that this question was made a test one at the election, I do not know what would. Furthermore, directly the Prime Minister had unfolded the Government policy at Maitland what happened? A pamphlet was published by the Hon. A. J. Thynne, who was disgracefully beaten in the Senate election in Queensland. It is useless for the honorable member for Oxley to come here and say that the question of the exclusion of kanakas was not made a test one. The leading paper of Queensland, the *Brisbane Courier*, threw down the gauntlet. It stated that the question at issue was a white Australia or none at all. The labour party took up the cry, which went throughout the length and breadth of Australia. What was the result? Only two men in this Chamber have advocated the retention of black labour. One is a Victorian and the other a Tasmanian. As far as I am concerned Victoria and Tasmania can have all the kanakas. We do not want one of them in Queensland, and I should say, from the way in which the Victorian representatives have voted, they are evidently not wanted here. But they want population in Tasmania, and therefore I say, “Send them over to Tasmania. They can make jam there, if they can do nothing else.” I have in my hand Mr. Thynne’s pamphlet, entitled, “Alien Immigration: The Truth about Queensland and Coloured Races. Sugar-growing in the Tropics.” It was published directly after the Prime Minister’s declaration at Maitland, so that if this question was not made a test one I do not know what was. I wish now to deal with the statement of the honorable member for Melbourne that the Prime Minister had introduced this Bill to placate the labour party. I would point out that the Prime Minister wanted a white Australia before he knew there was going to be a federal labour party. It is said that if the planters up

north had known they were going to be treated in this manner there would have been no federation. I wish to tell honorable members that the desire for federation in certain quarters of Queensland was prompted by the idea that its accomplishment would enable them to dish the labour party, and send representatives to this Parliament to do as they liked with the kanaka traffic. But they were mistaken. The recent federal election was the first occasion on which representatives were returned upon the broad franchise of one-man-one-vote. All honour to those members of the Convention who introduced that provision. It gave Queensland a chance of saying whether she should be white or black. It was the power of our organization in Queensland which placed us in the position which we occupy to-day. I ask honorable members to tell me whether or not any of the "boodlers" have any organization? The labour party are without any money except what they collect from the individual workers. Every man is willing, however, to contribute his little mite to down the "boodler," and the very first chance that offered, what was the result? We have settled this question for all time. I am confident that, when the Federal Electoral Bill is passed, the franchise which it confers will be the broadest under the sun. I believe that we are going to have an electoral law which will give the labour party a chance for all time. Of course I am aware that this is very unpalatable to one or two of my friends from Queensland.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—We will all join the party.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member is getting on very well, and if he travels at the same pace at which he has travelled since his advent to this Parliament, he will soon outstrip the labour party. More power to him. I shall be behind him, and push him forward, if he will support democratic legislation. It has been urged that the "white Australia" vote was a catch vote. But what was the voice of the Commonwealth upon that principle? How is it that the cry of a white Australia caught on from one end of the Continent to the other? The explanation is very simple. When the Premiers of the different colonies—on their return from the Jubilee celebrations in England, where they had conferred with Mr. Chamberlain upon the introduction

of legislation for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants—made a compact to give us a white Australia, the Queensland Premier rattled, and made a secret treaty with the Japanese Government. The country at the time knew nothing about it. The fact had to be completely dragged out of him before the public knew anything about it. These are the sort of men who have been at the head of affairs in Queensland. If we revert to the recent election for the Darling Downs vacancy, we shall see what mean, contemptible tactics the Premier of that State adopted. Mr. Philp actually tried to influence the electors against Mr. Barton's nominee. When a Premier stoops to such petty things, what will he do in big things? Yet we are asked why we have not freed Queensland of this black labour before! We are here to do it. All honour to the Prime Minister when he says that he is going to give us a brand spanking new white Australia for a New Year's gift. How honorable members can advocate the retention of black labour I do not understand. The honorable and learned member for Parkes twitted a certain section of the House with fighting shy of the kanaka. There is an old saying that it is a dirty bird which fouls its own nest. We know that our nest is dirty, and we do not come here to foul the nest of Queensland. We came here to make that State white. If we could have done so without being taunted in this fashion, I should not have spoken. But, instead, we have been told that we wish to sneak this Bill through as best we can with the support of the Barton Government.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Who said that?

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable and learned member for Parkes. I will show that we are not afraid of this question.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON. — Is the honorable member aware that Mr. Philp denied those allegations?

Mr. PAGE.—Can he deny what he is reported to have said by interjection in *Hansard*? He deliberately stated to the Darling Downs electors, that Mr. Barton's Immigration Restriction Bill aimed a blow at the Germans and Danes. "If you vote for Groom," he said, "you will not be able to bring out your German or Danish friends." That statement was scattered in pamphlet form broadcast throughout the Darling Downs electorate. What is the

use of denying a statement which appears in black and white?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—It brought Mr. Barton to book.

Mr. PAGE.—Not yet. Thank goodness we are above Philp's gag. He cannot gag the Federal Parliament as he gagged the State Parliament of Queensland. Nor can the honorable and learned member for Brisbane gag us as he did in Queensland.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I never tried to do so.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable and learned member not only tried, but he did it. I now want to refer to the voice of Queensland on this question. I suppose every honorable member of this Parliament has received a book entitled *A White Australia*, written by the special commissioner of the Melbourne *Herald*—one of the finest, straightest, and clearest accounts of the kanaka traffic that could possibly be published. The book was sent out free, and if any honorable member will not read it under these circumstances, he does not deserve to have a copy. I shall quote largely from this book, because I know everything in it is absolute fact, and when I have done, if any honorable member can stand up and defend the traffic—well, God help him, so far as a “white Australia” is concerned. As to the voice of Queensland on the subject the writer says:—

During the general election campaign the planters were in a poor way. The only alternative to the policy of Mr. Barton was that of Mr. Reid, and behold! the “same old George” was, or appeared to be, even more strongly insistent upon a white Australia than Mr. Barton. Towards the end of the campaign Mr. Reid visited Brisbane, and there seemed to be oppressed with doubts.

That is what flattened him. The account continues—

He had not learned the rights of the question; some new light had come to him—it came strangely to the more experienced Sir Samuel Griffith in 1892—he would inquire personally, and so on.

The right honorable member told the people that he would come back and inquire after the election. He must have taken Queenslanders for “mugs.” He called one Queensland politician a “mug,” and he must have thought they were all political “mugs” when he threw a bait of that kind. But we were not “taking any,” and the consequence, we are told, was that Queensland, in

electing six senators, elected four who were anti-kanaka, and two who were pro-kanaka. But these figures are wrong, because every one of the senators had declared for a white Australia. The only man who did not address a meeting in Queensland during the election was Mr. Ferguson.

Mr. McDONALD.—He issued a manifesto.

Mr. PAGE.—I will come to that. When Mr. Ferguson came back he was given a dinner at Rockhampton, and he there declared in favour of a “white Australia,” so that the whole six senators from Queensland are pledged to that object. Those who have traced the history of four or five of those senators ever since they took an active part in politics, will know what their belief is, so far as the kanaka question is concerned. Senators Dawson, Higgs, Drake, Stewart, Glassey, and Ferguson all declared for a “white Australia.” The only man there was any doubt about was Senator Ferguson, but he made it clear at Rockhampton that he also was for a “white Australia.” These facts are pretty emphatic, and I do not see how honorable members can continue to say that the voice of Queensland is against a “white Australia.” What did the voice of Darling Downs say? All the influence it was possible to bring to bear was directed against the Barton Government candidate. Every means was tried to defeat his return, and kanaka labour was made a test question, with the result that the Barton Government candidate beat Mr. Philp's candidate by a majority of nearly 2,000. If that is not emphatic, I do not know what is. The book to which I have referred, goes on to say—

The State had also to elect nine members of the House of Representatives. The figures were—

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Anti-kanaka | ... | ... | ... | 7 |
| Pro-kanaka | ... | ... | ... | 2 |

| | | |
|------------------------------|-----|---|
| Majority against the kanakas | ... | 5 |
|------------------------------|-----|---|

The honorable member for Brisbane and the honorable member for Oxley are the only two whom I know to be in favour of kanaka labour, and if that fact is not emphatic as showing what the voice of Queensland is, I do not know what honorable members want. It is said that many electors who ought to have voted did not vote. But are we to stand still because men will not go to the poll?

Can we drag them to the ballot-box? The electors knew what was at stake, because politicians were going through the States addressing public meetings. The whole of the press was "bouncing" the labour party with the idea of ending its existence. As I said before, the reason the press were so anxious for federation was that it was thought the labour party could be "bounced" out of existence in the Federal Parliament, and that their opponents could do with the sugar industry just as they thought fit. But they sharpened the knife to cut their own throats. The cry of the sugar-planters now is that the term of five years is too short, and that further time should be given. But we know that ten years would be declared to be too short. What did the sugar-planters say in 1892 when Sir Samuel Griffith brought in his Polynesian Labourers Extension Act? They then said that in ten years everything would be right, because in that time they would be able to look round and fix things up, and the industry would be placed on a stable footing, with the result that everything would go swimmingly, and there need not be any more kanaka traffic. On the eve of 1902 the self-same arguments are being used by the self-same men, who urge that unless kanaka labour is allowed the industry will be killed. The longer time we propose to give them the more time they want. The honorable member for Melbourne quoted the evidence of a ganger given before the Royal commission on this question. But he did not quote the whole of the evidence, and I shall give the balance. This quotation is from the pamphlet to which I have referred, and reads—

Now the position of ganger in a colliery is an honorable and useful one. It is not very agreeable; neither is it agreeable to work in a ship's hold discharging coals, nor to stand up to your knees in water at drainage and reclamation works. Does anybody seriously argue that because all men prefer agreeable work to disagreeable that therefore the disagreeable cannot be done by white labour? The answer can only be in the negative, and yet it is hardly an exaggeration to say that this is the effect of the argument based on that ganger's evidence during the discussion in the Queensland Assembly.

That brings me to the argument that white men are not able to work in Queensland. Let me tell honorable members I was employed for sixteen months on the Cairns line. First, I went out west to the Drummond range, and from there to Mackay, Townsville, Cooktown, and then

back to Cairns. I was there two years, and worked every day, without being sick for a single day. I worked up north as a ganger, having previously been employed as a labourer. The first start I got in life I got in a country where it is said white men cannot live because it is so hot. I have known it 120° in the shade in December and January, and have seen not one man, but hundreds of men, working in a cutting with the sun pouring down upon them continuously day after day. What is the use of honorable members saying that white men cannot work there? I will give honorable members what was said by Mr. Angus Gibson and the late Mr. Knox, chairman of the Colonial Sugar Company; and I suppose the honorable member for Oxley and the honorable member for Melbourne will accept the authority of these gentlemen as of some value. As to white men saying they cannot do the work there, I should be ashamed if I were one of them. In a letter in the *Australian Star* of 3rd June, 1899, Mr. E. W. Knox, late manager of the Octopus Sugar Company, said—

His company would be prepared to produce the sugar required by the Commonwealth, in the sub-tropical districts of Queensland and New South Wales by white labour exclusively if the Federation so wished.

Well, the Federation wishes it.

Mr. McDONALD.—Not only sub-tropical.

Mr. PAGE.—Mr. Knox was the chairman of the sugar company, and surely he will be accepted as an authority. He was interested in the industry financially, and I would like to know what the honorable member for Melbourne thinks of his statement.

Mr. HIGGINS.—May I ask whether that statement was made before the Bill was law or afterwards?

Mr. PAGE.—It was in 1899.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The honorable member said "sub-tropical."

Mr. PAGE.—I am giving facts, and the honorable member for Brisbane knows they are facts, because we have "slung" them at him often enough before. At the intercolonial conference of Chambers of Manufacture held in Melbourne, Mr. Angus Gibson said—

The sugar planters had come to the conclusion, however, that they would have to employ white men for the cultivation of sugarcane.

The honorable member for Oxley states that the kanaka labour was not a test question, but here we have the utterance of Mr. Angus Gibson in November, 1899. Mr. Gibson is one of the largest sugar-growers, and has a plantation at Bingarra. Mr. Gibson continued—

While they were driven into that corner, and while they had fought against Queensland influence bringing them to that condition, they thought the Commonwealth would be able to recoup them in a fair spirit.

Then we have in italics—

He dared not say that it would be impossible to cultivate sugar with European labour. He knew that his countrymen could work any where under the sun.

That is the straightest thing I have ever heard a man say. We all know what white men can do. So long as there is gold they will go in the sun for it; they have gone to the other extreme and opened up gold-mining at Klondike. I do believe that if there was a chance of getting gold out of the sun itself, white men would find some means of getting there.

Mr. SAWERS.—But white men die at Klondike.

Mr. PAGE.—That is the fortune of war—many men die in their beds. Mr. Gibson proceeded—

Climate or other conditions did not seem to have anything to do with them, if they were well paid.

This is the secret.

It was necessary that the men who worked in the fields should be well paid. These are undoubtedly the highest authorities on the point at issue in Australia, and both agree that it will be possible to produce all the sugar required for Federal Australia by white men exclusively.

These are planters engaged in the industry. These are the men we hear honorable members raving about as having millions invested in the industry, and as being about to be ruined by the Federal Government. These men say that white men can work at the industry, and the Barton Government have solved the question as to how it can be done. I am as sure as that we are in this chamber that this problem can be solved by the Barton Government under existing conditions. If white men are paid to work, they will do anything. It is said that the climatic conditions are against white men doing this work. Let me tell honorable members what the Governor-General has said about this unhealthy spot Cairns—

Lord Hopetoun, Governor-General of Australia, at Cairns last week, knocked the stuffing out of

the pro-kanaka rot about the terrible northern climate. He said to the Cairns people: "I came among you a month ago feeling very weak and very unwell, but a month's stay in your lovely climate has, I hope and believe, entirely set me on my legs again. When I go back to the southern States my appearance will be so improved, and I shall be so robust to look at, that I shall form an excellent advertisement for the virtues of the northern climate." His Excellency then read the text of a wire he was despatching to Mr. Barton, wherein he suggested that if the Federal Parliament persisted in sitting in winter no better climate or more charming place could be selected for sitting than Cairns. The rout of the pro-kanaka push is complete.

Cairns is the place where they say men are dying by thousands, and yet the Governor-General wants the Federal Parliament to sit there; so that these statements which we have heard about its unhealthy climate are mere moonshine. The honorable member for Oxley spoke of the kanaka as a good, kind, dear creature, who never did anything wrong, and who could not do wrong if he tried.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I did not say that.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member has said so, though perhaps not in those words.

Mr. WATSON.—He described the kanaka as harmless, though useful.

Mr. PAGE.—I intend to show honorable members where his harmfulness comes in, by referring to the moral aspect of the question, which has not been entered into by other honorable members; but before doing so there is another point upon which I wish to put the House right. I have been told that the Honorable Angus Gibson, when he made his statement, had something up his sleeve. He wanted the industry brought south of Mackay, because he thought that if that happened things would prosper. That was the idea he had in his head when he was speaking at the conference. The morality of the kanaka is not what the honorable member for Oxley would have us believe. Honorable members will have a different opinion of this dear, nice creature when I have quoted Charles Powers' denunciation of him. Charles Powers was Minister for Education just before he issued a manifesto, prior to going to the country at Maryborough, and that manifesto created a great sensation throughout Australia. I will read the account of his views—

Before Mr. Charles Powers followed the lead of some more distinguished public men, and affected the belief that the Queensland sugar industry could not be carried on without black labour, he delivered

a notable speech, in which he asked—"Is the social and material status of the community lowered by the introduction of servile labour?" His answer is apposite here. "Those who read history," he declared, "will at once say 'Yes.' But, unfortunately, the employer does not read history, or does not take to heart its lessons. Poverty, and despair that is bred of long-continued poverty, lead at last to callousness and the extinguishment even of the desire for better things, and a degeneration sets in as courage and hope die. More young girls have been driven to prostitution by poverty than by evil desires, and it is sad to think that our white population is now providing prostitutes for our kanaka population. The planters who introduced the traffic would be horrified with this phase of the traffic if their class had to supply these for their kanaka employés."

They would get rid of the kanaka very quickly then. It is the wives and daughters and sisters of such as me, of those who are labouring hard and who do the pioneering work of Queensland, that will come under the lash. It is the easiest thing in the world for those who are reared in the lap of luxury, and have a good home, to remain uncontaminated by these alien docile curses. I can call them nothing else. Yet they are the men with whom the honorable member for Oxley wants to flood Queensland. Shame on him to get up in this chamber and say that they are so good, and kind, and nice. I leave him to reflect upon this matter. He knows the condition of things as well as I do, and the statements which have appeared in every paper in Queensland.

Is it such a little thing that the girls of the white workers—the children of the poor—are the victims of the dreadful sacrifice? It is to me a horrible thought that one single child growing up in our State schools should be destined for such a fate; but then we rarely bring the black women from the islands with the men. A planter, to whom I lately mentioned this objection, said—"Oh, yes, but if there were no white prostitutes none of our women would be safe."

What does the honorable member for Oxley think of that? I think as much of my darling child as any wealthy squatter or planter thinks of his, and God forbid that any friend of mine should be degraded in this way. I have said time and again that these women, although they have fallen so low, were once somebody's darlings—some one has pressed them to their breast and called them "my darling." Let honorable members think of that. Let them imagine what their feelings would be if one of their family was brought to this degradation, and they saw them in the arms of one of these black, docile curses. It is enough to make

my spirit rebel to think that an honorable member should advocate in this chamber the cause of these dear, docile creatures. They are ruining us morally and socially. All honour, I say, to the Prime Minister for the speech he made at Maitland, and for facing this problem in the way he did. He is going to emancipate Australia. We are threatened with a curse which they have in America, though to a lesser degree, but, thank God, the day has come when the kanakas must go. I wish the honorable and learned member for Parkes were here this afternoon to hear what I have to say. It is he and his class who are afraid of the kanaka, and they want to make prostitutes of those of my class, so that they may make all they can on the plantations out of their flesh and blood. The writer of the *Herald* articles says that the kanaka business is infamous, and this is the conclusion he comes to with regard to its moral phase. This is the best part of the whole book—

In my own opinion the situation at Cairns supplies in itself, and apart from everything else, an unanswerable condemnation of the kanaka traffic. It will be remembered that it was deemed necessary in the town mentioned to retain Japanese prostitutes for the use of the kanakas, because it was considered that otherwise white women would not be safe. We are, therefore, led to the following reflections:—

(a) The kanaka is brought into a highly civilized British country in order that he may help to bear the white man's burden.

(b) The kanaka, being a mere savage (even though you occasionally find a hymn-book in his bunk), becomes a menace to the white man's wife and daughters.

(c) Japanese prostitutes are provided with a profitable field.

(d) The white man's wife and daughters are virtually required by the said white man himself to live under the "protection" of the Japanese prostitutes.

(e) Daughters of civilization, offspring of British fathers and mothers, the sweet school girl of the years that have gone, afterwards, may be, the beloved of some honest British man's heart, yields to the embrace of a filthy savage.

All this in a Christian State under the British flag. Surely it is at this point in the affairs of the kanaka traffic that young Queensland, "made a gazing stock both by reproaches and affliction," may wring her hands in very shame, and raising her contrite voice, exclaim with King Claudius, "Oh, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven."

That is my colony. I hope, as the honorable member for Oxley has said, that my bones will rest there; but, while I have a voice, it will be raised against this traffic, and my vote will

always be given for a "white Australia." I am afraid of the kanaka, and of every black man, because I do not want my race to be contaminated with theirs. They may say that their race is pure, and I have reason to believe from what I have read that it is; but, while I am willing to believe that ours is a mixed race, I say that we should not mix it any further, except with those of our own colour. Who dares to say that the Anglo-Saxon race is not the finest under the sun? In the heat of the torrid zone, and in the cold of the frigid zone, there they are to be found. The Honorable Angus Gibson dare not say that the white man cannot work in Northern Queensland. I have proved it by practical example. The first rise I made was by working on the railways there, and honorable members can see that it has done me no harm. And, as I told the honorable member for Northern Melbourne some time ago, the stock in Queensland is just as good as the sample. If we look at the men in the southern parts of Queensland, and compare them with the men in the north of the State, we shall see that the northern men come out on top all the time. There is another phase of this question I desire to touch upon—and I may as well sheet it home to these kanaka lovers—and that is the dire disease that these coloured races bring amongst us. Ever since I saw a leprous kanaka working in the cane-fields up north, at Port Douglas, I have never touched sugar, and when I read the figures I have in my hand I do not think other honorable members will touch sugar either. Now this furnishes proof that leprosy originated amongst these aliens. In Queensland, in 1889, there were eleven lepers all Chinese. Three years afterwards, three Europeans were found to be suffering from the disease. From the 30th June, 1898, to 1st July, 1899, there were 22 cases of leprosy reported, made up as follow:—English, 3; Danish, 1; Queensland, 1; aboriginals, 2; Chinese, 1; Pacific Islanders, 14. This was taken from the journals of the Parliament of Queensland, October 1899. Sixteen of these lepers came from the sugar districts of Queensland.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is only when these islanders come to Queensland that they contract leprosy—they do not get it before they come there.

Mr. PAGE.—I do not know that they bring it from the islands, but they certainly

show it in Queensland. I suppose that the Chinese first brought it in. I was personally acquainted with one of these lepers to which I have referred—the Dane. He was an honest hard working fellow out west at the town of Isisford, and we can see from his case how the disease may spread, and how it, perhaps, is spreading unknown to us. The avocation he was following was that of a fisherman, on the Barcoo River, and he used to go round from house to house selling the fish. Every one knows that fish practically produces leprosy—living on fish diet brings it on. Dr. Munro, the great authority on leprosy, says that the seeds of leprosy sometimes take half a century to mature, so that the fact that people do not show any signs of leprosy, is not convincing evidence that the seeds of the disease are not developing in their systems. Half the people in the town of Isisford may be lepers and not know it. The Queensland Government brought this Dane down from Isisford to Ilfracombe on the Central Railway line, and took him to Peel Island. They conveyed him through the streets, and in the public railway carriages. Now is not that a fine state of affairs, and do not the facts I have mentioned thus afford a further reason why we should vote for the Bill? The number of lepers officially recorded in New South Wales was as follows:—In 1883 there were five Chinese; in 1884 two Chinese, and one Javanese; in 1887 one Chinese; in 1888 four Chinese; and in 1889, six years after, one European. So that honorable members will see that the disease is coming south. In Victoria out of eight recorded cases of leprosy, one was that of a European.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is due to the association with Chinamen.

Mr. PAGE.—Yes, perhaps so. But leprosy is a vile Eastern disease, and we should get rid of all Asiatics. I am not in love with any of them—we do not want them, or any of their diseases, whether they be Chinese, Javanese, or any other "ese." In the Sandwich Islands, in 1853, there was only one case of leprosy; in 1859, there were a few cases; in 1864, 230 cases; and at the end of 1888, there were no fewer than 11,000 lepers suffering from this disease, out of a population of 67,000.

Mr. WATSON.—Those lepers are mostly Pacific Islanders, too.

Mr. PAGE.—If we had the same proportion of lepers in Queensland, they would number 70,000. Our numbers are increasing every year, and the example of rapid increase in the Sandwich Islands should be sufficient, leaving everything else out of the question, to induce honorable members to get rid of these aliens. Are we going to allow the whole of the white races to be contaminated by the introduction of this scourge amongst us? I say, "No."

Mr. HIGGINS.—What causes the kanakas to contract leprosy more than do white people?

Mr. PAGE.—I do not know, but possibly weakness of physique.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Do the kanakas eat more fish than do white people?

Mr. PAGE.—Yes, the kanaka eats fish pretty liberally when he can get it. There is one matter to which I wish to particularly refer. It is a statement which I clipped out of the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 5th October, a telegraph message from New Zealand, published under the head of "Parsee Workmen in Fiji."

In the House of Representatives Mr. Millar asked the Minister for Labour if his attention had been drawn to a report that the Colonial Sugar Company were importing Parsee fitters, blacksmiths, and carpenters, to take the place of Britishers at present employed in their sugar mills at Fiji.

We have heard a great deal of talk about loyalty, and if that is not enough to make any man loyal, I do not know what would be. These Parsees are British subjects, but they belong to a subject race, and I hope they always will do.

Mr. Seddon replied that he had received a communication on this subject, and while regretting very much that in Fiji, so near our own colony, these Parsees should be introduced, at the same time, so far as this colony was concerned, we were not entitled to interfere, Fiji being a Crown colony. It was not desirable to disturb the relations between the Commonwealth and this colony and those intrusted with the control of affairs in Fiji.

This opens up another phase of the question, and I would ask honorable members whether they would like to see the white men now dependent upon the sugar industry supplanted by such people as these? It is my ambition to see the whole of the coloured labourers supplanted by white men. I come now to the question of pay. The Honorable Angus Gibson was quite satisfied that sugar could be grown by means of white labour, so long as the planters would pay for

it. Now, I would ask any honorable member whether he would work in a tropical climate from sunrise to sunset for less money than he could get in Sydney or Melbourne? If the sugar planters will pay the wages they will get the men. How does the squatter get his shearers? If the planters make it worth the while of cane cutters to go round in exactly the same way as the shearers travel round to shear sheep, the men will go soon enough. When I was working in Northern Queensland on the railways I was getting £7 a week.

Mr. HIGGINS.—As a ganger?

Mr. PAGE.—Yes; and when I was contracting for myself I sometimes made £10 a week. They made it worth my while to do the work, and I stopped there until I got a little money together. If the planters paid good wages, they could get plenty of men to take the employment they have to give. It is only a question of wages. There are as fine and healthy-looking men in Northern Queensland as in any part of the globe. I was very much amused to see a statement in the *Age* as to some threatened rebellion in Queensland. The very people who were talking about law and order to the rouseabouts and shearers in 1891 are now going to take up the same attitude as we did then. The Prime Minister answered the question that was asked him on this subject very well. These white men in Queensland are now going to fight for the black man; but they brought white men from Victoria, New South Wales, and Tasmania to "down" us in Queensland, and take the bread from our mouths ten years ago, and that is the sort of thing that the men I have the honour to represent in far western Queensland would very much resent. They only wish that those who are dissatisfied with this Bill would rebel. We should then give them a dose of their own physic. There is nothing that would give me greater pleasure than to take up one of those magazine rifles that the Minister for Defence has asked us to practice with, in defence of a white Australia, and there are many thousands more who would do the same thing. We should very soon settle the kanaka business. I only wish they would rebel, but talk is cheap.

Mr. FISHER.—It will never come to that.

Mr. PAGE.—I wish it would. We should settle things quick and lively, but, on the face of it, the whole suggestion is amusing.

The very thing for which they condemned us, they are resorting to themselves. When my friends in Queensland learn this, it will make them laugh, because we were told at that time that we should use constitutional means and not bullets to effect reform. We have used the constitutional means. What is the result? The honorable and learned member from Brisbane and the honorable member for Oxley are still howling against us for having used those means.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The honorable member is the only one I have heard howl in the chamber.

Mr. PAGE.—I know that the honorable member does not like it. I can quite understand his talking like this. Up in Queensland he was a "little tin-god," but down here he is only a small tin bucket. On the floor of this Chamber the labour members are treated with the same respect as is meted out to other honorable members. In Queensland they are called robbers, thieves, fire-brands, the associates of thieves, and everything else that is bad. The honorable and learned member for Brisbane was one of those who helped to put them in gaol. By putting them in gaol he assisted to put them into Parliament. Fancy the honorable and learned member having to associate with criminals in Parliament.

Mr. FISHER.—Not one of them was a criminal.

Mr. PAGE.—No; they were heroes, every one of them, during the 1891 strike, when the Government patched up a George III. Act in order to convict them.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I do not think that the honorable member's reference has anything to do with the Bill.

Mr. PAGE.—The same men who suffered from the kanakas are now sitting in the Queensland Legislative Assembly. I am satisfied that I have put my side of the case quite as clearly as did the honorable member for Oxley, and the honorable and learned member for Brisbane. I am content to leave it to honorable members to decide whether the kanaka is the docile, good, and nice person he has been represented to be. Are they prepared to have in our midst the filthy wretch whom I have depicted? It is easy enough to be virtuous, chaste, and good on £10,000 a year, but it is people of my class who have to suffer. On 30th March of this year the electors of Maranoa

emphatically recorded their desire for a "white Australia." I am here, not only to vote for that, but to fight for it, and fight for it I will as long as I live.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS (Robertson).—We have heard two very excellent speeches this afternoon upon the kanaka question. That delivered by the honorable member for Oxley, appeared to me to be a most serviceable one. It was full of information, and I should gather from it that the honorable member is a very strong supporter of those persons in Queensland who desire a continuance of the kanaka traffic, although he, as well as the honorable member for Maranoa, believes that it should be discontinued at the very earliest possible date. The effect of the speech delivered by the honorable member for Melbourne also was that the traffic in this class of labour should be discontinued. The point at issue appears to be whether it should terminate in five, seven, or ten years. That is really the crux of the question. I think the honorable member for Maranoa made it very clear that that is only a "stall." Ten years ago next year, it was stated that if the planters were allowed to employ kanakas for another decade, they would be able to recoup all their out-of-pocket expenses, and the loss on the wear and tear of machinery, and that they would be in a position to continue the manufacture of sugar with European labour. That period has arrived. It is always an extension of time which is clamoured for by other people, who have had the opportunity of conducting their manufacturing with white labour. In the early history of Australia we know that the people had an opportunity of engaging cheap convict labour. Later on, an outcry was raised against the discontinuance of that class of labour. Wherever alien inferior coloured races have been employed, it will be found that there has been an agitation against the abolition of the traffic. I take it that the form of labour which is employed in North Queensland is not dissimilar from that which was employed in the cotton plantations of America. When the agitation for the abolition of that slavery began, there was just as strong an outcry for compensation as is heard in Queensland to-day. Any person reading the articles of the special commissioner referred to this afternoon, who reported upon the sugar industry in Northern Queensland, must be convinced that they are faithful to

the very letter, and that the traffic in Polynesian labourers is one that should be discontinued at the earliest possible date. The writer had no personal interest to serve, and he tells a plain and unvarnished tale of the condition of things in that locality. He has brought forward the evidence of no less a person than Dr. Maxwell to show that the white man can do the work required of him in Northern Queensland; and surely if there is any point in dispute at all in connexion with this question, it is as to whether the white man can work north of Mackay. According to the testimony of those who are most familiar with this matter, and who have the welfare of Australia at heart, this work can be done by Europeans. But the question is one of cost. I find that the difference between the employment of the kanaka and of the European is just the difference between £35 and £80 a year. Whilst the kanaka is very much cheaper than the white man, it is admitted that the latter can do very much more work. Consequently the difference of cost between the employment of white labour and of the kanaka is not the difference between £35 and £80, but is actually a proportion between those figures. If the planters were to introduce European labour they would, of course, make a very much less profit. The large corporation which is carrying on its work in Northern Queensland and Fiji is paying dividends at the rate of 10 per cent., and setting aside immense sums every half-year to its reserve account, thus clearly showing that it is making immense profits out of the traffic in coloured labour. This fact lends weight to the statement that the industry can be successfully conducted by the employment of white labour. The fact really is, that there is so much to be gained by the employment of cheap labour that persons are very loath to part with it. If we come closer home, we find that no black labour is employed upon the plantations in New South Wales. The planters there pay their employes about 40s. a week, and turn out with white labour sugar which is quite equal to the Queensland article. It is really, therefore, a question of price. It is a question of profit between the planter and the labourer. I understand that a telegram has been received from Bundaberg in which one of the largest planters of that district says that the sugar-growers of Queensland would rather accept a

continuance of the kanaka traffic for three years than the Government proposal as foreshadowed the other evening. It thus becomes evident that, if the planters cannot get an extension of their right to employ coloured labour for ten years, they will accept seven, and if they cannot get the right of continuing this labour for seven years, they will agree to a term of five years, whilst if they cannot obtain the right to a five years' extension, they will agree to three years. Ten years ago they said, "Give us the right to continue to employ this labour for ten years, and we shall then be prepared to abolish it." The Government have been very liberal in their proposal to the planters of Northern Queensland. It seems to me that honorable members on this side of the House are prepared to give the Ministry large support in connexion with this matter. If I had been called upon to vote for the immediate discontinuance of the kanaka traffic, I should have been ready to do so. A limited time might be allowed the planters in which to deport these Pacific Islanders, but their engagement under indenture should cease at the earliest opportunity. It appears to me that one question which must arise in the mind of every honorable member is, "Will the people of the Commonwealth tolerate the state of slavery which prevails in Northern Queensland?"

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—No.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member is, I am sure, well acquainted with the traffic. He has heard all the arguments to be advanced in favour of its continuance as told in the clubs of Queensland. But as a politician of large experience I think he will admit that there is strong argument to substantiate the contention that a state of semi-slavery prevails in Northern Queensland. In the pamphlet which has been largely quoted this afternoon, I find the following passage:—

It is not only a traffic in living flesh and blood, but in human life. The death rate of the kanakas in Queensland, as I have shown in these articles, is not so high as it used to be, but it is still very high. It is estimated that up to the end of 1894, about 50,500 kanakas had been imported into Queensland, of which number no fewer than 10,000—some say 11,000—had died.

Roughly speaking, therefore, 10 out of every 50 kanakas shipped into Queensland die off like flies. We find that they readily contract the worst forms of disease that European flesh is heir to. The explanation is simple enough if one reads carefully

the books of Louis Stevenson, who lived amongst them. That author states that as soon as the kanaka takes to the consumption of European food, dons European clothing, and conforms to the customs of Europeans—which are always the vices of the Europeans—he will contract their diseases, and die. That is the experience in Queensland to-day. It was also the experience there 30 years ago. It is the experience in the islands when the kanakas are returned to their homes. I have travelled amongst some of those islands, and can bear testimony to the fact that many of the statements made by Mr. Louis Stevenson and the Rev. J. G. Paton, who was referred to yesterday, are absolutely true. I think that we should pay the greatest respect to their testimony. We should also be guided by the records contained in the two valuable volumes of the latter's experiences in the New Hebrides. I am inclined to think that had we Sir Henry Parkes in the Chamber, we should find him speaking out boldly for a discontinuance of the traffic at the very earliest date. Sir Henry Parkes, at the time Sir Samuel Griffiths recanted, wrote to the daily press, putting on record his protest against the action taken by that statesman. It has been stated here time and again that Queensland protests. But I contend that I am here to-day as a representative of Queensland, seeing that I am a representative in the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. When the Premier of Queensland speaks, he speaks for a section of the community and should be heard; but honorable members are sent here for the purpose of legislating on this question, and I, as one of the representatives of the Commonwealth, desire to speak on it. Sir Henry Parkes used these words:—

There is a higher tribunal than the Government of Queensland—the tribunal of civilization. If our neighbours have not the status for active interference—

That was before federation—

—they have the right and the duty to remonstrance and the right and duty to let the world know that this diseased passion for degraded labour is confined within the borders of Queensland.

It is not now confined within the borders of Queensland, and it is our duty as legislators to see that the traffic is stopped at the earliest opportunity. I consider the Government proposal too liberal to the sugar refiners. The honorable member for Oxley, who has spoken

out so fearlessly on behalf of the planters who desire another ten years, may be complimented on his courage; but I do not think he can expect much support in his contention. All that has been said by the honorable member for Maranoa as to the amount of disease that is contracted from the kanaka, the amount of degradation caused by his mingling amongst white people, and the immorality which prevails in Northern Queensland, is most appalling. I have it on the testimony of a gentleman who has come down here from the State to represent the interests of the planters, that the kanakas live in a state of prostitution or immorality with European women in that part of Queensland, and subsequently marry them. I do not wish to enlarge on this phase of the question, for other members who directly represent those districts will have something to say concerning it. But I think that in the interests of the kanaka himself he should be sent back. If his agreement were terminated immediately I do not think the kanaka would raise any objection, even if he were able to do so. His island home is as sweet to him, and I think sweeter, than his home in Northern Queensland. Before he went to Queensland he had his living provided at hand, and when he returns he has little trouble in again gaining a living; but his period of existence is a short one at best when he does return. In a large proportion of cases these returned kanakas have to go to the lazarette on the island where Father Damien died, in the Hawaiian group. Many of the kanakas who have returned to the Solomon and Samoan groups, as well as the Society Islands and New Hebrides, have contracted leprosy, and have had to be removed to the island I have mentioned. We not only find them contracting leprosy in Northern Queensland, but also in the Hawaiian group, especially at Honolulu, where the Japanese and Chinese form about half of the population. The kanakas have, in many cases, contracted leprosy before going to Queensland, and those who have not already contracted it by adopting European customs and European food, appear to develop it very readily in tropical Queensland. However, I am prepared to give support to the Bill, and only regret that it allows so much time for the continuance of this labour. If Ministers will change their mind in committee, and propose the discontinuance of the licence

Mr. Henry Willis.

system, and complete deportation within three years, of the kanakas now there, I shall be amongst their supporters.

Mr. BAMFORD (Herbert).—In addressing myself to this subject it is hardly possible to avoid, at any rate, crossing the lines which have been traversed in the most able and comprehensive speech of the Prime Minister. Especially is that so in treating of the history of this question, and I purpose just to glance at that history, without taking up too much time, because when a question is being debated from only one side it becomes rather monotonous. The opposition to this measure is so slight, that I am sure that even now members have decided how they are going to express their opinions by their votes. The honorable member for Maranoa, in a Niagara of eloquence, said that there is a curse attached to this black traffic. I will say at once that the word "traffic" is very suggestive of the way in which this business has been conducted. So far as I have been able to learn, the first kanakas landed in Queensland were landed at Bowen, Port Denison. Whether it be that there is a Nemesis which pursues the persons or community which traffics in the flesh and blood of fellow creatures, or whether it is simply the long arm of coincidence, I cannot say; but from that day to this that place has been blighted. Notwithstanding that it has one of the finest harbors on the Australian coast, a magnificent back country suitable for pastoralists, and a very fertile agricultural country, and that it has the lowest death rate in Australasia, from that time to the present, Bowen has been practically extinct from a business point of view. I am sorry that that is so, because Bowen is one of the nicest and most beautifully situated little places I have seen in Australia. Unfortunately sugar has always been grown by blacks. There has hung over this business, as somebody said, the "trail of a hateful usage." It is simply because in the West Indies and other places it has been the custom to grow this particular product with the aid of black labour, that it has been deemed impossible to carry on the industry in Australia with any other kind of labour. But I say advisedly, notwithstanding what has fallen from the honorable member for Oxley, that no honest attempt has been made to grow sugar otherwise. It was so profitable to grow it with coloured labour,

and as the Government of Queensland have always been in sympathy with that particular kind of labour, there was no desire to change the system. In 1885 we come to the most important epoch in the history of the sugar industry. That was the year in which Sir Samuel Griffith tabled a resolution to do away with licences for recruiting at the end of 1890. A great deal of capital has been made of the fact that shortly after that resolution was submitted there was a considerable diminution in the amount of acreage under cane. But that diminution can be explained as due to other causes. At any rate, in 1890 there was a considerable increase in the area under cultivation over the previous acreage, and from April, 1892, when recruiting had absolutely ceased for a period of two years, the acreage still increased, thus showing conclusively that notwithstanding that black labour was denied to the industry for that period, it was possible with the altered conditions to cultivate a larger area and produce considerably more sugar. The figures on which I rely are those of the Registrar-General of Queensland, and they may be considered undeniable. Much capital has been made out of this phase of the question, and altogether without foundation. In 1892, we know that Sir Samuel Griffith "recanted," as it has been termed; but what was the reason? As we all know, in that period of our Australian history, Queensland, with the other colonies, was drifting along to a gulf of financial ruin, into which she afterwards stepped. There is no doubt that at that time pressure was brought to bear on Sir Samuel Griffith and the Ministry—the same kind of pressure that is now being brought to bear on Queensland sugar planters who are agitating for the kanaka traffic, namely, the pressure of the financial institutions. We know that in 1893, when Queensland went to the English market for a loan of £2,500,000, she got only something under £400,000. That was the result of the extravagance of Sir Samuel Griffith himself, in his loan policy in Queensland; and, in my opinion, it was to find a scapegoat for his own maladministration, that he put forward the fact that the sugar industry was somewhat depressed, as the reason for the depression in Queensland. There is no evidence whatever to establish the position that Sir Samuel Griffith adopted, and although he did recant, he himself said at the time

that he was really doing it against his will. He expressed opinions at the time that incontestably proved he was driven to what he did by some influence stronger than himself. The honorable member for Melbourne last night quoted from a speech of Sir Thomas McLlwraith in 1893. I should like to call attention to something that was said during the election of 1893, by one of Sir Thomas McLlwraith's colleagues, who entered the Parliament of Queensland under the *ægis* of Sir Thomas himself. That gentleman was Mr. Kingsbury, who told the people of Bundaberg that "every brick and stone in the buildings of their city was cemented with the blood of slavery." That was a gentleman who stood side by side with Sir Thomas McLlwraith as a colleague in the representation of North Brisbane, and yet Sir Thomas is quoted here as being in favour of the continuance of the black labour traffic. I know that the remark which Mr. Kingsbury made is not original, but was used at Manchester some years ago in the anti-slavery agitation by Mr. G. V. Brooke, the tragedian. However, the words lose nothing of their force on that account. There was an attempt made to grow sugar by white labour with the aid of central mills; but it proved futile, as in the nature of things it was bound to do. It was urged that the growers were simply growing the cane for the benefit of the mill-owners, receiving only 8s. to 8s. 6d., and that, if there were central mills, higher prices would be obtained. But the temptation was so great that it was not to be expected that men would sacrifice themselves on the altar of their principles simply to establish the fact that cane can be grown by white men. When a man who was successfully growing cane by white labour found that his neighbour on the other side of the fence was employing kanakas and other aliens, as he was allowed to do by the law of the land, is it surprising that he felt tempted to adopt the same methods, and thus obtain larger profits? That is why men grow cane by black labour even for the Central Mills. It was thought that they should not do it, but there was no law to prevent it. In 1892 it was assumed, though, unfortunately, it was not made part of the law of the State, that in ten years the traffic would absolutely cease. The late Mr. W. H. Groom, who was one of the three Royal commissioners who investigated this subject, in a separate

report gives six reasons for the depression in the sugar industry which then existed. Among those reasons was the pressure of financial institutions, but he does not mention the difficulty of obtaining labour. What is more important is a statement made by one of the witnesses examined—Mr. Villiers Brown, a very influential man in Northern Queensland. He is a large ship-owner and merchant, and has been dealing in sugar for some years; and, I may add, I had the honor of beating him at the recent federal elections. Mr. Brown, in answer to question 5,220, confirmed the opinion of the late Mr. W. H. Groom that it was the pressure of the financial institutions, and the enormous interest which the planters had to pay, which was the cause of the then depression in the sugar industry. When he was asked as to the period within which the employment of kanaka labour should be abolished, he said it should not be less than five years. That statement was made nearly thirteen years ago, and the planters are still asking for another five, or another seven, or another ten years. Evidence coming from a man of that class is of very great importance. He is one of those who are now advocating the retention of the kanaka as indispensable. From the very beginning the cry has been raised that the planters only want a little more time. At no time, until the present, did they ask that the traffic should be made permanent. They were all willing that it should terminate at the end of some indefinite period, but now they say that its existence is indispensable to the industry. From the district which the honorable member for Oxley represents, the cry comes that black labour cannot be dispensed with. Something has been said in regard to the inspection; but no one knows better than those who have been in Northern Queensland that this inspection is an absolute farce, and means nothing whatever. Although an inspector does not give a formal notice of his visit, the planters and those interested are perfectly aware that he is coming within no distant date, and consequently everything is in apple-pie order when he arrives. I have known cases in which an inspector has come to a district only once in three years. People have been summoned for illegally employing kanakas, and have been fined 3s. 6d. and costs. Of course, the fine has been paid, and the kanaka has been at his work as usual the next

morning. There is a case on record—and I mention it with very great diffidence, because it is a delicate subject—which goes to prove that the kanaka is illegally employed all over the colony. The case to which I refer is that of a late member of the Federal Cabinet, who was fined 10s. for illegally employing a kanaka as a coachman. I do not say that the employment of kanakas is slavery, but the line of demarcation between it and slavery is not so broad nor so well defined as it should be. A little while ago, in a Mackay newspaper, there was an account of a meeting held at a place called Marion, a large sugar-growing centre—where nearly all the growers are small farmers—

Mr. DEAKIN.—What is the difference between a farmer and a planter?

Mr. BAMFORD.—The planter is the big man, and the farmer the little man. During the proceedings it was elicited that some men had been into Mackay looking for kanaka labour. The man who gave the information said that he had been acting for others, and he had found that the price of one of the agents was £22 10s., and of another £18. He asked what was the reason for the difference in price. Honorable members will see that they were treating the question as though they were dealing with a bale of wool or a ton of sugar. He was told that the reason of the difference was that one man obtained a larger commission than the other.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—They get so much a head.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Yes. There is in Mackay a gentleman named Croker, who advertises that he is taking orders for kanakas.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Kanakas for sale!

Mr. FOWLER.—It is easier to hire them than to buy them, or they would be bought and sold.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The traffic commenced with the Kidnapping Act of 1872—a very suggestive name for such a piece of legislation—and was conducted in a horrifying way until it culminated in the case of the *Hopeful*, when all Australia and England was roused to indignation. It was not because of the humanitarian principles of those engaged in the traffic that the law was altered. If public opinion had not been so strong, and

had not been wrought to white heat by the accounts which were published, the same conditions would prevail to-day. It is not those who are engaged in the traffic who have made it cleaner—because it is cleaner than it was—it is the force of public opinion. It is usual now, though somewhat in contravention of the law, to indent a number of islanders to a plantation, or even to the Central Mills which have been built by Government money. These men are brought over in bodies of 100 or 200, and are farmed out to the small growers in the neighbourhood. I have been told, on the best authority, that if a small cane farmer finds himself in financial straits—I am speaking now of farmers who lease land from planters who cut up their estates—and he goes to the planter and says, “I have a dozen white men who are willing to do my work; will you advance me the money to pay them wages?” the planter will say “No.” The farmer will be told, “Here are so many kanakas. I am willing to pay them, and to give them their rations, if you like to take them; but you cannot have an advance to pay the wages of white men.” The planters farm out the kanakas, and it is openly stated that they make a profit upon the traffic. In the districts in which the cane is grown it has become an established custom to farm out kanakas to small growers.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Do the regulations allow it to be done?

Mr. BAMFORD.—Honorable members must be acquainted with the fact that, where the Government closes its eyes to breaches of regulations, these breaches will take place. Under an amendment of the Act of 1884 a penalty of £10 was imposed for a breach of the regulations; but very few people were prosecuted, and it was found that the Justices Act overrode that Act, and gave magistrates power to impose any fine they chose. Of course, the fine now is merely nominal in nearly every case. The honorable member for Brisbane has himself stated in the Queensland Parliament that magistrates have sat on the bench and dealt with cases in which they themselves were the defendants. The matter was thrashed out in the Queensland Legislative Council, when the honorable member for Brisbane was Postmaster-General of Queensland.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Does the honorable member mean to say that magistrates have

tried cases in which they were the defendants?

Mr. BAMFORD.—Yes. That statement is published in the Queensland Parliamentary Debates for the year 1885.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The same thing has occurred in regard to other matters in some of the other States. I knew it to occur in New South Wales within the last twelve months, in a coal-mining dispute.

Mr. BAMFORD.—It is said that the kanaka spends most of his money in Queensland. I do not think that he does, or that Queensland would get a great deal in any case; but I wish to prove the fallacy of the statement. In February of the present year, when looking for information upon this question, I spoke to one of the largest storekeepers on the Lower Burdekin. He has been dealing with the kanakas directly and indirectly for the last 25 years. I asked him how the Japanese compared with the kanakas as customers, and he said, "I get nothing from the Japanese. They bring everything from Japan." As to the kanaka, he said that he did very little with him as compared with what he used to do. This gentleman has been a very long time in the trade, and has made a fortune.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Where do they get their supplies?

Mr. BAMFORD.—He explained to me that the kanakas, on being paid off from one of the plantations, only a few weeks previously, withdrew the savings that they had in the bank, amounting to perhaps £600 or £700, and went away with about £10 per man. This they took with them to their homes in the South Seas.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Of what use would the money be to them there?

Mr. BAMFORD.—They can get all they want from the French traders in the Islands who, not having to pay customs duties, can sell at lower rates than the Queensland storekeepers. In addition to that the Queensland law prohibits the kanakas from buying arms or ammunition but they can get as much as they want from the French traders, and that is the reason they are now "tumbling" to the business, and buying all they want in their own islands. The kanaka, therefore, is not of so much benefit to the State from a business point of view that he is generally supposed to be.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—All the rations and everything he eats and wears during the time he is in Australia must be bought here.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Yes. But I am speaking with regard to the kanaka's savings. A return furnished by Mr. Paget gives the average bank savings of the kanaka depositor at something like £7 per head, and when they go away they draw that money and take it with them. Now we come to the question of the ability of the white man to work on sugar plantations. In my opinion, there has never been an honest attempt made to show whether the white man can do the work or not. It has been the policy of the planter to make the work as degrading as he possibly could, because he wanted to use the white man as a lever to keep the other man in his place—not to displace him, but to keep him there. If the planters can make the work so distasteful to the white men that they will not do it under ordinary conditions and for the mean wages that are offered, they are able to say that the white men will not do the work, and that they must have the blackfellows to help them to carry on their operations. I have seen white men engaged in doing the dirtiest work that could be found for them about a mill, whilst the Japanese and kanakas were doing nice light work, such as repairing tram-lines and that sort of thing. These things were done with the deliberate intention of getting the white men to refuse the work.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I think the law prohibits the employment of kanakas at certain work on the cane-fields.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The law avowedly does that, but it is not enforced. The inspection is so lax that the law is evaded, and the Government wink at the evasion. It is the desire of the planters, and to their best interests, to evade the law, and, no doubt, if we were placed in like circumstances we should look at the matter in the same way.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Does the honorable member think that the white man can do all the work in all parts of the sugar-growing districts?

Mr. BAMFORD.—Yes; they have done it.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Even the trashing?

Mr. BAMFORD.—Yes. That is a question of which a great deal of capital has been made, but trashing is not absolutely necessary, and the price many of the cane-growers get for trashed cane does not represent the actual cost of the work. The fact is, that when the planters have a number of kanakas on a plantation for whom there is a slack season, when the cutting is over and the clearing-up after crushing has taken place, they put them on to do trashing. On the Herbert River the Colonial Sugar Refining Company have cut up their lands into small farms, and they have a number of tenant farmers. They also grow a certain amount of cane themselves. They make it a condition of the leases that the farmers must trash their cane, and for this work they give them from 6d. to 8d. per ton. But they do not trash their own cane. They pay for the percentage of sugar in the cane, which is judged by their own analyst in their own laboratory at the mill. When the cane is being crushed they mix their own untrashed cane with the trashed cane of the farmers, and if, as is generally supposed, the untrashed cane is slightly lower in density than the trashed cane, they get the benefit of the reduction in density caused by the mixing. That is in one of the districts in which they say cane trashing must be done, but there is no absolute necessity for it. They give 6d. to 8d. per ton extra for trashing the cane, but the farmers declare that the increase in price is not equal to the amount they have to spend in labour for trashing. **Mr. Thos. Mackay**, of Cairns, a man who has been engaged in the industry for 21 years, and has now made a competency and retired, told me that he has seen girls of 12 years of age trashing cane and doing it without any injury to themselves.

Mr. DEAKIN.—White or dark girls?

Mr. BAMFORD.—White girls. He holds that it is not absolutely necessary that the trashing should be done, and that in time trashing will be dispensed with altogether. In some cases they do not trash the cane at all, but they burn the leaves off a few days before crushing, and that answers the same purpose. I would like honorable members to know that the crushing always takes place at the coolest time of the year. The cane-cutting which has been so much spoken of, commences usually in June, and, as was stated by the honorable member for Maranoa, who read an extract

from a letter written by Lord Hopetoun, the climate in North Queensland in June, July, and August, and well into September, is simply perfect. It is a pleasure to be alive, and any man can work outside then.

I have worked outside myself, and the honorable member for Maranoa has told us he has done the same thing; and although I am not quite so robust as he is, I do not think I have suffered much from it. Reference has been made to the humidity of the climate, but during the six months from June to Christmas we have what we call our dry season. There may be a few showers, but no rain to speak of. The crushing is always finished by Christmas, because, with the new year we have the commencement of the rainy season, when all outdoor work is stopped; so that the argument that men would be incapable of working in the cane-fields owing to the humidity of the climate in these particular regions, is greatly discounted by the fact that at that particular time of the year there is no outdoor work done at all. They, perhaps, do a little planting and ploughing occasionally; but the rains are usually so heavy that work is almost entirely suspended. I dare say the honorable and learned member for Brisbane will say that he would be very sorry to see the white man reduced to working in cane-fields, but that work is positively ennobling compared to some of the work that I have seen done in the streets of Melbourne. If there is anything degrading in work—I do not say that there is—it is some of the work that is done in the factories and elsewhere around Melbourne that is degrading, and not the cutting or trashing of cane. **Mr. Paget** has given us some figures with regard to the death rate among the kanakas, which he puts down at 30.2 per thousand for the last 10 years. Now we have the testimony of **Dr. McDonald**, of the Herbert River, who gave evidence of a very startling character before the Royal commission. He said in reply to **Mr. King**, one of the commissioners, that in 1887—that was sometime ago, and no doubt the conditions are much better now—the death rate amongst the kanakas rose as high as 12 per cent., or 120 per thousand. Most of the deaths were caused by pneumonia and other kindred chest diseases, and by dysentery. The figures as to the mortality amongst these kanakas are absolutely appalling when they are compared with the death

rate amongst whites which was less than 14 per thousand. In any case, even 30 per thousand would be a high death rate for these islanders who are picked men of the best physique—young men who are examined medically in order to see that they have no organic complaints or diseases. Taking these facts into consideration and also remembering that they bring few women and no children with them, I contend that the death rate of 30 per thousand is something astounding.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Is that due in any way to the manner in which the kanakas are domiciled or herded together?

Mr. BAMFORD.—Possibly. The evidence which was given a little while ago at the Fairymead plantation in the Bundaberg district, proved that it was bad water, and the treatment the kanakas received after being attacked by disease that had hastened their death, and had in every case accentuated the disease. No doubt these men, when they come here, are affected by the change of food and climate, and possibly by the change of water. I desire to point out that it was not for employment in sugar planting that these kanakas were originally brought here. It was the greed of the pastoralists which resulted in the kanaka being brought here originally. I saw kanakas in the Darling Downs district in the middle of the seventies. There has never been a single stick of sugar cane grown on the Darling Downs for commercial purposes; but I saw men being brought there in batches of 20, 40 and 50. They were put into a railway carriage, and around every man's forehead was a piece of calico on which was printed the name of his destination—in some cases Clifton, in other cases Felton, and other places, just as if they were bales of calico. The season of the year at which they should arrive from the South Sea Islands was never chosen. They were brought to Queensland at any time, but usually they came at a cold, damp, period. I know of one case in which it was intended to place a number of these men upon the Felton station, which is familiar to honorable members as the residence of the late Mr. James Tyson. They were detained at a place called Cambooya. The drays from the station, which were to have been awaiting them, did not arrive. It was a cold night, and they had to camp under a bridge, with the result that 70 per cent. of them died. Possibly this will not

be found in any of the statistics, because at that time a kanaka here or there was a matter of very small account—and I do not suppose that under the regulations which then existed there was any need to report their deaths. Those deaths were caused by the difference in the climate, and the difference in the food and water. The same influences produce the extraordinary mortality which exists amongst the kanakas at the present time. It is frequently asserted that the kanaka is taking no part in our social or civic life; but as a matter of fact he is taking such a part. He is induced to do so by other people, to whom his support is valuable. I know as a positive fact that in North Queensland, kanakas are to be found who are Divisional Board voters. They are paying their rates and they have a vote which they exercise at the Divisional Board elections.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Are they freeholders?

Mr. BAMFORD.—They are lease-holders; there is no necessity for them to be freeholders. If some one else pays the tax in the kanaka's name the latter gets the vote.

Mr. CROUCH.—Are they allowed to hold land themselves?

Mr. BAMFORD.—Oh, yes.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Could a kanaka have these rights without being naturalized?

Mr. BAMFORD.—The kanaka has not a vote for the Legislative Assembly, but he has a vote for the Divisional Board, which he exercises. The honorable member for Melbourne read an extract last night from the Queensland *Herald*, in which Mr. Philp is reported to have said that white men would not work for a reasonable wage. As, however, that matter has been very effectively dealt with by the honorable member for Maranoa, the honorable member for Parramatta, and the honorable member for Robertson, I shall not occupy further time in discussing it. I merely wish to say that we cannot expect men to undertake the toil and drudgery so vividly depicted by the honorable member for Maranoa and others for the low rate of wage that is offered. I know myself of one mill where the men work ten hours a day for 6d. an hour, out of which they have to pay for their own board. They receive no rations whatever. Wages may be raised by the duties which I hope to see imposed under the Federal Tariff,

and I trust that not only the farmer, but the man who works for him will receive a fair share of the benefit. If the Commonwealth is going to tax itself for the purpose of providing higher returns for the farmer, the cane-grower, and the mill-owner, I hope that the men who do the hardest work in the fields and other places, will participate in the advantage. There is just one other item to which I should like to refer. It has been said by some honorable members that an extension of the time during which planters shall be able to employ kanaka labour should be granted, because Queensland has recently suffered from drought and ticks. That argument seems to me like a man objecting to be hung on the ground that he has a sore throat. If such an argument were to be regarded as effective, it might be used at any time and for any purpose. I have had the honour of laying before the Prime Minister a telegram from various local authorities in Queensland in reference to this matter. Concerning that telegram, I wish to say that these local authorities have no mandate from the people to take any such action. During the municipal elections, the question of the employment of kanaka labour was never raised. I want to state emphatically that the whole of this agitation has emanated from one man, who is actuated by the most sordid motives. That gentleman is a member of the Townsville Municipal Council. He had some land on the Herbert River, near which a central mill was to be built. The Queensland Government refused to grant the loan which they had previously promised for the erection of that mill. The individual in question was so disappointed at not being able to sell for £5 or £6 an acre the land which he had taken up, probably at 5s. or 6s. an acre, that he started the present agitation. That man has never grown one single stick of cane. Several local bodies, I am aware, have indorsed his action, but it is not a very difficult matter for a man to secure that sort of support. I repeat that the whole of this agitation from the local bodies of North Queensland has really emanated from that one individual, who is actuated by the most selfish motives. I indorse the statement of the honorable member for Maranoa that there was no hesitation whatever during the federal elections on the part of the majority of the candidates who were returned by the State of Queensland.

There were no side issues in that contest at all. The one plain question put before the people was whether Australia was to be black or white, and the electors gave a most emphatic vote for a white Australia. That vote has been indorsed in several elections which have occurred in connexion with the Queensland Parliament, and also in the election for the Darling Downs vacancy, in which Mr. Groom secured nearly a two to one majority over his opponent, who is a most influential man, a practised politician and speaker, and is generally respected.

Mr. FISHER.—And he had the State Government behind him.

Mr. BAMFORD.—I wish also to say that federation was accomplished by the democratic vote of North Queensland. In and around Brisbane the vote cast was against federation. The reason why federation was carried there is that the workers of North Queensland, who are most affected by the employment of kanaka labour, had been for years endeavouring to reduce the evils connected with that traffic. They had only partially succeeded. Certainly they had secured legislation of a somewhat more drastic character than had been upon the statute-book of that State. But they could not get the absolute prohibition of this immigration, which is what they desired. Accordingly, they said, "If we stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of the southern States, there is no doubt that prohibition will come sooner or later, and in all probability sooner." It was for that reason alone that they stood in as federationists. Possibly, they may have been actuated to some extent by sentiment, but certainly that was their dominant idea. They believed that they would get allies in the southern States to assist them in accomplishing their object.

Mr. HIGGINS.—So they will.

Mr. BAMFORD.—I am pleased to have the opportunity of indorsing that sentiment. I believe that it will be indorsed in this House, with not more than three or four dissentients. I intend to support the Bill as it stands.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—Honorable members have heard this afternoon three characteristic speeches from Queensland representatives. In those speeches we have a complete and final answer to the contentions of Mr. Philp and other Queensland statesmen who are raising

their voices against the probable action of the Federal Government. The speeches of the honorable members referred to I consider an epitome of Queensland opinion upon this question. There are two to one in favour of the action contemplated under this Bill. We have had—notably in the speech of the honorable member for Herbert—a very full account of all the details of this traffic, which—if this House had not been previously informed—must have added materially to our information. The address of the honorable member for Maranoa was an insight into the feeling of a great body of people upon this question. The speech of the honorable member for Oxley was very characteristic as representing those who are opposed to this legislation. The honorable member, I believe, put the case of those who are opposed to the legislation contemplated in the best possible way that it could be put. He read copious extracts to show the magnitude of this industry, the large amount of money which has been invested in it, and corroborating figures, which go to prove that it is of colossal proportions, and that it behoves us to be very careful how we deal with it.—that we must approach it with ample consideration, and with every desire to give more time lest we ruin the industry. That has been the way in which the opponents of this desirable reform have faced the question in the past. They have always held forth figures and statistics gathered by the class who are interested in retaining the trade. If the arguments we have heard in this Chamber, and the arguments we have read elsewhere, are all that can be used, they are sufficient to crush any figures which can be shown. The honorable member for Oxley says that this House is not well informed on the subject, and ought to pause before taking action and interfering with such an important industry as the sugar industry of Queensland. But there are few subjects of such great magnitude on which this House and the Commonwealth have been so fully informed. It is a subject which I can recollect as being under controversy for close on forty years. It originated in disputes between those carrying on missions in the South Sea Islands and the politicians in Queensland, and the subject is one in connexion with which many political reputations were made and lost.

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The question has been studied by English writers, by colonial statesmen, and other thinkers, and the facts on both sides have been put before us by the press, while parliamentary letter-boxes have been filled with literature on the subject. I do not think any Royal commission or any select committee would be better able to deal with the question than is the House at the present time. We know that this traffic has a dark and disgraceful past, and that it is in a most unsatisfactory state at the present time. In the future there is inevitable danger, which will grow larger day by day, both to the unfortunate coloured classes who are employed, and to the European employers—a danger which will grow to such proportions that we had better now devise means of stopping the traffic and preventing the evil which menaces us. The honorable member for Oxley has made out no case at all why Parliament should stay its hand. The federation, on which we have now entered, was brought about mainly with the object of dealing with such questions as these. Queensland herself has already, over and over again, attempted to deal with this question, but she has always been hoodwinked and bamboozled over the matter of delay—she has always been asked to wait a bit, and give a little more time. Legislation has been passed to stop this traffic at some future date, but before that date has arrived, under the influence of certain wire-pullers and of class interests, the operation of that legislation has been stayed. Further batches of kanakas have been allowed to be introduced, and the trade has gone on from time to time, until the people of Queensland have looked forward to this federation to enable them to put an end to it. It was certainly one of the gravest questions referred to in the Commonwealth at the recent election. I noticed that throughout the whole of the Commonwealth this question of a “white Australia” was most manifest—the question whether the kanaka should be kept out of Queensland in pursuance of such a policy. I noticed that in Queensland, in particular, this question, like Aaron’s serpent, swallowed up all the rest. It was the main question on which the appeal was made in that State, and Queensland gave an emphatic and noble verdict, and returned, as has been pointed out, four senators out of six in favour of a “white Australia.”

Mr. McDONALD.—The whole six.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The whole six were in favour of abolishing this traffic ; and to the House of Representatives, seven members out of nine were returned similarly pledged. It is now useless for Mr. Philp or any one else to raise his voice against such a definite expression of opinion as we have already had from the people of Queensland. The people of the Commonwealth are one in a determination to abolish this black labour. The people of Queensland, who are more intimately interested in the question of Pacific Island labourers, are almost unanimous in their desire to get rid of such labour. No argument has been advanced for staying our hands in the legislation which we are now considering. I do not think we can gain anything, while on the other hand we have much to fear, by delay. Looking back on the history of the question, we see that every time the opponents of the reform have proved strong enough to stay it for a still further period. The Bill is one which I think meets with the general approval of the House. It is a short and simple Bill, and effects its purpose in an admirable way. If it had been introduced before the Immigration Restriction Bill, I believe that the character of the latter measure would have been very much altered. This Bill aims simply and directly at the end we all have in view. No doubt it will accomplish that end perfectly, and to that extent it is one of the best measures that the present Government have introduced. The Prime Minister introduced the measure in a statesmanlike speech, which was clear and dignified ; and he justified the measure in every particular. He did not take the ground that the labour must be stopped because of certain political reasons, but he mentioned broad grounds. He showed the provisions he proposed in order that no injustice should be done to those who, under the State Acts, had been induced to engage in the industry. Although a free-trader, and one personally interested in cheap sugar, I would sink to some extent my political principles and my private prospects and make some concession of a fiscal nature if that would assist to pass a measure like this, doing justice to all concerned. I do not mean to say that I am totally in favour of the proposals of the Ministry in this direction, which are to accompany the Bill, and which the Prime

Minister invited us to consider with it. These proposals are not fully before us, and I do not know that I should fully support them in the form in which they are put forward ; but I am prepared to make a great deal of sacrifice to ensure the passage of a measure like this, which will end a dark and disgraceful page in our national history. As I said before, if this Bill had come first, as an illustration of how to deal with a difficulty of this sort in a direct way, we might have had another result in the Immigration Restriction Bill. But Ministers, for some good reason known to themselves, introduced the latter measure first. That Bill has now received our consideration, and all we have to do—I think we are practically unanimous, and ought not to waste too much time in discussion—is to set to work to get this Bill through as rapidly as possible. This is not a labour question, and I object to what the honorable member for Melbourne said last night, when addressing the labour party. He said this was a piece of legislation brought in as a sop to the party, who sit in the Opposition corner. I say that it is no such thing. This is a broader question than that. There are people who, like myself, have a great deal of sympathy with the objects of the labour party. But outside of those people, there are many people of eminence in the community—educated and professional people—who have not one atom of sympathy with the political aspirations of the labour party, but who are quite at one with them on this question. It is something more than a labour question—it is a national question involving the preservation of the purity of our race. It is rather a mean piece of criticism to try to stay this legislation by stamping it as proceeding from only one section of the community. The Bill has, I believe, the approval of the vast majority of all classes and of the masses also. Many solutions of this question have been put forward. Before this Parliament met I know there were advocates of drawing a line across the continent, dividing off tropical Australia, and keeping black labour north of that line. That is the sort of line, which was known as the Mason-Dixon line in the United States, north of which a man could not keep slaves. It was proposed that we should reverse that process, and permit black labour north of the proposed line. It is a curious coincidence that in that

respect, as in many others, comparing small things with great, this traffic in kanakas from the South Sea Islands has very much in it to remind us of the American slavery question. In a minor degree it is of the same character and nature, and I was still more convinced of that when I heard the honorable member for Herbert speaking to-night. Seeing that, and knowing as we do the immense difficulties that the people of the United States have had in consequence of their original sin, it is one of the strongest arguments why we should pass this legislation, and prevent the trouble which undoubtedly will come in the future if we encourage the bringing of a black race or black races into the community. A gentleman like the honorable and learned member for Parkes thinks there is no possible danger or trouble. He and his, he feels sure, will not mix with the black population. His blood may not be contaminated; but I contend that the contamination will proceed from the lowest strata of society and filter up until it comes to the highest, permeating the whole nation. That is what we have to fear. I do not fear that my people or my friends will mix with the inferior races, but I do fear that my descendants, in the future days of the Commonwealth, may be largely contaminated with them if they are allowed to enter now. Although I hold that all men are equal before God, and equal to one another in respect of certain civil rights, there is a distinction between one race and another, and it is a good thing to let each race develop on the lines of its own civilization, in its own way. It is better for us to pursue our civilization in the direction of Anglo-Saxon development, and not to mix with any other race which, even if superior to us, will give us bad results. The honorable member for Herbert, speaking to-night, said that already kanakas had exercised a civil right by voting in road boards elections and municipal elections in Queensland. As a democratic community, with the ideas that are dominant in our political development, we cannot look forward to having a class amongst us to whom we must refuse the franchise. We should not have any class amongst us to whom we have to deny that privilege; and if we are to allow these people here we shall ultimately have to give them the franchise. That is one point we ought to consider very seriously before we decide the

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

question. The effect on the kanaka himself is also one of the factors. These people in their own islands are most interesting, and I have no doubt that if they were left alone under the civilizing influences that have already reached them, or are trickling in slowly to them, they might ultimately develop a higher civilization, notwithstanding the vices of the whites. But I am certain that to bring them into Australia, and subject them to all the contamination they would meet here, would do no good to the kanakas themselves. The facts and statistics recorded in the history of this trade show us that in very many instances the kanakas have been treated scandalously and as a servile class. They come here and die like flies in summer. Their death rate amounted at one time to 120 per 1,000, and there is an average death rate of 30 per 1,000. That cannot come about unless there is some scandalous method of treatment, in their feeding, housing, or otherwise. It can result only from a *Legree* style of dealing with them, and of civilizing them off the face of the earth. To the kanaka himself it is a bad thing. It is of no use to bring him into contact with our civilization before he is ready for it. At present he absorbs only what might be called the worst elements of our civilization; the best are incomprehensible to him; and he goes back tainted rather than improved by his contact with us. Therefore, I say that to the kanaka himself it is better that the trade should cease. But to the white races inhabiting those parts of the continent where this traffic exists, it is equally an evil. No nation having in its midst a servile or lower class, has ever existed without becoming degraded by its contact with that class. It is well known that in the southern States of America, the lower classes—the working men, the proletariats—did not exist. When a white man ceased to belong to the slave-owning class, he became a rascal and a rogue, while the members of that class acquired the highest vices of civilization, by reason of the full control they had of their slaves. To introduce a lower standard of living and morals amongst us is to lower the tone of our society, and will react upon us, the masters of these unfortunate blacks. The statistics which have been placed before us to-day show that the female kanakas who are imported do not number 10 per cent.

of the whole importation. One does not want to go into this subject in detail, but the effects of such a disproportion between the sexes is well known, and must be dimostrious both to the kanaka and to the European who brings him here and uses his labour. If the Queensland Government had been humane and just in this matter, they would, when legislating for the feeding and housing and returning of the kanakas, have required that a certain proportion of females should be brought with the males. I look upon Queensland as one of the most magnificent States in the Commonwealth. We have been accustomed in the past to regard New South Wales and Victoria as the great States of the Federation, but I do not think that it is improbable that Queensland will ultimately become the greatest State in the union. The resources of that State are immense, and I do not think we can overrate its possibilities. When it is argued that the sugar industry is vital to Queensland, I am prepared to admit that it is a great industry, and as a commercial man I should never be in a hurry to do anything to cripple or break down such an industry; but I have good reasons for holding that the legislation which we are now considering will have little or no effect upon this industry, while it will give a great stimulus to many other industries which Queensland is fitted for, and which will help her on in the path of progress which, I believe, she is destined to follow. I am willing to admit that the importance of the sugar industry cannot well be magnified, but I do not think its preservation is so much a question of the employment of black labour. To the planter, the only point in the controversy is that black labour is cheap. I do not think, however, that the industry depends so much upon the continuance of this cheap labour as upon other questions of method and means, and economic legislation which will procure a market for its produce and increase its price. As I interjected when the Prime Minister was speaking, it is largely a question of manure, mechanica, and a market. We have heard during the discussion, and I have read in the literature on the subject which has been disseminated so freely, that there are certain operations connected with the harvesting of the cane that can be performed only by tedious hand labour, and that in a hot climate

this labour can be effectively performed only by black men. I have never believed that there is anything which a black man can do which a white man cannot do, and I was therefore glad to hear the honorable members for Herbert and Maranoa say that there are white men who are performing the severest kind of manual labour in Northern Queensland. That statement has been made, too, by Sir Samuel Griffiths in the Queensland Parliament. I do not admit that there is any work required to be performed in Queensland which cannot be done by white men. We can get white men to do this work if we pay them the wages which white men would naturally demand under the circumstances. Men who have been in Northern Queensland doing this work have gone further north, to the hotter and more dangerous climate of New Guinea, in search of gold. They have gone, too, to the Far East, where the climate and surroundings are in every respect worse. But if the work cannot be made fairly remunerative to white men, we may be certain that white men will not do it. I pin my faith more to the intellect than to the muscle of the white worker. If the white man has to solve the difficulty of planting, trashing and cutting the cane with white labour, his intellect will eventually enable him to invent machinery which will do the work better than he could do it by his unaided physical strength. I believe that if slavery had continued in America up to the present day we should not have obtained from that country the wonderful mechanical inventions which she has given to the world. It is only when the necessity arises, and men are forced to face difficulties, that their inventive faculties are brought into use, and machines are made to do their work for them. When we get rid of the kanaka we shall find intelligence at work to invent machines to trash and to cut the cane, and eventually machines will be invented which will do the work more speedily and better than it is now done by black labour. I know of many operations in factories which, it has been said, it would not pay to carry on; but inventive geniuses have set to work and given us machines which have thoroughly solved these problems. I heard recently from one of my partners, that in Canada, at one of the canning factories, they found the fish coming in so rapidly that they could not make and fill

the cans fast enough. The trouble was put before a cute Yankee, however, and within four or five weeks he had invented a machine which would make the tins and close them up as fast as they could put the fish into them. It has been said that, if you take away the kanaka, the Queensland farmers will plant no more cane, that her mills will have no more cane to crush, and that the Colonial Sugar Company will have no more sugar to refine. But neither Dr. Maxwell nor any other authority on this question has half so good a knowledge of it as the investors in the Colonial Sugar Company. Those who have put their money into that concern know more about the effects of doing away with the kanaka than Dr. Maxwell or any member of any Royal commission knows. They have studied the circumstances, and, having invested their money, they must get a return for it. The Colonial Sugar Company is the centre to which all the rills and streams of the sugar industry flow. It is indeed the embodiment of the sugar industry of Australia. When the first movement towards federation was made, the doom of the kanaka was sounded. The abolition of kanaka labour was one of the first questions discussed in connexion with federation, and one of the chief reasons urged for federating. To my mind, the active campaign for the securing of federation commenced with the Parkes' convention in 1891, when the Colonial Sugar Company's stock, £20 paid-up, and returning a dividend of 10 per cent., stood at £25 10s. On the 29th January, 1895, the Premiers' conference was held at Hobart. This was another move towards federation, and probably the investors in sugar company's shares had begun to be a little doubtful as to what would be the ultimate condition of affairs, and the price of the shares shrunk to £24 10s. Then many of us came to the conclusion that federation would never be consummated so long as it was left exclusively to the politicians, and the Bathurst Popular convention was held on the 26th November of the following year. The effect of the holding of that convention was to show that a great many people, who took no interest in politics generally, took an interest in federation, and were determined, despite the politicians, to bring about its consummation. Nevertheless, after the holding of the convention, the Colonial Sugar Company's shares rose to £26 10s. Then, after the

meeting of the elected convention at Adelaide, on the 22nd March, 1897, they rose to £28 10s., notwithstanding the fact that federation, and the abolition of the kanaka, were getting nearer and nearer. After the meeting of that convention at Sydney, on the 2nd September, 1897, they rose to £29 10s.; but after the meeting of the convention at Melbourne they fell to £28 15s. The next step was the referendum, which was taken on the 3rd and 4th June, 1898, when the Bill was rejected because of the statutory limitation imposed by the New South Wales Act. On the 1st June, 1898, a few days before the referendum, the sugar company's shares stood at £30, and on 8th June, a week later, they still stood at the same amount. The next referendum, when the Bill was accepted, took place on the 20th June, 1899. On the 16th of that month, four days before, the sugar company's shares stood at £38, and on the 24th at 37 10s. When the Royal assent was given to the Constitution Bill, on the 9th July, 1900, these shares stood at £39 15s. Upon the inauguration of the Commonwealth, on the 1st January of this year, they were at £40, and on the 1st of the present month their price was £40 10s. Seeing that the shares of this great institution, in which is centralized the whole of the sugar industry of Australia, have been steadily rising ever since an advance was made towards the realization of federation, and the consequent abolition of the kanaka, it is evidently the opinion of investors that there is no reason to think that the sugar industry is about to suffer. On the other hand, there can be no democracy, no majority rule, if we further postpone the oft-repeated determination to abolish the kanaka once and for all.

Mr. KNOX (Kooyong).—I have only a few words to say on this important subject. When we had a measure before us recently framed with the object of keeping out coloured aliens, I indicated that I considered that kanakas were a manageable quantity, presenting infinitely less difficulty than did the Chinese, Japanese, or any other of the numerous coloured people who are represented among us. I am still of that opinion, although I have listened closely to the various speeches which have been delivered by honorable members, some of whom have expressed their views very justly and very strongly. The Prime Minister himself dealt with the subject exhaustively and in a very

convincing way. That is to say, he showed that Queensland, prior to joining the federation, had had clearly before her the possibility of legislation being passed by this Parliament to keep out the kanakas. That being so, it could not be urged that people in that State who are dependent upon the kanaka labour had not the most distinct warning that legislation of this character was likely to be brought into force at an early date. I have declared distinctly for a white Australia, and I have left no room for doubt as to my position on that question; but I have also made it clear that I do not wish to see white slaves in Australia—or black slaves either. Further, I have distinctly stated that the absorption into our race of any alien blood should be resisted with all the powers of the Commonwealth. While I stated that, however, I said I believed that there were interests in the north of the continent which had been created and supported by black labour which deserved proper consideration. If the white man can do the work to be done in the tropics without injury to his constitution and to the race, it should not be given to outsiders; but I hold the view that I have previously expressed that the white man cannot, in those tropical regions, work without detriment to himself. It is all very well for my esteemed friend, the honorable member for Maranoa, to put himself forward as typical of the men who have worked in the tropical regions of Northern Queensland. He is a man of exceptional strength, and I believe that men of his type are raised and supported in the inland areas of Northern Queensland, which have a climate entirely different from that of the coastline, where the kanaka has to work in the cane-fields. The white man, in his effort to do this class of work, which is so debilitating and which so undermines the constitution, is doing great and permanent injury to the race that we all wish to maintain in its full strength and vigour. I have before referred to the fact that evidence could be produced, upon medical authority, to show that the children of people living in these tropical regions become anæmic, and that the third generation have within themselves no generating powers; and our own knowledge of what takes place in tropical regions gives support to that view.

Mr. FISHER.—Is the honorable member speaking of India?

Mr. KNOX.—Portions of India.

Mr. FISHER.—They bear no comparison at all to Queensland.

Mr. KNOX.—I am quite prepared to admit that tropical regions vary in different countries, but I would ask my honorable friends to allow me to commend to their notice a work which is called *The Contro of the Tropics*, and is written by Benjamin Kidd, the author of a work in which I am sure my honorable friends of the labour party will admit they are specially interested, namely, "Social Evolution."

Mr. FOWLER.—Those theories are now largely discredited.

Mr. KNOX.—I am glad to hear that the honorable member is acquainted with the theories I have mentioned. This book, from which I propose to quote, was published in 1898, and the author endeavours to show that the black races were originally generated in the tropical areas where living was easiest, whereas our British races are the product of men who, by evolution, brought about by the harder work they had to do in the temperate and colder regions, became stronger and stronger, and gradually established a hardier, more robust and vigorous constitution. This work very clearly shows that those who support the position that white men can go into the tropical regions, and do the work that black men have hitherto done, are acting in a manner calculated to result in injury to their race, which we desire to maintain in its fullest vitality and strength. This writer says—

In the first place the attempt to acclimatise the white man in the tropics must be recognised to be a blunder of the first magnitude. All experiments based upon the idea are mere idle and empty enterprises foredoomed to failure.

After a long and logical explanation, the author goes on to say—

We come, therefore, to a clearly defined position. If we have to meet the fact that, by force of circumstances, the tropics *must* be developed—

Of course, I am aware that there are honorable members—notably one honorable and learned member—who say that if our tropical areas cannot be developed by white men, they should not be developed at all until we can devise machinery which will enable us to do it. I have no answer to make to honorable members who take up that position. To resume the quotation, Mr. Kidd says—

and if the evidence is equally emphatic that such a development can only take place under the influence of the white man—we are confronted with a larger issue than any mere question of

commercial policy or of national selfishness. The tropics, in such circumstances, can only be governed as a trust for civilization, and with a full sense of the responsibility which such a trust involves. The first principle of success in undertaking such a duty seems, to the writer, to be a clear recognition of the cardinal fact that, in the tropics, the white man lives and works only as a diver lives and works under water. Alike in a moral, in an ethical, and in a political sense, the atmosphere he breathes must be that of another region, that which produced him, and to which he belongs. Neither physically, morally, nor politically can he be acclimatized in the tropics.

The whole book deals exhaustively with this question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is that Mr. Kidd's opinion which the honorable member is reading?

Mr. KNOX.—Yes; I would not venture to express my own opinion against that of a man who has made a lifelong study of this question.

Mr. MAUGER.—How does the honorable member account for the fact that the white people are in such a vast majority in the north at the present time?

Mr. KNOX.—I venture to think that the white man with his daring and determination will face alike the greatest heat and the most extreme cold. I believe that he is able to do the work which is at present being performed by the kanakas in the north of Queensland, but I hold that by doing so his issue will be impaired. It is thus to the disadvantage of our race that he should work there.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely that is an argument that we should not go there at all.

Mr. KNOX.—I have other authorities with which I do not care to trouble the House. I could quote the opinions of men who have made a careful and lifelong study of this subject, and who desire to view it from a broad standpoint, and not from the stand-point of the influence of a few kanakas upon whom the most rigid restrictions have already been imposed.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are we to surrender for ever to the black man the management of that portion of Australia?

Mr. KNOX.—I am not suggesting that. We must always keep that portion of Australia under our own control.

Mr. PAGE.—What labour is employed at the Chillagoe mines?

Mr. KNOX.—The strong brawny British workman is employed there, and I believe that he is not materially disadvantaged by the class of work in which he is engaged,

although I am sorry to think that his children may be disadvantaged. At the same time, I would point out that most of the work is done on land which is elevated, and every precaution is taken to guard the workmen from exposure. Where they are employed in the open every effort is made to protect them from the heat of the sun. I recognise that this country, whether for good or for ill, has decisively and distinctly declared in favour of a white Australia. That is the verdict of the last election, and anyone who would attempt to argue anything to the contrary would not be just to himself. But I desire to point out that we introduce an element of danger to our race if we allow white men to work in opposition to the laws of nature, and to the conditions under which they have been brought to their present standard of muscular development. I am satisfied that there is no honorable member of this House who desires to do the State of Queensland any injury. We have before us the report of the Queensland Commission which investigated this matter, and which was presided over by our late esteemed friend, Mr. W. H. Groom. The only other authentic information available is that which came from Dr. Maxwell the other day. It is true that we also have a lot of newspaper statements and the testimony of the honorable member for Maranoa, who speaks from the bottom of his heart upon this subject. His testimony is of the most valuable character. But we want testimony which comes from a body which is properly constituted to obtain evidence, and to inquire into this subject, in order that additional information may be laid before this House. The honorable member for Oxley suggests that the matter should be remitted to a Royal commission. I am aware that Royal commissions are usually appointed either for the purpose of defeating some motion or in order to secure delay. If any commission were proposed with either of those ends in view I should strongly oppose it. But I favour the honorable member's proposal in fairness to the State of Queensland, and in order to avoid heart-burnings there. I favour it in order to demonstrate that the Commonwealth has no desire to trample upon vested interests, but is anxious to do justice to the sugar industry of Queensland. I therefore support the suggestion of the honorable member upon the condition that the commission is required under the terms of its appointment to submit its

report by 1st June of next year, in order that upon a specific date definite information may be forthcoming. I believe that all interests in Queensland would be met by the recommendations which such a commission would make. I hope, therefore, that the House will be prepared to give reasonable consideration to the proposal. I rose merely to emphasize the fear which I entertained that the cry for a white Australia, if carried too far, may permanently injure our own people in a way in which we do not properly appreciate at the present time.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—I am sure that this House will be sufficiently generous to recognise the straightforward attitude of the honorable member who has just spoken. In a question where there is an overwhelming majority upon one side, I am sure that, as a deliberative assembly, we should welcome all criticism of a clear and straightforward character. In order that my subsequent remarks, which will be very brief, may not be misunderstood, I desire to say that I regard this Bill, to a very great extent, as the complement of the Immigration Restriction Bill. We are indebted to many people in Queensland for a perfect mass of literature which has been placed in our hands. We are also indebted to the Prime Minister for his very able and historical speech upon this question. He traversed all the ground from the introduction of the kanaka into Queensland up to the present time. I believe, with the honorable member for Keo-yong, that it might have been better if an unprejudiced and independent inquiry had taken place, because, although the result might have been exactly the same, it would have been a generous attitude on the part of the great democracies of the south, in dealing with a question which affects one industry in one State of the group. I was in hearty sympathy with the Immigration Restriction Bill, because I believe that of all kinds of coloured immigration, unrestricted, irregular immigration is the most vital danger to the white interests of Australia. But I recognise, as far as this Bill is concerned, that it must be considered under some what different circumstances as compared with the Immigration Restriction Bill. The Government, by making it a separate measure, have recognised that position. I am willing to admit at once, to avoid any misunderstanding, that I believe, if a plebiscite were taken in the State of Queensland,

the people, by an overwhelming majority, would declare against kanaka labour. Running through the whole of this legislation, both that which we have closed and that which we are considering to-night, there is one principle. I do not think that the most rabid member in the House, if I may use the term, will say that we, in the cradle of this Constitution—in the cradle of our Commonwealth life—can know all the future with regard to the destiny of that great part of the continent. There is running through the whole of this legislation the principle that, whether right or wrong, we must first get rid of all this alien labour throughout the length and breadth of Australia, so that in the future those who follow us, if not ourselves, will have what we might call a clean political slate, without any vested interests or complications of the moment to in any way throw a side light on the question—in other words, that when the accomplishment of our intention is complete Australia will be entirely white, and that if there is to be any scheme in the future—any regulation of this great tropical part of Australia—it must be done with absolute independence and without anything to complicate the consideration of statesmen. That I believe to be the honest desire of Australia. Further, it is now too late for a Royal commission. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this House intends that the Bill shall go through in some shape or other, and there is no doubt that it must include some finality with regard to this traffic. But having said so, we must deal very fairly and very generously with this interest. Honorable members will not be surprised that as a commercial man—and I do not see why the same sentiment should not apply to all men in Australia—I cannot, without a great deal of misgiving, see the possible destruction of a great industry which feeds more or less, directly and indirectly, 100,000 people on this continent. Every great industry we build up—every legitimate industry—is a proof of the enterprise of the British people in Australia. We feel that there is nothing against this industry itself—it is only the unfortunate climatic conditions which affect the labour of white men.

Mr. FISHER.—How does the honorable member reckon that 100,000 people are fed by this industry?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — When we take the figures, and consider that £7,000,000 of direct capital have been devoted to this industry, and that 30,000 people, more or less, are directly employed in it, and when we take the whole host of concomitant industries, and include the steamship companies and everything else, it is probable that 100,000 people are directly and indirectly interested in the business.

Mr. BARTON. — That illustrates the danger of destroying an industry which has grown up, as this one has done, under a duty.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — It does not matter whether we say that a sixth or a seventh or an eighth of the people in Queensland are interested in the industry. I know that may be reduced by the number of people interested in it in the less tropical parts, where some people contend the white man can easily work. It does not matter how we look at the question. Here is a great industry which has employed a number of people, an industry in which capital has been invested under the law. When we have determined that we will deal with it in the most drastic manner, we, as a Commonwealth Parliament, ought to be generous to a fault in considering the interests of the people who are interested in it. There is an argument underlying this discussion which I think is scarcely fair under the circumstances. Honorable members who have studied this question historically say—and from their point of view, rightly say—that time after time it has been proposed to do away with the traffic, but that time after time some excuse has been seized in order to continue it. We must recollect this difference. We know that the vested interests in Queensland are much larger in proportion to Queensland itself than they are in proportion to the whole of the interests of Australia. We may depend upon it—and I am sure the Prime Minister will agree with me—that when once a Bill passes this Parliament with finality, it is never likely to be disturbed, except by further knowledge brought to bear on the subject. I do not think any honorable member will say for a moment that any law we pass must be an eternal law, if the wisdom and knowledge of the people, expressed through proper means of legislation, favour an alteration. The whole legislation of the century is the doing away with the legislation of the previous century. Therefore it is not quite a fair argument to say that

if we do not stamp this thing out at once, there will, without doubt, be a reaction which will cause us to reverse our steps. But we have not the mere local influence of Queensland to deal with. We shall have, when this measure is passed, the verdict of the democracy of the whole of Australia. Therefore, I plead for generosity with regard to this industry, and I plead with honorable members to put away the fear that when finality is placed in the Bill the question will never be tampered with again.

Mr. HIGGINS. — Must we not be generous to those who suffer from this intrusion?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — I know all about that. Nobody is more seized than I am of all the evils connected with this business. I believe the great State of Queensland made a very noble attempt to establish this industry, and that her best men did all they could to restrict this kanaka traffic within reasonable bounds. But, as has been said here this afternoon, with such an enormous area, and with nine thousand or ten thousand people involved, no restrictive measure of Government could properly control such an industry. I am perfectly aware that the conditions under which these kanakas live are not conditions under which we like to see any human being, and that once men are contracted into a state of this kind — though I do not think it should be denominated slavery — it does create a relationship between man and man hurtful to both parties. I quite allow, following the speech of the Prime Minister, that at different periods in the consideration of this subject in the Queensland Legislature, there was an opinion expressed by most of the public men in that State that all these measures with regard to kanaka labour were purely temporary. I believe that during all these years there never was an absolute statement made, except by a very few, that kanaka labour was to continue for ever. For myself, I believe that this labour would die out ultimately. I do not believe that the system can last beyond a certain number of years, but that the same circumstances which affect the life of and destroy these island people elsewhere, will affect them to a larger extent in a traffic like this.

Mr. FOWLER. — The honorable member does not advocate their extermination?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — I am not proposing their extermination, but

we know very well that other races in the Pacific, which are brought into contact with white influences, exterminate themselves. What I want to say is, that although that may be a fact, we have to legislate on this question as we find it. We find that it is not a question tabooed by the Legislature of Queensland, but that a certain state of affairs has been legalised by the local Parliament. I am of opinion, notwithstanding this Bill, that there ought to be a period given in which there will be no alteration in the absolute status of the present moment. I do not think that, making every allowance, the Bill is fair in its details to the industry. In the very first year we begin to reduce the men who can return by 25 per cent., and in the next year we reduce them by 50 per cent., and after that everything ceases. We may say that we give five years to the industry.

Mr. BARTON.—It is not correct to say that everything ceases, because there will be 9,000 or 10,000 there still.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — That may be, but the system of recruiting ceases.

Mr. BARTON.—Yes.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—In other words, we practically stop the system in two years. I take it for granted, though I do not pretend to know as much as honorable members for Queensland, that many have a right to go back to the islands every year.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is after the end of the engagement of three years.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—So that for the first two years we drastically reduce the number to whom we give a licence, and then in two years we stop the licences altogether. That state of affairs has continued for many years. Does anybody mean to say that by a little more generous treatment, so long as we keep in the Bill the principle of finality within a reasonable period, we can do any great injury either to the people of Queensland or anybody else? While I recognise the fact that a large majority of Queensland members have been returned here with a mandate from their people to do away with kanaka labour, still we must not lose sight of the fact which is shown in the following quotation from the speech by the Prime Minister on the second reading—

It is to be looked at by federated Australia, not as a question affecting only one State, but as a question which belongs to the Federation which we have succeeded in establishing, and one which

cannot with justice to the continent be relegated wholly to a State.

I believe absolutely in that principle. This is not the verdict or the action of the federal members for Queensland; this is the action of the Parliament of Australia.

Mr. PAGE.—More power to them!

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I am pleading for fair play, and for a recognition of what I still think should be a principle of this legislation. When we consider that out of 4,000,000 people, more or less, in Australia, at least 3,500,000 are working under good climatic conditions, does any honorable member mean to tell me that when those 3,500,000 take upon themselves to do a work which may seriously affect the interests of 200,000 or 300,000—because that cannot be denied, though our action is taken as a matter of high public policy for the benefit of all—we ought not to be as generous as it is possible for men to be? I say we ought to be. It would be a disgrace to us if we were not generous. Does the honorable member for Maranoa or any other honorable member for Queensland imagine for one moment that if a little more generosity were put into this Bill—a short extension of time given—there would be any chance of wrecking the finality of the measure. I am sure no such thought is entertained. Therefore I do say that I think there ought to be at least five years allowed, during which there should be no interference whatever with this traffic, and that then there ought to be a gradual reduction, according to the terms of the Bill, for another five years.

Mr. ISAACS.—What practical advantage would that give to the planters?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It would at any rate show a greater amount of justice in dealing with this great industry.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Have they not had ten years already in which to prepare for this change?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—They have not had ten years; that is where honorable members make a mistake. There has been continual agitation and legislation on this question, but it never came home to the planters as it will come home to them now under this Bill that this matter would be drastically dealt with.

Mr. BARTON.—In 1885 they were granted five years; at the end of 1904 they will have

had nineteen years from that time. Is that too much or too little?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I have read very carefully the comprehensive speech made on the subject by the Prime Minister, and I think it is a magnificent contribution to this debate. It is well that it is recorded in *Hansard*, as a résumé of the whole historical and political features of this question. But that does not affect the fact that we have to deal with this industry as we find it at the time it is relegated to us.

Mr. ISAACS.—What would the planters do in five years in order to soften the blow?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That is all very well. The honorable and learned member might apply the same reasoning to anything else. My point is simply that this is a great industry established under the law. We must recollect, in fairness to these men, that in bringing kanakas to Queensland they acted under the law.

Mr. CROUCH.—But they have been living under the shadow of the scaffold.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That is a very clever epigrammatic expression by my honorable and learned friend, but I do not see anything else in it.

Mr. CROUCH.—It is very true.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—While I have read everything that the Prime Minister has said, while I understand entirely from his speech the trend of legislation on this subject, still we have to take up this question exactly where the States have left it. If, for the sake of example, there had been no legislation of this kind during previous years, should we have attempted to deal with it in this way? No. We should have said that while we have determined that this alien labour shall cease, we will deal with it as generously as possible.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Has the honorable member considered the fiscal proposals connected with this question.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That is perfect nonsense. We are talking now of a question of climate. I quite agree with views expressed in the literature that we have had placed before us, that probably up to a considerable point there is no reason why a white man should not do the work connected with this industry in Queensland; but I say distinctly—and it is only fair to say so

in this discussion—that I have had no literature placed before me yet which proves that beyond a certain point the white man can do the work. I accept the position taken up by Australia, that we will take the chance; that if no white man can do it, we shall not in years to come have any such industry in existence. That is the position of the democracy of Australia, and I accept it. But it is useless to debate this question before this great Parliament of the Commonwealth in any hypocritical spirit. I listened with great pleasure to the honorable member for Herbert. He said, according to his own view, that, no doubt, the white man can work in the sugar-cane industry in any part of tropical Australia. I have read very carefully the literature on this subject, and I have come to the conclusion that whatever machinery or improved methods may do in the future, at the present time, and under present conditions, there is a point in Queensland, north of which the white man cannot work in certain parts of this industry. At the same time, however, that is a chance which we have to take. It may be well worth the while of Australia, in order to be absolutely free from alien labour, to take the chance of leaving unfertilized a certain portion of her territory rather than create this evil.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Hear, hear. She should do so, and breed the white man to do the work.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—There is no necessity for me to say much more on this subject. I have not risen to resent the cry for a white Australia, or the demand that we should not do away with coloured labour of all kinds. I do believe that there is a great and essential difference between the insidious coming in of aliens to all parts of Australia, which we have tried to suppress, under the Bill that has just passed this House, and a possible system of regulated coloured labour. But I recognise the fact that that policy is for the future; that we Australians have said that we must have a clean slate politically in this matter, and that we must deal with the question untrammelled by vested interests or complicated conditions. We must not, as the first Parliament of Australia, in the very beginning of our national life, commit ourselves absolutely, and for all time, to any question with regard to Northern Australia. The only thing we do commit ourselves to is this: that we will never allow, under any conditions,

to come into Australia any alien population which we shall not have a right to deport after they have been used for a purpose. That, of course, is a very difficult question which statesmen in the future will have to decide. This industry exists in a portion of our continent enormously rich in agriculture. I hope that there may be some other kinds of agriculture which we may pursue in these great northern districts, and which the white men will be able to carry on without any alien labour. That is a matter which must be left for the future. In the meantime, on behalf of the weak, as against the strong, I do plead for a more generous consideration than this Bill gives to the sugar industry of Queensland. This evil has existed for a certain number of years, and even allowing all that the honorable member for Indi may say—that it makes no difference in the long run—still, if we can find by expressions of opinion among those men who are particularly interested in this industry that they would consider we did an act of justice if while dealing with this question we increased the limit of time under which this traffic has to disappear, I think it would be better for us as a Commonwealth Parliament, and as representing the great democracies of the South, who have, of course, no immediate interest in this question, to give them a fuller and a larger portion of justice while carrying out our final and inevitable policy.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON (Brisbane).—I had intended at an earlier stage of this debate to address myself to this vast question—vast in its importance to Queensland interests, as well as to New South Wales and Victorian residents, financiers, shippers and others. My health, however, would not permit of it. I am sorry to say that, even now, I do not feel in the humour to speak. It has been hinted to me, however, that this debate will be closed to-night—I shall not be sorry if it does—and I hope honorable members will bear with me while I endeavour, principally from memory, to summarize the subject matter as it presents itself to my constituents; as it is approved of by them, and voiced by me as their spokesman. I promulgated the programme that for a period of ten years we should allow the kanaka labour to remain *in statu quo*, and that at the end of that time we should begin to

reduce it at the rate of 10 per cent.; so that in twenty years—which is a very short time in the history of a nation—it would be extinct, if it had not previously become extinct for other reasons. That was my programme, and I hope honorable members will remember that, in proposing the retention of the kanaka, I am not howling for it, as the honorable member for Maranoa accused the honorable member for Oxley and myself of doing. I wish to appear before this Parliament as one who is as strongly in favour of abolishing this labour as is any honorable member. But, as my honorable friend, the member for Wentworth, observed, we should extend justice to those engaged in the industry. We are here to endeavour to do modest justice to those who have invested their capital and inherited the capital of others invested in this industry during the past 36 years. Honorable members will please note that when I first went to Queensland, as a lad, there was not a teaspoonful of sugar grown in the country, and that I have been intimately associated with squatters, woolgrowers, timber getters—

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—And explorers.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—And explorers. I was quite a lad when Captain Mackay, who is now harbor-master at Brisbane, met me while on his exploring expedition, and I gave him bullocks with which he was able to continue his journey up North. Mackay found the stream now named after him, and called it the Pioneer River. So grateful were the people for the discovery of the fertile country through which the river flows, with its suitability for agriculture, and with its splendid rainfall, that they begged the Government to change the name of the river from the Pioneer to the Mackay, and that was done. I merely quote this incident in my early experiences to show that I could not possibly have lived in the country for practically 40 years without observing the history of the kanaka question in its relation to sugar raising, and to the now defunct cotton industry, which at one time was much more prosperous, and gave promise of far greater results than did the growth of sugar. I live in the tropics—I do not know whether the honorable member for Maranoa was born when I began to do so. I lived in the tropics of Capricorn for twelve solid years, and Rockhampton was my headquarters. I say from that experience, that

men can work in the tropics, in the cane-fields and out of them, and in the railway cuttings, and in the clearing away of timber and scrub as was done in connexion with the Cairns-Herberton railway line, which I am glad to say I succeeded, when representing the Government in the Legislative Council, in getting carried through the State Parliament for the purpose of opening up one of the finest territories in Australia. The climate on the coast is very hot, and white men, if they are wise, will not work there in the middle of the day, but sometimes that John Bullism which makes a man eat plum pudding and drink bottled stout for his dinner on Christmas Day will induce him to take up the spade, or go to the plough, or saddle up his horse in the middle of the day. However, if men are so foolish as to do that they will have to take the consequences. I have seen men go down during the last 40 years not by the score, but by the hundred, simply because they were foolish enough to ignore the natural conditions of life in the tropics, and to take food, and wear clothing unsuitable to the climate. What is my position here to-night as a representative in this Commonwealth Parliament? I have told the House that I informed the electors whom I have the honour to represent that I was going to retain kanaka labour if possible for ten years. Now, of what is my electorate composed? As the honorable member for Kennedy knows, it comprises five or six State electorates—Fortitude Valley, entirely a labour constituency, and returning at present to the State Legislature two labour members; Brisbane itself, that is the metropolis, returning myself and the Honorable E. B. Forrest; Enoggera and Toowong, labour constituencies; and Toombul. Every financier, every representative of the banks and public companies, who represent interests all over the country, whether in mining, sugar planting, sugar milling, or dairy farming, storekeepers, or drapers, told me that I had made a mistake in proposing to do away with the kanaka so soon. I said, however, that I desired to know what was the real feeling of the most important constituency in Queensland, and whether the electors desired that the kanaka should live for ten years, or be guillotined at once. The consequence was that throughout the whole of that democratic constituency, none is more democratic in Australia, Mr. Macdonald-Paterson.

I had a majority. I had to fight a three-cornered fight, and labour was staggered at the result. The other candidate wept—labour killed him, while he thought it would kill me. I, however, killed both my opponents, and I have come here to preserve the kanaka as long as I possibly can, in the interests of common justice and in the interests of humanity. I have received a letter from a representative man in Queensland, who says—

There would have been no federation for us if we had known they meant to treat us like this.

Another writer says—

There is a feeling of consternation throughout the State regarding this drastic measure, which means, if passed, the extinction of the sugar industry in Queensland.

The honorable member for Maranoa said the kanaka is the curse of Queensland, and with the honorable member it was always "curse," "curse," "curse." I tried to remember where I had heard the word "curse" before, and I found out. It occurs in a passage which applies to the Prime Minister, to the press, and to the people of a large part of Australia. It reads as follows:—

The curse of the scanty knowledge,
That fancies it is great,
And flatters fools with the notion
That they can rule the State.

The curse of scanty knowledge is what we have to face now. We are attempting to legislate upon a topic upon which there is the curse of this scanty knowledge. By all means let us have this Royal commission that has been spoken of. The Prime Minister has lost a grand chance in not giving us a commission to inquire into this question. The matter would not be hung up. We should not accept the conclusions of Dr. Maxwell, who is comparatively a new chum. He is an expert, but an expert from another climate, and I quite agree with the honorable member for Wide Bay that there is a great deal of difference between the climate of Northern Queensland and those of other parts of the earth where sugar is grown. Dr. Maxwell has yet a great deal to learn of Queensland, and we who are practically natives of that State know that.

Mr. SAWERS.—He has said that ten years in the minimum for the kanaka.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I said that before he did. I have kept faith with

my conscience and my experience, and with the solemn deliberations that I have had solitarily. I have gone into the country to think out this great question, in order that I might not be disturbed by anything beyond the breath of the wind passing under the spreading gum trees, and I come here and tell honorable members that I represent the concrete common sense, not only of Queensland sugar growers, but that quality of character as it exists in Victoria and in New South Wales in relation to this great industry. We have many cognate enterprises resulting from the operations of the sugar industry. We have the shipping along the coast, consisting of several splendid lines of steamers, running direct from Melbourne up to Cairns, which are mainly supported by the sugar traffic. It is true that they carry bananas in the season, and also, I am glad to say, tourists. Many people, however, would not go there at all if it were not for the kanakas. One lady told me that she would not be content unless she could see some blacks. She saw the kanakas in their homes, and gave a most excellent account of them and of their cleanliness. She said there was soap in every hut, and plenty of water, and that there was no such thing as rotten beef or rotten mutton. What nonsense it is to talk about rotten meat being given to these kanakas—rotten meat is what no employer would dare to give to a dog.

Mr. McDONALD.—It has often been eaten on stations.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I have never seen it eaten on stations, and I have had a great deal of experience in connexion with the growing of both beef and mutton.

Mr. McDONALD.—I have seen it in towns and cities.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—What nonsense it is to suggest that any one would buy rotten meat. Would not a man's appetite vanish the moment he tasted a piece of rotten meat? A telegram from Brisbane which was published in the *Argus* says—

A sugar contractor who arrived recently at Cairns with white labour to feed the cane carriers has relinquished the contract. After a week's trial at 4d. per ton his men struck, saying that the work was not fit for white men, although there were nineteen whites employed for the same work which fifteen Hindoos were accomplishing. Ten of the white men were the sons of cane farmers at Bundaberg, and were used to handling cane.

Mr. FISHER.—I do not believe it.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The important point is that ten of these men had been accustomed to the same kind of work at Bundaberg. Bundaberg is just as different from the Johnson River cane-fields or from Mackay, Cairns, or the Mosman River—with which places I am familiar, having been there during the summer—as Gippsland is from Wagga Wagga in mid-summer. Now comes the question of other races, and I am very sorry that I shall have to make reference to another point of policy which was adopted by the great constituency of Brisbane. They gave their imprimatur to the policy of excluding all Asiatics. They said—"We do not not want any Chinese, Syrians, or Hindoos, but we are content to keep the kanaka for ten years and let him go gradually, according to the business of the plantations."

Mr. ISAACS.—Why for ten years?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I shall explain that in a minute or two. What I wish to point out is that no speaker has paid the slightest attention to the immorality or social aspect of the life of the Asiatics in this country.

Mr. TUDOR.—We did that when discussing the Immigration Restriction Bill a fortnight ago. The honorable member was absent.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—As the *Age* said, I am an irregular attendant, like the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney. But I was an irregular attendant because I was ill, and at death's door. If a man is ordered by his medical adviser to absent himself from all responsibilities—both private and public—in order to preserve his health, no newspaper should cast a slur upon him by stating an untruth. But I am digressing. I believe that the Government might very well appoint a commission to report upon the kanaka question next year, and devote the whole of their time in the interim to the expulsion of the Asiatics who are already in our midst. Let them clean out Little Bourke-street, Melbourne, and Lower George-street, Sydney. Let them sweep away, at the same time, all those evils to which the honorable member for Maranoa so eloquently and impressively referred. The kanaka is by no means the human beast that he has been depicted. Many evils undoubtedly did exist years ago. For example, the inspectors who visited

the Pacific Islands were guilty of bad conduct up to the time of the *Hopeful* case. But from that time onward—and I was very intimate with the circumstances of that case, because I was a member of the Cabinet at the time—we did everything in our power to eliminate all the evils which we could discover, and to punish the transgressors. We succeeded. We established a limitation of labour for the Polynesians, saw to their comfort, and insisted that they should have medical superintendence and inspectors. What is the result to-day? I am as anxious as the honorable member for Maranoa that white labour should be employed all over Australia. But we ought not to deal with the kanaka traffic to-day as though the evils which existed 25 years ago in connexion with it still exist. The conditions are altogether changed. No harm can possibly come, and good will undoubtedly result from allowing the Pacific Island labourers to be retained for a reasonable term of years. Let us maintain the *status quo*, and begin after a period of years to diminish their numbers by so many per cent. each year.

Mr. ISAACS.—What will the planters do in the meantime?

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON. — They will shut up if this Bill passes. It is not so much the planters who are concerned as the bankers. There are men in the banks in Melbourne who are much more interested in the sugar industry of Queensland than are some of the Queenslanders themselves. I desire that the Asiatic shall be got rid of immediately. But the kanaka hurts nobody. He does not take a penny piece out of the country, whereas the Asiatics hoard their money, and take it away in gold.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS. — What does the kanaka do with his money?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—He spends it with the white storekeeper in the purchase of flour, sugar, tea, calico, neckties, and finery for his wives, aunts, and cousins.

Mr. RONALD.—They cannot spend much money when they get such small wages.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON. — I guarantee that the kanakas have more money in the Savings Bank of Queensland than have all the members of this Parliament put together! I am perfectly satisfied that one important authority is watching this debate, namely, the money market of London. I venture to say that if the

Queensland loan had been postponed till this Bill had received the treatment which it is apparently about to receive, it would have made a vast difference to that State's finances. I wish to point out that a large amount of New South Wales and Victorian capital is invested in the Queensland sugar industry. An enormous amount is also invested in the shipping on our coasts, from Melbourne right round to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The maintenance of that shipping communication is dependent primarily upon the sugar product. Therefore I say that we ought not to disturb the present labour conditions for a reasonable period. At the end of that period we can see how many white men will rush in to do the work of the Polynesian labourer.

Mr ISAACS.—They will not get a chance.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Has it not been alleged that the white man can do the work as cheaply as can the kanaka *plus* the duty? I heard every speech which the Prime Minister delivered in Queensland, and I also made it my business to hear the leader of the Opposition. I am bound to say that the best speech, from the sugar planter's point of view, having regard to a possible remedy for kanaka labour, was delivered by the leader of the Opposition at Toowoomba. The right honorable and learned member was asked what substitute the planters were to have for blacklabour. He said that, as in the back blocks we had produced a type of man short or long, thick or lean, who is called the bushman, so he believed that in the years to come the white race would produce a man fitted to undertake the work of sugar-growing in any part of this continent. What is the inference? We cannot produce this type of man in five minutes or five days. The right honorable and learned member was cheered. Where was the lesson which his remark conveyed? Doubtless he meant that the vista was in the future. Perhaps we shall get in 33 years a generation of men who will be able to do the work which is now performed by the kanakas. But I ask only for the right to retain the services of the kanakas for ten years. That was the grain of comfort which led many thousands throughout the coastal region—and in the west, too—to vote for candidates who intended to support the honorable and learned member for East Sydney, who otherwise would not have done so.

Mr. REID.—I made that speech a year after federation was accomplished.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The kanaka is as comfortable as any man of that type can desire to be.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable and learned member has omitted to mention about the *William Manson* business in 1894.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—In the opening up of new country the kanaka has been a blessing to Queensland and to Australia. He was not at first imported for the mere trashing and cutting of cane, to which employment he is now limited by law. At the present time he cannot drive a horse and cart or an engine, or throw a piece of timber into a furnace, without rendering his employer liable to a penalty. But he has performed good service under the management and enterprise of some of the best men who have ever lived in Australia. Most of these men are now dead. They were determined to make the sugar industry a successful one, and many of them were ruined financially in the attempt. I have in my mind five men in Melbourne who have lost tens of thousands of pounds in their endeavour to make this industry a success, plus the kanaka. The kanaka has not been injured in any way. He dresses as well as some of the mashers whom one sees about our towns. They carry silver-mounted canes, wear straw hats, have savings-bank accounts, and smoke cigars.

Mr. McDONALD.—And ride bicycles.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—And ride bicycles. That represents the disgrace to our civilization which we have created by raising these blacks up to this standard. The honorable member for Maranoa said a great deal as to the special influence which is alleged to have been exercised by the Premier of Queensland or the Government of that State in the Darling Downs election. I took great interest in that election, and the honorable member for Darling Downs knows very well that my sympathies were always with him. I prognosticated to his brother exactly what would take place, excepting that the honorable member obtained a much larger majority than he or his family ever expected. I am confident, from what transpired between Mr. Philp and myself, that that gentleman did not take any special action whatever to influence the result of the election.

Mr. PAGE.—How was it that he got Ransome to withdraw if he did not influence the election?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Because he wanted either of the two other candidates to get in. Mr. Ransome had no show whatever. I should have liked to see Mr. Bell here.

Mr. PAGE.—Hear, hear.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—No one would have liked to see Mr. Bell here more than the honorable member for Darling Downs—of course, for another constituency.

Mr. PAGE.—In the place of the honorable member for Brisbane, for instance.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—If this Bill goes through, and the Tariff is not altered a little to the liking of myself and my constituents, any one can have my seat. I take the opportunity of saying—and I do not say it in any sense of brag, but as a public duty—that I have never desired to do other than to help the Prime Minister. I put the Prime Minister in the balance with the leader of the Opposition, and the scale went down in favour of the Prime Minister. The political aspect of the matter was—which honorable gentleman would do best for Australia and Queensland? I am beginning to think I shall have to put them in the balance again. My friends of the labour party have twitted me to-night and on other occasions with being a “button-hole” or something—with being a king in my own country, but only a “button” here. But I would rather be a button on the Commonwealth garment than a private member in Queensland on this great occasion. I fought for federation, though I had the great misfortune to have a serious illness and to be in hospital when I should have been on the battle-field. Probably my next illness will prevent me from coming here or anywhere else; but, be that as it may, we should not indulge in boyish observations that do no credit to the heart, and certainly do not promote good feeling. I may be guilty of an interjection now and then, but my Celtic blood is responsible for that; and if I am thanked for my interruption as having put an honorable member straight, I get my reward. If the labour party think that they have won the approval of Queensland in their advocacy of the immediate annihilation of kanaka labour, I am prepared to resign my seat to-morrow, and to fight

the battle of "labour *versus* kanaka," on condition that neither candidate speaks nor distributes any printed matter. I am perfectly certain that in the most democratic constituency of Queensland, the mercantile community, the working men, the respectable wage-earners, and those engaged in the shipping industries would support my candidature.

Mr. PAGE.—Come out West, and I shall resign in the morning.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—This Bill represents a combination of labour against capital. This combination of the lawyers and labour is calculated to bring about a Commonwealth cataclysm. It is said that nearly everybody in the Ministry is a lawyer, but I have pointed out that neither the Minister for Defence nor the Minister for Home Affairs belongs to that profession. It is sometimes said that I am a lawyer myself, but I am afraid that, if I were to declare myself as such, I would never make a living in the profession. Labour and law are applying the lash to the best State of the group. New South Wales has lost 35,000,000 of sheep, and Queensland has lost 16,000,000 or 17,000,000, during the drought. All the trade of supplying the people engaged in the pastoral industry has been lost, and the railway revenue has decreased from $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and now that Queensland is down, it is desired to strangle the only remaining great agricultural industry she has left. Kill the State which is the brightest of the lot—that is the sentiment. Men in Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne are crying out for the introduction into the Cabinet of common-sense and commercial experience, and the diminution of the legal influence there, because the domination of law and labour is bringing a curse on one of the finest States in the group.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I hope it will not go forth to Australia that Queensland is in the deplorable condition that she has been represented to be as a consequence of the recent drought. To say that so large a number as 15,000,000 or 16,000,000 of sheep have been destroyed is a very damaging statement, which I hope will not be taken seriously. When the honorable member for Brisbane comes to think over it, in his calmer moments, he will see that he has made a great error, and committed an

injustice to Queensland. After the many speeches which have been made, I feel great difficulty in finding anything new to say on the Bill. I do not think I should have spoken had it not been for the fact that I think it necessary we should, as far as we are able, place the true facts of this particular industry, in all its ramifications, before the people of Australia. Like others, I think that the possibilities of Queensland are probably greater than those of any one of the States which now form the Commonwealth. Western Australia has magnificent mineral resources; but I think the mineral resources of Queensland are even greater. The large area of tropical and sub-tropical agricultural lands, together with her enormous pastoral lands, places Queensland in the first place on the Australian continent. Her pastoral lands are not stocked up to nearly their full capacity, and the time is not far distant when Queensland, if it has not the largest population of the group, will be one of the greatest producing States in the Commonwealth. I do not wish the House to think for a moment that I have any practical knowledge or experience of the sugar industry, but though I never worked in the industry, I claim, like other men who have taken part in public life, to have as keen an interest in it as any man in Queensland. I have had the opportunity of going through quite a number of the sugar districts from time to time. Long before I got into Parliament, I was engaged, along with others, in an agitation against the employment of kanakas in the sugar industry, and it was only natural that when I obtained a seat in the legislature, I should make keen observation of what was going on in that industry. I make this statement because I do not wish anybody to believe that I am speaking with any practical knowledge or personal experience of this business. I claim, however, that I have a very fair idea of the desires of the people of Queensland. It must be recognised that an industry in which there is £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 invested is a vast one. An industry which turns out produce worth £1,500,000 every year is one of great value to the States. But I have taken up the position that it would be far better, in the interests of Australia, that the tropical lands of Australia should revert to their virgin state than that we should continue to cultivate them with the aid of coloured aliens. I

would much rather see the magnificent mineral resources, which we know exist in the northern portions of the State, go, than have a colour line drawn across the continent. I hope that a colour line will never be drawn across Australia. From time to time efforts have been made by interested parties here and in England to have such a line drawn, and we have had gentlemen occupying high and responsible positions here advocating that course. My opinion is, that if once such a line be drawn, there is no power in the southern portions of Australia which would be great enough to keep the coloured aliens to the north of it. Many statements have been made in regard to the killing of this industry. I will deal with those statements later on. Before doing so, I must compliment the Prime Minister on the very clear and lucid way in which he laid before the House the various opinions expressed by statesmen of Queensland, relative to this industry, and on his effort to show that the employment of the kanaka was resorted to purely as a temporary expedient. The right honorable gentleman might have emphasised that fact even more strongly from the speeches that he quoted, and from what is known now in Queensland, as the famous manifesto issued by Sir Samuel Walker Griffith in 1892, when legislation for the reintroduction of the kanaka took place. Sir Samuel Walker Griffith distinctly stated in that manifesto that the return of the kanaka to Queensland would be only temporary, that he did not wish the people to believe for one moment that his opinions concerning the employment of the kanaka in the sugar industry had changed. He went on to say that the proposal was made really in order to tide over a temporary depression which had arisen at that period. That depression, however, was not due, as many would have us believe, to the stop put to the employment of kanakas in the sugar fields of Queensland. It was a world-wide depression. It did not start in Australia, but at the other end of the world, and it only reached a climax in Australia in 1893. It existed in Queensland from about 1889 until the final catastrophe attending the closing of the financial institutions in 1893. The difficulty in regard to the sugar industry prior to that was not that there were insufficient kanakas on the fields. It is well known that from 1890 to 1893 there were thousands of kanakas unemployed at

Bundaberg and at the coastal towns where large sugar operations are carried on. Therefore the statement made from time to time that the depression in the industry at that period was due to the withdrawal of kanakas is not in accordance with facts. The true cause of the trouble was that the sugar industry was largely over-capitalized; that a number of people had taken up large areas of land; that from time to time they had erected expensive machinery, a large portion of which had become obsolete; and that they were paying from 8 to as high as 12 per cent., in some instances, on the money borrowed. When we take into consideration that at that time the earning power of capital throughout Queensland was only about 6·2—which, by the way, was somewhere about 2 per cent. above its earning capacity in the other States—it must be seen that only an industry of an exceptional character could have withstood such a heavy strain. That was the real cause of the difficulty at that juncture. The depression was used as an argument to show that it was absolutely necessary to reintroduce the kanaka. So far as the treatment of the kanaka is concerned, I do not wish to say that in all cases he is used badly. I know of many cases in which he is ill-treated; but I do not wish to say that, because a number of unscrupulous employers use the kanakas in that way, all engaged in the industry do the same. There is a great deal of truth, however, in what has been said about the ill-treatment of these men. We have only to look at the early history of the introduction of kanakas into Queensland to know that is so. What could be more disgraceful and better calculated to bring dishonour on any State than the incidents which took place in the early stages of their introduction into Queensland? The commission which inquired into the matter distinctly stated that at the outset of the traffic most of these islanders were kidnapped. Even as late as 1894, a case was tried in Queensland in which a number of islanders were said to have been kidnapped in connexion with a boat called the *William Manson*. It is generally believed that even at the present time, a large number of the kanakas brought to Queensland are kidnapped. It is said by many of those who have taken an interest in this matter—and especially by missionaries who

have lived on the island — that in spite of strict regulations many of the kanakas brought to Queensland are practically kidnapped. That in itself is another reason why we should put a stop to this traffic. It may well be asked why we bring these men to Australia. Is it not, as some would have us believe, purely from philanthropic motives that they are introduced? In my opinion it is not.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is done in order to Christianize them.

Mr. McDONALD. — The kanaka is brought here neither to be Christianized nor to be benefited in any other way. He is brought here purely for the benefit of those who employ him, because economically he is cheaper than the white man, and a greater profit can be made out of him. Another matter which we have to take into consideration is the fact that out of some 50,000 or 60,000 of these unfortunate people who have been brought to Queensland, some 10,000 or 12,000 have died. Questions have been raised as to where those who died during the early stages of the movement were buried. Many have said that their bodies were used to manure the cane fields of Queensland. I am quoting merely the statements of others. I am not speaking from personal knowledge. I do not say that this has been done in all cases, but it is said that in a large number of instances the bodies were used for the purpose I have indicated. The planters themselves are responsible by their boasts for a great many reports concerning the treatment of kanakas. Reference has been made to the death-rate. I will say no more on that point than that it is a well-known fact that the new-chum kanaka—who has never been in Queensland before—dies off at a rate that is abnormally high. It has been said to-night that the death-rate has gone up as high as 150 per 1,000; but in the early history of the traffic it reached 180 per 1,000. That the kanaka should be allowed to come here under such circumstances is an act of cruelty on the part of a civilized community. There are many matters that I should like to refer to in relation to the moral aspect of this question. The honorable member for Maranoa this afternoon drew a very graphic and vivid picture of the deplorable condition of these people in certain parts of Queensland. He also gave us pathetic details of the

statement made by the Hon. Charles Powers, at one time a Minister of the Crown in Queensland, concerning the moral aspect of the kanaka question. There are just one or two extracts upon this aspect of the question which I should like to read. I propose to read them, not for the sake of having them published, but because I think that on an occasion like this it is absolutely necessary that we should have all the facts before us. Considering the agitation that is going on in Queensland at the present time, and the efforts that are being made by certain interested parties to smother up the real facts, I think it is desirable that the country, and those who have to legislate upon this matter, should possess the fullest knowledge on this subject. In such circumstances, I am not going to make any apology for taking up the time of the House in reading these extracts.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—There is no provision in our Constitution for either black or white slavery.

Mr. McDONALD.—I have a pamphlet here, written by the Rev. William Gray, who was stationed as a missionary on one of the islands from which a large number of kanakas came to Queensland. I certainly think he should be some authority on this question. He has not only given us the result of his experiences on the islands, but the result of his investigations in Queensland. When the opportunity offered, he came to Queensland, and made the fullest investigation of the unfortunate condition of these men. Before I quote from his pamphlet, I would remind the House that the kanakas are in the prime of life when brought here. Their ages range from 16 to 30 years, and to my mind it is one of the worst features of the whole traffic that a large number of these men in the very prime of life are imported, but that few of the women of their race are brought with them. It is only natural to suppose that the kanaka will fall into the various vices into which he may be led by the white races more readily than if he were in his island home. The Rev. Mr. Gray says—

The immorality takes place in the Chinese dens, where immoral white women are provided by the Chinese shopkeepers. Some features of this part of the kanaka's life abroad are more revolting than anything of island life that has come to my knowledge.

Further, I would like to say that the kanaka is not a citizen of the class we

should particularly care to have amongst us. We have been told to-night that the kanaka is a nice, docile, amenable creature, who will not interfere with anybody. Yesterday we had a telegram from Mackay published in one of the newspapers, contradicting many of the statements made concerning the kanaka, and also stating that he was a very desirable citizen. On looking at the *Brisbane Courier*, a newspaper which is now advocating the retention of the kanaka, I find the following headings:—"Riot at Rockhampton—Kanakas and Salvation Army—Police and others wounded—150 Kanakas engaged—Children violently assaulted." I am not going to read the details of this matter, because I do not think it is necessary. That was published in 1895. The *Observer*, the evening newspaper published from the *Courier* office, made some very strong comments upon the occurrence, and urged that drastic measures should be taken to prevent the kanakas from going about in the way they were then allowed to do. The *Daily Telegraph*, another influential Brisbane newspaper, referred to the matter in very strong language, and, above all, the municipality of Mackay passed certain resolutions, which, I think, it is desirable should be placed on record, more especially when we take into consideration the telegram I have just referred to. This telegram states—

A largely attended special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, at Mackay, has passed resolutions to the effect that the continued introduction of Polynesian labour in connexion with the sugar industry, subject to the restrictions of the Queensland laws, did not involve social, moral, or other dangers to the Commonwealth.

Now we shall see what the Mackay municipality says on the matter. The report says—

At a public meeting held in the School of Arts, Mackay, on 15th August, the Mayor presiding, the following resolutions were passed—(1) That in the opinion of this meeting, in view of the murderous outrages recently committed by kanakas, the time has arrived when the Government should be called upon to take the necessary steps to prevent such dastardly attacks on the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

There are two more resolutions which go on to say that the Government should enforce the law relating to the carrying of firearms, and that they should also compel kanakas to be in their homes by a certain time at night. I wish to refer to another incident in connexion with this aspect of the matter which occurred at Cairns not such a very long

time ago. There were a large number of Japanese women in Cairns who were trading upon their charms. Some of the inhabitants thought that they were undesirable, and petitioned the municipal council to have them removed. A special meeting of the council was called, and on the casting vote of the mayor, it was decided that these undesirable women should remain in that town. When subsequently asked for an explanation, the mayor and aldermen who had voted for the retention of these women, said that if they were to be done away with, the wives and daughters of the townspeople would not be safe. When we find men in responsible positions prepared to allow women of undesirable character to remain in their midst in order to satisfy the lusts of these semi-savages, I think it is about time that we made an effort to rid the country of such a curse. The honorable member for Maranoa was quite right in saying that the kanakas are a curse. From a moral point of view, it is desirable to get rid of these people at the earliest possible moment. Whilst I have thus been speaking in condemnation of the kanaka, I realize that I should be doing him an injustice if I did not say one or two words in his defence. I have done it before on the platform, and I shall always do so. I think that the kanaka in his island home is just as good as any of us. His moral life there is just as good as ours here, but when we civilize these people, and take those in prime of manhood away from home, and bring them here without their women, we can expect nothing else than that they will commit outrages. The fault lies with those who are responsible for bringing the kanakas here. In his island home the kanaka is in fairly comfortable circumstances, and he has his own plot of land and his own household arrangements to look after. It has been said that if the kanaka was not very well treated, and the conditions were not agreeable in Queensland, there would not be such a large number of islanders re-engaging for service, and coming back to Queensland. It must be considered, however, that the kanaka, before leaving his home in the first instance, had certain tribal and communal rights. On going away he loses these rights, and on returning, probably finds his relatives are dead or dispersed, and having no longer any tribal rights, he has no interest in his old home, and is practically a stranger. Under these circumstances he is

willing to engage to go back to Queensland. There is no doubt that the climatic conditions in Queensland are not suitable to the kanaka. That has been proved again and again by the enormous death rate amongst the islanders. On the moral ground and on the ground of humanity, and in the interests of the kanaka himself and of the community generally, it is a good thing that such legislation as is now proposed by the Government should come into force as early as possible. I do not want to go into the past history of this matter at any length. I have my own opinions as to why Sir Samuel Griffith changed his opinion in 1892.

Mr. ISAACS.—He did not change his opinion very much.

Mr. McDONALD.—I am wrong in saying that he changed his opinion. He said that he had not altered his opinion, but was only acting as a matter of expediency. I have my own view as to why that kanaka legislation was introduced into Queensland in 1892, and any one who takes an interest in the political history of Queensland will agree with me that that session of 1892 was one of the most discreditable in the records of the Parliament. In 1888, when the Parliament was returned, Sir Thomas McIlwraith said that he was not going to be kept out of Parliament on the score of the land grant railways. He promised the electors that he would not be the means of introducing land grant railways during his term of office, and said that if he did he would be scouted from one end of the colony to the other as a public liar. Sir Samuel Griffith distinctly stated that the question of black labour—and this was also emphasized by Sir Thomas McIlwraith—was settled for all time. But what do we find—that without consulting the electors in any shape or form, Sir Samuel Griffith, in order to obtain power, was prepared to form a coalition with Sir Thomas McIlwraith. Land grant railway measures were introduced, and kanaka legislation was re-introduced, and immediately afterwards, when Sir Hugh Nelson, the leader of the Opposition, introduced a Bill giving another £1,000 a year to the Chief Justice, Sir Charles Lilley was, through the action of the Government, compelled to resign, and Sir Samuel Griffith took his place. Under those circumstances I do not think there was any great credit attaching to those who were mixed up in that legislation. That is how it was that this legislation for

the re-introduction of the kanaka took place. The influence of big financial institutions was very strong, and it was because of their strength at that particular period, and their connexion with the sugar industry, that the Bill was introduced.

Mr. ISAACS.—Was it not also a time of depression?

Mr. McDONALD.—Yes. The depression commenced about 1890, but that was only one of the causes. To me it was a surprising thing that Sir Samuel Griffith—the gentleman with the keen and powerful intellect, who had written that famous pamphlet, “Wealth and Want,” which pronounced him to have the greatest economical knowledge of social conditions in Australia at that time, and probably at the present time—was prepared to renounce the whole of these principles owing to certain pressure which was brought to bear upon him. Passing away from that, we come to the assertion, which has been made from time to time, that, the white man cannot do the work in the cane-fields. When we attempt to find out what is the particular work which the white man cannot do, it is narrowed down to two operations in the cane-fields. Even the strongest advocates for the retention of the kanaka narrow themselves down to only two operations which they say the white man cannot do. What are they? One is the cutting of cane, and the other the trashing of cane. So far as the cutting of cane is concerned, they are not very strong on that argument; they generally fall back on the other argument as to the trashing of the cane. No one will argue for a moment that the cutting of cane is such work as cannot be performed by any white man. It is done in an open face. The man who works in a railway cutting, with a tropical sun over his head, and without the supply of air which is generally very refreshing in the warmer climates, is working under conditions more laborious, and more calculated to enervate him, than he is ever likely to do in cutting cane in an open face. But they will not keep to that ground; they back down and come to the question of the trashing of cane. That operation is done in the cooler portions of the year. It is done anywhere from May up to about August, when the climate in Queensland is the most delightful to be had in Australia. On this question we should have the fullest information. When you speak to those who are practically interested in the industry,

they state that cane trashing, in nine cases out of ten, is not necessary; it is less necessary in the tropics than it would be in the sub-tropics. Wherever the atmosphere is dry, there is not so much need for the trashing of cane as where it is moist. I propose to allow a gentleman who is interested in the industry to explain the matter in his own way. In an interview with a reporter a farmer said :—

Trashing is work which is being continually pointed to as not being fit for white labour, but as a matter of fact it is work which in nine cases out of ten need not be done at all; and even if it had to be done it is best done in the cool weather. Again, when trashing is carried out it is invariably performed after the wet season, when the weather is cool. On some plantations where there is plenty of black labour it is generally very hard to find work for the boys during the rainy season, so they are put trashing cane if there is any fit to trash. In reading the report of the two Royal commissions on the sugar industry, 1885, I find that many managers state that trashing cane is of little, if any, benefit. I have heard Mr. McCulloch, a Government inspector of Central Mills, say that trashing is unnecessary. I have asked one of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's managers if trashing was of any benefit. His answer was that in a dry climate like that of Cairns he considered it of no advantage, and we know that Cairns, next to Geraldton, has the wettest climate in Queensland. Further, I have been through the Mackay district on two occasions at crushing time, and I did not see any cane that was trashed. However, if trashing were necessary the proper months to do it are April, May, and June, when we have cool weather, and white men can do it as well as black. I have seen little girls trashing cane, and it did not hurt them.

That, I think, is very clear on the point that a white man cannot do the work. Here we have conclusive evidence from those who have worked in the industry—and I could quote a dozen similar instances if I desired—to show that it can be done by the white man. When you meet the friends of the kanaka on this ground, they will meet you with the argument that the white man is unreliable, that he is a unionist, that wild agitators go round and get him to strike for better conditions, and further, that he is lazy. On behalf of the workers of the north—and I think I can speak for the whole of Queensland—I deny those allegations. I deny that the white man is lazy. I deny that he is a loafer or a drunkard. The white workers of Queensland are just as honest, steady, straightforward, and willing to perform the necessary work which is required of them as are any men in any part of the civilized world.

I hope that we shall not continually hear these insulting remarks about the unreliableness of the workers of Queensland or of any other part of Australia. It appears to me that a large number of planters and others who are interested in the sugar industry, in their wild excitement for the retention of the kanaka, are prepared to hurl insults at every person except those whom they desire to have employed. The report of Dr. Maxwell proves as clearly as anything can do that the white man is just as capable, putting it even on that low level, as the kanaka to work in the cane-fields. He shows that the kanaka has only worked two or three hours more per year than the white man has done. When we take into consideration that the kanaka is not in the same position of independence as the white man, is it any wonder that he may have worked two or three hours longer in the year? That only proves that the kanaka is more under control, and if I may use the term, under the whip of the overseer or employer, than the independent white man is. When we take into consideration the reliability of the white workers of Queensland, and of Australia generally, in connexion with the various industries in the Commonwealth, they compare very favorably with any other workmen in any part of the world. On our huge wheat fields in some of the States, the wheat has to be taken off within a given time, sometimes within a few days or a week, to prevent a large amount of the crop going to waste or spoiling—but the wheat-growers can depend upon getting a regular and serviceable supply of labour year after year, as the crops are required to be taken off. I think the same thing can be done in Queensland. But there has been an attempt in that State, as Sir Samuel Griffith has said, to get the white workers to believe that it is degrading to work in its cane-fields. That belief has been largely cultivated by the planters. They have never made any honest attempt to try and get the white workers to work in the industry. For various occupations which require casual labour at particular periods of the year men can always be found. If there is employment to be had at reasonable wages, and under reasonable conditions, the planters will find all the necessary labour to carry on the sugar industry within the State at the present time. But the white worker of Australia is not prepared to accept that work

under the same degrading conditions as are meted out to the kanaka. He will not work for the same wage as the kanaka, or under the same degrading conditions. Give the white worker a fair opportunity, good conditions, and a reasonable wage, and all the labour which is required for the sugar industry of Queensland can be obtained within the State without inconvenience to any industry. We all know that throughout the Commonwealth there is always a surplus of labour. At the present time in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and other States, you will find agitation more or less, as the case may be, in connexion with the unemployed. I think there is labour available within the Commonwealth—and certainly within Queensland—to perform the necessary work in connexion with the sugar industry. If the argument is sound which is advanced by a number of those who advocate the retention of the kanaka, and even by Mr. Philp himself, that the industry will be ruined if we pass this legislation, because, as they say, the white man cannot possibly do the work, what is the use of them advocating an extension of time? If it is only a matter of time, it means that the industry will be killed in ten years instead of in five if their statement is correct. I deny that. As I have already stated, I believe that a white man can perform this work. I should like to point out that there is no agricultural industry within the Commonwealth which is so profitable as is the sugar industry. In support of this statement, I wish to direct the attention of honorable members to the following table, which has reference to the profit accruing from the cultivation of 50 acres of cane by white labour:—

Cost of cultivating, say, 25 acres of plant cane and 25 acres ratoons:—

PLANT CANE.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| To cost of two ploughings, harrowing, and rolling, at £1 10s. per acre | 37 | 10 | 0 |
| Planting, at £1 an acre | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Cultivating and weeding, at £2 10s. per acre | 62 | 10 | 0 |

RATOON CANE.

| | | | |
|--|----|---|---|
| Ratooning 25 acres, at £1 an acre | 25 | 0 | 0 |
|--|----|---|---|

Total cost of 50 acres £150 0 0

Mr. McDonald.

RETURNS.

| | | | |
|---|------|----|---|
| From 25 acres of plant cane, 20 tons per acre, at, say, 9s. per ton ... | 225 | 0 | 0 |
| From 25 acres ratoons, 16 tons per acre | 180 | 0 | 0 |
| Gross returns | £405 | 0 | 0 |
| Less cost of production | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| | £255 | 0 | 0 |
| Deduct for wear and tear and contingencies, 10 per cent. ... | 25 | 10 | 0 |
| Net profit from 50 acres | £229 | 10 | 0 |

If we substitute black labour for white, we find that there would be a saving of 5s. per acre in the planting of 25 acres, which represents an amount of £6 5s., and a further saving of 10s. per acre in weeding 25 acres, which means a sum of £12 10s. Thus the total saving by employing kanaka labour would be £18 15s. The sugar industry, it is therefore apparent, is a very profitable one. Of course it may be argued that certain individuals have invested in the industry and have lost their money. But people who have either little knowledge or poor methods of management engage in any business with the result that they frequently go down, whilst the energetic man who thoroughly understands what he is about succeeds. Instances of this are to be found in all industries. It was my intention to have dealt with various statements which have been made by those who advocate the retention of the kanakas. They have said some very harsh things of those who are opposed to that traffic. I am not going to question the motives of those who differ from me. I credit them all with a sincere desire to save the sugar industry. But I wish to point out there is not a member of the labour party who entertains any desire to injure it. We simply wish that the kanaka labourer shall no longer be employed in it, because his presence in Australia is not desirable. It would be wise to get rid of him as early as possible. Personally, I am of opinion that he should go at once, but I am prepared to waive that opinion and accept the Bill as it stands. I think that this measure is a very fair and honest attempt to deal with a difficult problem. I recognise the difficulties that exist by reason of the fact that certain legislation has permitted this particular traffic to be carried on. I should like to see clause 9 amended by the insertion of a minimum fine of £20 in lieu of the penalty

therein prescribed which is one "not exceeding £100." That, however, is purely a matter of detail. It has been urged that the representatives of Queensland in this House do not accurately reflect the opinions of that State. I do not claim to reflect the opinions of the whole of Queensland; but I claim to reflect those of the people who sent me here. I was returned to this House with a majority of which any man might be proud. It certainly was the desire of the constituency which I represent—a constituency which embraces a very large area in Queensland—that the *kanaka* traffic should cease.

Mr. FISHER.—What were the figures?

Mr. McDONALD.—I was returned by a majority of about 1,700. I obtained nearly 5,000 votes, whilst my opponent secured a little over 3,000. The honorable member for Herbert also received a substantial majority. Other honorable members who were returned in the labour interest were returned by very large majorities. I think the honorable member for Brisbane was probably the only successful candidate who dared to advocate the retention of the *kanakas* for any considerable time. I wish further to point out that in connexion with the Senate elections every candidate who advocated black labour was placed at the bottom of the poll, whilst those who opposed its continuance, and urged the exclusion of other coloured labourers were returned. It has been said that Queensland would never have entered the Federation had it been known that such a Bill as this would be introduced. I venture to say that if a poll of Queensland were taken to-morrow, owing to the action of the Government in introducing the Immigration Restriction Bill and the measure which is now under discussion, there would be a larger majority for federation than there was on the day the referendum was taken. I may mention that the labour party itself was divided upon the question of federation. Only six or seven of its members, out of a total of twenty-four, were prepared to go upon the platform and openly advocate federal union. One of the strongest points put before the electors in the State of Queensland, especially in the north, was that, given federation, it would be the means of putting a stop to black labour throughout the State; and it was on that ground that we got such a magnificent majority as practically carried federation in Queensland. That majority of 8,000 that was obtained, practically

from the votes of the people in the north of Queensland, was due to this cause. I certainly feel confident that the action we took on the black labour question during the time of the referendum was a strong incentive to the people of Northern Queensland to vote in favour of coming within the fold of the Commonwealth. Under such circumstances, it was only fair, in the interests of the party, and in the interests of Queensland—especially in the interests of the north—that their case should be fairly laid before the people; and I have no hesitation in saying, for one, that I would rather see the magnificent tropical agricultural and mineral lands of Queensland revert to their former state than see any attempt to develop the northern portion of that State by means of coloured labour.

Mr. L. E. GROOM (Darling Downs).—I intend to support the Bill as it stands. I came to this House pledged to support a Bill of this description. I took up that position at the time of my election, because I believed in the principles of such a measure. Although I do not believe that honorable members come here as delegates, but to a certain extent ought to give utterance to their conscientious views, yet when an honorable member makes a formal declaration on a subject, he is in duty bound to give effect to that opinion by his vote. That is the position which I occupy in this House. I firmly believed in the principles of a Bill similar to this when I was before my constituents, and I have heard no reason for altering that opinion. Consequently, I intend to do all I can to have the Bill passed through Parliament in its present form. It has been argued that this matter is one which should be left to the State Parliament, and that the Federal Parliament should not deal with it, because the subject is one with which it is utterly unacquainted. It has been said by Mr. Philp that the Government should have consulted with the Government of Queensland before they dealt with the matter. But in my opinion that would have been utterly wrong, and subversive of the principles of federation. When this Parliament was constituted, full powers were given to it to deal with this subject, and I hold that it is our duty to deal with the matter in that spirit; and while having due regard to the interests of persons in the various parts of Australia, we must at the same time pay regard to the national interests of Australia. At the

time federation was accomplished, it was clearly understood that this subject would be handed over to the Federal Parliament. Let me draw the attention of honorable members to a statement which was made by the late Sir James Dickson, when he was dealing with the question of the adoption of federation. These are his words—

The Queensland Government were too much prejudiced to consider the question fairly. He, for one, would readily accept the verdict of federated Australia on the subject. He wished that to be distinctly understood.

It was better for the sugar planter that this great question of coloured labour should be settled by federated Australia. He believed it would be done in the interest of the planters; done more equitably and more conclusively than by the local Parliament.

There we have one of the principle advocates of federation stating clearly that in his opinion it would be better for this matter to be dealt with by the Federal Parliament. That is the spirit in which Queensland voted in favour of federation. It entered the Federation in the belief that the Federal Parliament would deal with the question, and it is quite prepared to leave this Parliament to do its duty in the matter. It is not only a question that concerns the Queensland members, but it is one to which attention must be given by the whole Parliament. Each individual member is bound to make himself conversant with the case. It is because the people of Queensland believed that the members of this Parliament will do what is right between all parties concerned, that they entered into federation. Then, again, it is stated by Mr. Philp in his protest that in this matter the Government are not carrying out the true opinions of the people of Queensland. It is stated that the question was not properly raised and put before the electors. I submit, with all due deference to Mr. Philp, that the matter was properly put before the electors, and I will read a statement made by the Prime Minister himself on the eve of the federal elections in Queensland. He put the matter as plainly as could be desired—

If a further term of years was added on to the term of ten years which expires in 1902, what complaint will those have to make who said ten years was enough for them and had got more? Let them not make any mistake about the matter. He did not wish for one moment to say that the Federal Government intended to deal in a harsh or destructive way with the sugar industry, for it was like the other great industries—an asset of the Commonwealth.

Mr. L. E. Groom.

It was thus clearly stated by the Prime Minister, when he was in Queensland, that he intended to introduce a measure that would have the effect of preventing, after a certain time, the introduction of kanaka labour into Queensland. There can be no doubt about that; and it is idle for Mr. Philp, or any one else, to say that they did not expect that the Federal Ministry was going to introduce such a measure as has been brought in. Then Mr. Philp says that public opinion in Queensland is against it. All I can say in answer to that remark is this: that at my recent election I took up the same position as I am advocating to-night, and stated that I believed five years to be a fair and reasonable time to allow before prohibition started. I stated then that if the Government adopted that limit the people of Queensland would make no complaint, because that was the period which Queensland herself fixed on a previous occasion. My opponent at that election, although he was undoubtedly backed up by, or had the sympathy of, Mr. Philp and his supporters, clearly stated that he also was in favour of the ultimate abolition of kanaka labour. He first started off with the advocacy of a period of ten years; subsequently during the election campaign he reduced that period to seven, and before the election took place he agreed to advocate five years as the limitation. Therefore, as regards the recent election it is quite clear that the electors had firmly made up their minds that the time had come when some limitation should be imposed with regard to the introduction of kanaka labour. But it was never intended to abolish kanaka labour in the spirit of the destruction of a national industry. The principle which was acted upon was this—that a certain time should be given to allow the sugar planters to place themselves in such a position that this industry might be preserved for the white race in Australia. And that is the proper position—the position that the Government themselves take up. They do not believe that a large industry like this, which is really one of the great national interests of Australia, should be destroyed by means of any hasty legislation; and it certainly would be to a great extent injured if there was an immediate abolition of coloured labour. But the Government believe in granting a proper time for the abolition of that labour, in the expectation that at the end of the period named the

industry will be placed in a state of prosperity, which will be for the benefit of the whole Commonwealth. It was stated by Mr. Philp that Queensland did not expect a Bill of this description to be introduced. But there are authoritative opinions upon that subject, which I will quote to the House. I refer honorable members to the two Rockhampton newspapers, which really represent the whole central portion of the State of Queensland. The *Rockhampton Bulletin* of the 3rd October stated—

Kanaka immigration is to be brought to a close, but five years is to be allowed in order that the industry may adapt itself to the new conditions. This is pretty much what was expected. Some people would have excluded kanakas from the very passing of the Act, others would have given three years' interval, and others again seven years.

We have this leading journal of Queensland stating distinctly that the Bill is just what is expected. The articles went on—

Mr. Philp and his colleagues are furious at the Bill. But it must be remembered that Mr. Philp and the members of his Government are pronounced black labour men, and the time would never come when in their view kanakas should be excluded. Mr. Philp talks of allowing recruiting to go on for seven years, presumably unchecked in numbers, and then, no doubt, to permit all the kanakas at that date in the country to remain till they left of their own accord or died. This would give us kanakas in Queensland for the next twenty years. That is Mr. Philp's wish, or rather the wish he expresses at the present juncture, for his real wish is that there should be no restriction in the immigration of kanakas, and that no time should ever be set when this immigration should cease. In this Mr. Philp has been quite consistent, but in this he is not only quite out of touch with Australian, but also with Queensland opinion.

The article clearly states that Mr. Philp's protest, about which so much noise has been made, is absolutely out of all touch with Queensland opinion. On the 4th October the *Bulletin* thus described Mr. Philp's conduct—

The hysterical action of the Government, and particularly of the Premier, in the Assembly last night would be laughable were it not so deplorably undignified.

Then, in conclusion, the newspaper said—

Mr. Philp may rave as much as he pleases in Brisbane, but the men whom the Federal Government will listen to, and whom it is alone entitled to listen to on this question, are the representatives of Queensland in the Federal Parliament.

The *Rockhampton Record*, the other leading paper, said—

The racial colour question is invariably provocative of fiery discussion, and in Australia,

judging by present indications, it will hardly be settled without bloodshed. The extreme heat exhibited by Mr. Philp since the publication of the Kanaka Bill is most regrettable, and reminds one of the controversy in the United States prior to the abolition of slavery. For on reference to American history it will be seen that the arguments used by and on behalf of the Queensland sugar-growers bear a curious resemblance to those used by United States pro-slavery advocates.

Then the newspaper added—

This condition of affairs may possibly account for the philosophic calm with which our local politicians view Mr. Barton's kanaka legislation. At the same time, there is something like a consensus of public opinion against black labour of any sort, and Mr. Barton's proposals, and especially his thoughtful mode of arguing the question, appeal far more to the judgment of the electors than does the hysterical language of his opponents. Let us hope that in his calmer moments Mr. Philp will resolve to abandon his threatened life-and-death struggle with the Federal authority.

I venture to state that these extracts very clearly reflect the true opinion of the people of Queensland on this important matter. The people of Queensland have no desire at all to abolish the sugar industry, but what they do firmly desire is that this industry shall be carried on by the people of a "white Australia." It is impossible, in reviewing this matter, to avoid the historical aspect of the question, because from the very inception planters have taken up the position that it is essential to have coloured labour of some description. As early as 1860 an agitation was started in favour of the introduction of coolies, and a petition was presented by Sir Charles Nicholson, the President of the Legislative Council, asking the Secretary of State to allow the introduction into Queensland of certain classes of coolies. When this petition was sent home the petitioners were informed that they could have it granted on the same conditions as coolies were introduced into the Mauritius. The result was that the matter came before the Legislative Assembly, and a statute was passed, but the conditions laid down were so stringent that coolies were not introduced. Then the planters turned their attention to getting labour from another source, and South Sea Islanders were introduced into Queensland, not for the purpose of growing sugar, but for the purpose of growing cotton. They were introduced by the Hon. Robert Towns, of Sydney—so that Sydney people have something to answer for—and were employed by him at first to grow cotton. The South Sea Islanders were afterwards shifted up

north and landed at Townsville. The first person who really succeeded in growing sugar in Queensland, I understand, was the Hon. Lewis Hope, and he was granted 2,000 acres of land for his good services rendered to the colony. In 1863 regulations were passed, known as the Sugar and Coffee Regulations, which enabled land to be taken up at 5s. an acre by lease and selection, for the purpose of growing sugar and coffee. After that a boom started in the sugar industry, and the kanakas were transferred from cotton growing to sugar growing. Subsequently we find the kanakas were introduced very freely, and the same abuses arose as subsequently. The only thing was that there were no statutes to deal with them. In 1871 a case came before the Court of Queensland, and ultimately got to the Full Court. This was the case of *Regina v. Coath*, known as the *Jason* case, which is reported in the Queensland Supreme Court Reports, second volume. Certain ship-masters had seized a number of kanakas, and brought them to Queensland, where they set them free. These masters were charged with kidnapping, and the question was raised whether at common law such an offence had been committed. The argument set up by Sir Charles Lilley at the time was, that instead of doing these kanakas a wrong, the defendants had done them a benefit, by taking them from a lower state of civilization and setting them at liberty in a higher state of civilization. The Full Court, however, held that a charge of kidnapping had been made out, and the defendants were sentenced accordingly. After that, it became necessary to have some statutory enactment on the subject, and certain laws were passed having in view the restraining of this traffic. The boom in sugar continued, and large sums of money were invested in the industry, a good deal of which money came from Victoria and other places. But the supply of islanders was becoming limited, and on one occasion a raid was made on New Guinea and adjacent islands. It was in this connection that a Royal commission was appointed to inquire, and it came to the conclusion that out of 400 kanakas imported not one really understood the nature of the contract—that it was utterly impossible for them to understand the agreement or the labour they were to perform. As a result of that finding, Sir Samuel Griffith introduced a Bill in 1885 to compensate the

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employers, because the Government had sent the kanakas back to the place whence they came, with the exception of about 80 who elected to stay. I mention this incidentally to illustrate how difficult it is to make a kanaka really understand the nature of the agreement he enters into. In the debate which took place in the Queensland Parliament, a letter was quoted by Mr. Black, who always stood as a pro-kanaka advocate. The Polynesian Inspector, in 1884, wrote, in connexion with certain islanders:—

In connexion with this subject I have also the honour to bring under your notice the constantly recurring desertions on the part of labourers recently landed. It is beyond doubt that the late arrivals from strange lands have come in here with very imperfect notions of the nature of the work required from them; it is difficult—impossible—to convey to an untutored savage precise ideas of the novel conditions of life that he will be called upon to encounter on his arrival in this colony; and there is nothing surprising in the spectacle of an islander who has been used to pass the greater part of his time lying under the shade of the nearest rock or tree, exhibiting a tendency to relapse to his natural mode of life rather than adapt himself to the steady continuous drudgery enacted from a labourer on a sugar plantation. On the grounds, therefore, of the excessive mortality amongst these people, and the frequency of desertions, the result of an absolute ignorance of the work they bind themselves to perform, I would protest.

I venture to suggest that very much the same condition of affairs exists at the present time. I do believe that an honest attempt is made to cause these men to understand the regulations. We have a clause in the Immigration Restriction Act preventing the introduction of labour under contract, one of the reasons being that even a European himself may not really know the conditions of the labour which he has to perform, and that it is better that he should come free into the country, and enter into his contract afterwards. If that applies to an educated man, it applies with still greater reason to the untutored savage, because he cannot possibly understand the conditions under which he is to perform his contract. At the general election of 1883 it was decided by a very large majority that the Government should provide at the earliest possible date for the complete cessation of this traffic. Accordingly Sir Samuel Griffith introduced his Act; the Coolie Immigration Act was repealed, and the time within which Polynesian labourers might come into the country was limited. During 1886, 1887, and 1888, continual agitation went on

in the colony. Although Queensland as a whole accepted the principle that this labour should cease, the planters refused to do so. The planters kept up their agitation in the belief that they would ultimately gain their point, and compel the Parliament of the day to go back on its action, and allow them to freely introduce kanaka labour into the country. The Government of the day made an honest effort to secure more white labour for the industry, but the planters themselves took up a very strong position. They sent out emissaries to different places to get up an agitation with the object of counteracting the work of the Government. Their action was thus described by Sir Samuel Griffith in a speech made in the Queensland Legislative Assembly in 1889, and reported at page 170 of *Hansard*—

What did the planters do? I speak of them collectively. Instead of trying to do anything to take advantage of the facilities the Government were to offer them, they set themselves deliberately to work—to spite the Government I suppose—to prevent any labour being obtained from Europe, by causing statements to be made throughout various continental countries, representing that the labour in Queensland was not fit for Europeans; that they would be reduced to a condition little better than slavery, and warning them on no account to come to Queensland.

That clearly was the attitude they took up. It was one of rank hostility to the measure. During 1886-7-8 they continued to agitate for the repeal of this statute. They said they wanted an extension of the time, but in reality what they were fighting for was unlimited power to introduce coloured labour into Australia. In 1888 Sir Samuel Griffith emphasized his objection to the introduction of kanakas to the country, and Sir Thomas McIlwraith, when twitted at the time with the statement that he was in favour of the introduction of coolies and kanakas into Queensland, wrote a letter to the press—I believe it is to be found in the columns of the *Brisbane Courier*—in which he gave practically a guarantee that as long as he was in power he would be no party to any alteration of the existing conditions. He published that statement throughout the land in order to counteract the influences which were at work in favour of his opponent, Sir Samuel Griffith. As soon as the Coalition Ministry was formed in 1892, both Sir Thomas McIlwraith and Sir Samuel Griffith went back completely upon the promises they had

given to the electors, and they were instrumental in passing the legislation with which we have to deal to-day. At the time a very strong protest was made. They were asked why they did not go to the country and allow the people to decide, and a word of warning was uttered that if an extension of ten years was granted the problem would be ten times more difficult to solve at the end of that period. That proved to be perfectly true. Money was invested in the industry; a large number of persons became interested in these various concerns, and vested interests had to be considered. These interests have been at work throughout the States with the object of securing the continuance of this traffic which I believe Parliament will say shall cease. When Sir Samuel Griffith gave his opinion on this matter he set forth the reasons which really actuated him and which really were the opinions held by the electors in regard to coloured labour. In 1889, during the debate which took place in the Queensland Legislative Assembly, in connexion with the Royal commission, he made this statement, which is to be found at page 171 of *Hansard* for 1889—

There is another thing which is manifest in the report of the commission, and that is that the result of this black labour is to lower the dignity and reputation of labour. Working in the fields is considered as a degrading and dishonouring occupation, and only fit for a man with a black skin. But the greatest objection is that, according to the spirit of our Constitution, every man in this colony is equal, and is entitled to a share in the government of the colony. That is a fundamental objection. If we intend in Australia to govern on the principle that we shall be a free community, and an English-speaking race, we cannot afford to admit men of an alien race amongst us whom we cannot allow to enjoy the privilege of having a share in the governing of the country. Those are the reasons which are, I think, conclusive in the minds of the people of this colony against black labour, and I am sure they are not prepared for a rediscussion of the matter.

In 1892, when he issued his famous manifesto, he reiterated these views. He did not go back one iota upon the objections, which he considered were absolutely conclusive against the re-introduction of the kanaka into Queensland. The objections which he stated were as follows:—

1. It tended to encourage the creation of large landed estates, owned for the most part by absentees, and worked by gang labour, and so discouraged actual settlement by small farmers working for themselves.
2. It led to field labour in tropical agriculture being looked down upon as degrading and unworthy of the white races.

3. The permanent existence of a large servile population amongst us, not admitted to the franchise, is not compatible with the continuance of our free political institutions.

"I recognise," he said, "the force of these reasons as fully as ever." He was prepared to put them on one side on the grounds of expediency only, because there was not sufficient reliable labour in the country. He was quite prepared to erect what was called at the time a "kanaka bridge," to pass the planters over that period which must elapse before they could get a sufficient number of reliable persons to carry on this work. He did not propose it on the ground that white men could not do the work, but simply because white labour could not be found. These were the things which operated to induce him to change his mind upon the subject. This matter has been constantly discussed in Queensland, and has always formed the subject of hot political debate, but I believe that the Queensland people decided at the general election for this Parliament that the time was ripe for passing decisive legislation—that the planters had practically had their ten years term of notice, and that the whole question should be settled once and for all. The reasons given by Sir Samuel Griffith are still the fundamental reasons which should guide us in passing our legislation. The sugar growing industry has assumed enormous proportions, and, therefore, it should not be dealt with in a hasty or reckless manner. The Government have dealt with the subject fittingly by expressing their intention to treat the industry as one of the national assets of the Commonwealth to which they will give every consideration and care. They are proposing to give it certain opportunities of adapting itself to the new conditions, and, further than that, they propose to provide a very handsome bonus in the form of a rebate of £2 per ton upon the sugar. In reference to the objections that are urged against this Bill, we have to inquire what is really at the back of the agitation against the measure. In order to understand the position, it is just as well that we should look back at what was the condition of the sugar industry at the time the report of the Royal commission was presented in 1889. Let us inquire into the causes of the depression and see what remedies were suggested by those who gave evidence, and by the commission itself. If we do this we shall obtain a very fair idea

as to how we should treat the matter at the present time, and we shall be giving the industry that fair consideration and attention which is its due. At page 53 of the report the causes of the depression of the industry are set out by the commission which was appointed to inquire into that subject, as follows:—

(a) The unnecessarily large areas held by planters compared with the small areas actually cultivated, and the consequent payment of interest on the large unproductive area.

(b) The erection of mills quite disproportionate to the area of cane under cultivation.

(c) The sudden and continuous fall in the price of sugar arising from the keen competition of sugar produced from beetroot.

(d) The financial embarrassment of many of the planters owing to their working on borrowed capital bearing a high rate of interest, which, with the working expenses, is entirely chargeable to the small area of cultivated land.

(e) The disastrous drought of the last two years, which has seriously diminished the production of sugar, the export for 1888 being not more than one-half what it was in 1887; and the prospect of an equally diminished output for the present year, owing to the continued drought, the rain having come too late to insure a full crop for the coming season.

(f) A general want of confidence on the part of monetary institutions in the sugar industry arising from the foregoing circumstances, and the probability of the keen competition of the beetroot sugar continuing for some time to come.

Those were the causes of the depression, as summarized in the minority report, and a further alleged cause was the want of cheap coloured labour in order to enable the parties to carry on the industry. The suggestions made with a view to improving the conditions of the industry are given at page 47, and of course we have to consider these in connexion with our own position in regard to the industry:—

(a) The repeal of the 11th section of the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880 Amendment Act of 1885, and its extension for a further period of five years.

(b) A reciprocity treaty to be entered into with the Australasian colonies for the admission of Queensland-grown sugar duty free, upon certain conditions, to be arranged with between the contracting parties.

(c) The adoption of a comprehensive irrigation scheme; and

(d) That the Government should take the introduction of Polynesians into their own hands, and establish depôts at the various islands, to be managed by Government agents, and that on the arrival of islanders in Queensland they should be conveyed to the immigration barracks, and there be open to engagement in the same way as ordinary white immigrants, the planters to be responsible for the whole cost of the scheme.

A further suggestion was added in the majority report, namely, the establishment

of central mills. These were the remedies suggested by the planters themselves to the commission, some of which were recommended by the commission as being calculated to put the sugar industry upon a sound financial basis. However, at that time Parliament deliberately decided not to take any steps in the matter, and the whole subject was allowed to stand over until the year 1892. Now we have to face the question, and ask ourselves what is the present condition of the industry, and what remedies we are going to suggest to put it upon such a footing that it can be carried on under the conditions of a white Australia. We are all ready to admit that there are very large sums of money invested in this industry, and that a great many people are dependent upon it for their support. We are also prepared to admit that if the industry were abolished, the country itself would suffer considerable loss, but I am inclined to think that the magnitude of the industry affords all the greater reason why we should try to give it every assistance by way of bonus, or rebate, by affording it the widest possible market, and by giving it every other encouragement within our power. The objections urged against the Bill are these: In the first place, it is stated that we are really legislating against nature; and that the country is divided into two parts, and that in the tropical country we must always have coloured labour, or otherwise we shall never be able to continue the production of sugar. It is contended, in the second place, that whilst the white man can do the work, white labour is unreliable, and that we shall destroy the industry unless we make full provision for obtaining reliable workers. The position is most strongly put in a paper which was read in London by Miss Shaw, who says—

This brings us at once face to face with one of the problems in the solution of which the statesmanship of tropical Australia is likely to be forced to differ from that of temperate Australia. The business of the politician of temperate Australia will be to regulate the working of a Constitution based upon universal suffrage, in which every member of the community, women probably as well as men, will exercise the rights and responsibilities of self-government. The business of the politician of tropical Australia will, on the contrary, in all probability, be to find means by which the affairs of a large servile population may be justly administered by a relatively small and consequently aristocratic body of white men. In fact, the place of servile races in the world is one of the big questions of future history which temperate Australia may refuse to consider, but in which tropical Australia must join with Africa, Asia, and America in finding an answer.

This lady puts the position very clearly, and that is practically the position which the planters themselves take up. They say that white labour cannot possibly do the work, and that therefore we must look upon this northern part of Australia as a country fit to be tilled only by the servile races, with the white races as masters over them. That is a proposition that I do not agree to. In the first place a great many of these so-called servile races do not accept that position, but claim that they are entitled to rise to the rank of masters, and they will then claim that they are entitled to have a voice in the affairs of the country. Mr. Philp, the Premier of Queensland, himself practically takes up that position, because in his speech in the Queensland House the other night, he said—

It was all very well to get up at election time and say that they want to make Queensland a white State. He hoped that that would be so, however—that there would not be more than the small percentage of coloured people which we had at present; but he said that under proper conditions it would not hurt the white people, but would do them good. There were many things we could grow in Queensland if there was a small amount of coloured labour, not only sugar and coffee, but tea. We ought to grow all the tea for Australia in Queensland, and why should we not do it, and let the people drink it instead of that grown by Chinese or Hindoo labour—why not grow it in Queensland with their aid, too?

He really contends that if we are going to have tropical agriculture carried on in Australia we must have it with a percentage of coloured population—that we must have coloured labour in Australia. That is practically the position that is taken up by the planters and by Mr. Swayne, who, in a paper read at the recent Bundaberg conference, said:—

The utter unreliability of white labourers in the tropics, which is often adduced as the cause why the industry cannot be successfully prosecuted, if dependent entirely upon them, is wrongly so termed. It is simply the effect of a cause, the primary reason being the natural repugnance of the men to work under conditions to which they are not constitutionally adapted. Many of the same men who, in the northern cane-fields are a constant source of anxiety and loss to their employers—through their habit of knocking off work on the slightest pretext, getting on the spree, falling sick, or clearing out of the district just at the time their services are most required—would, on a southern farm, work contentedly enough; but they were not intended by nature to work in a sweltering heat, surrounded by tropical vegetation higher than their heads, the work itself generally requiring to be performed in a stooping position.

So that, now that the Federal Parliament comes to deal with this matter distinctly, we see that the position really taken up by the men who carry on this business is that it must be a permanent condition of the industry for all time that they shall have a limited supply of cheap labour. It is as well for us to know that that is the position they take up. In regard to it, the people of Australia say—"Carry on the industry if you can, and by white labour, and if you cannot carry it on without the introduction of coloured aliens, it is better that you should not carry it on at all." I think that is a proper position to take up. I do not think it is necessary to weary the House with other authorities to the same effect. Another position they take up now is as to the unreliability of white labour, and that is practically the position taken up by Sir Samuel Griffith ten years ago. He believed that the labour would become reliable as the industry developed, and he only wanted a certain period for its development, when he believed it could be carried on by white labour. I do not believe that Sir Samuel Griffith ever, at any time, in his heart gave up the belief that Australia should be settled by white people only. I give Sir Samuel Griffith credit for altering his opinion, because at that time the colony was in great financial straits, and he believed some relief was necessary. I believe he acted conscientiously in the position he took up, and he believed that if they had another ten years for development they would be able to deal with the trouble—that it was probable that during that period there might be some labour-saving invention discovered, or that labourers might become more reliable, and there might be less agitation. But with regard to the class of labour really desired for the industry, I do not believe that in his heart Sir Samuel Griffith ever held the views that are practically held by Mr. Philp, that one of the conditions for the development of Australia is that there should be permanently in our midst a certain, though it may be a small, percentage of coloured labour. I venture to say that at the bottom of the question of the unreliability of labour is the fact that the wages offered have never been sufficient to make the labour reliable. In other words it is purely a question of wages. That is clearly shown by the opinions expressed by the planters themselves. I particularly refer the House to the opinion expressed

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this year in the conference held in Bundaberg by a Mr. W. C. Miller. He says—

A cane farmer deprived of his labour, and placed at the mercy of an unreasonable labour union, would be absolutely ruined.

We can see that what was troubling him was the unreliability of labour, and the belief that white labour, properly organized, would demand a reasonable rate of wages, and if the white labourers did not get those wages there might possibly be some social trouble. He then goes on to state what he supposes are the absolute essentials to the carrying on of the sugar industry. He says—

Sugar planters are, from their experience, satisfied that they cannot profitably work without abundance of low-class, and, above all things, reliable labour.

"Low-class" and "reliable" seem to go hand in hand.

As it was when previously attempted, so will it be again if the labour be withheld—the industry will be driven elsewhere, and the State be the loser.

When our Queensland Sugar Commission took evidence in 1889 similar opinions were expressed, and I venture to think that the value of the evidence taken by the commission is as great now as it was then. When they took their evidence they were dealing with the natural conditions of the country, and upon that point the evidence they gathered is of considerable value to us in dealing with the labour question. At page 82 of the report of the commission it will be found that Mr. Smellie gave this evidence on the question of having white labour—

Then it was not because they could not do the work, but because they thought they were not getting sufficient wages?—That was it. They would not work for less than the ruling wages of the colony, and there is no sugar plantation in the colony that can pay the ruling wages of the colony, and grow sugar at a profit. I have no doubt that sugar can be grown by white labour up to a certain state. But that is not the question to be solved. The question to be solved is whether it can be grown at a profit. If it cannot be grown profitably, and to compete with the world, it must cease to exist.

He has clearly shown there that it is purely a question of wages. The implication is that if we could not get standard wages for white labour prevailing in the colony that labour would not be available for this purpose. At page 28 of the report it will be found that a Mr. Thomas gives similar evidence,

showing that really the question of wages is at the back of it—

Are you of opinion that, as far as the Port Douglas district is concerned, tropical agriculture cannot be carried on by a European population?—I am sure it cannot be done by white labour—that is, at the present rate of wages.

We see that both these witnesses clearly state their opinion that the industry could be carried on by white labour, but not at the existing rate of wages. In other words, if there could be some means devised by which the wages could be raised to a higher rate, they seem to contemplate the fact that undoubtedly the industry could be carried on by a white Australia. An argument alleged against it is that the climate is utterly unfit for white people, and that they really cannot exist in this northern country. But on that point I refer the House to the evidence given by Mr. John Trezise, a selector in the colony. It will be found on page 26 of the report of the commission—

What labour do you employ in cultivation?—Myself and a boy. You can get nothing but Chinese here, and we have some difficulty in getting them.

Practically you work your homestead by yourself and family?—Yes.

How does the climate affect your health?—The climate is very good as far as we are concerned.

And you are able to do your work on your farm without any bad effects?—Yes, and my children also.

From your nine years' experience do you consider this district favorable for a European population?—Yes, I do.

That is the evidence given in the district in which we are told that Europeans cannot exist. On page 20 it will be found that similar evidence is given by a Mr. Walsh, in which he states that Europeans can work in that district. There is this evidence from him—

Do you think that the cultivation of oranges, lemons, and limes can be carried on by European labour?—Yes.

Profitably?—Yes; it is being done now by Montgomerie and Robbins on the Mowbray, about 7 miles from town, and by J. Trezise, who takes oranges to Herberton.

He also gives evidence to show that Europeans are clearing the scrub and doing other work of this character in these tropical districts. There are other witnesses to whose evidence I might refer, but I shall refer specially to the evidence of a Mr. Cowley, a name very much connected with the industry. The chairman of the committee elicited this evidence from Mr. Cowley in the Herberton district—

Speaking generally from your experience as sub-manager for five years and manager for two

and a half years on Gairloch Plantation, do you consider that European labour can be employed profitably in the cane-field to do the work that kanakas are now doing?—I do not.

Do you think that such work is injurious to the health of Europeans?—No.

Then why do you think they are not physically capable of doing the work that a kanaka can do?—I think they are physically capable of doing it, but they require such high wages that we cannot afford them.

I think we can take it as proved beyond a doubt that the European races can thrive in these districts, and can do the work which is required of them. I do not believe they will deteriorate in working in these districts. I think the cry raised is simply a cry raised by the planters because they want to get cheap labour. But, inasmuch as they have had this cheap labour, and sugar is produced by cheap labour in other parts of the world, I do not think we can consistently ask them to grow sugar with high-priced white labour, and at the same time throw our markets open to the cheap labour of other parts of the world. It becomes necessary when dealing with this question to look at the other proposals which have been made by the Government. If we want the farmers to grow the sugar with white labour it is necessary to protect them by putting up a fiscal barrier. I believe that is the only way in which we can secure them in their industry. I think that the two matters have to be taken together. I believe it will give them all the assistance they require. The reasons which have been alleged, and which I believe are conclusive against the planter's policy are first—the fundamental reason which was given by Sir Samuel Griffith; secondly, the degradation of labour; and, thirdly, that it has a moral side as well. I believe, with reference to the moral side, it is not only the welfare of Australia itself, but the effect of the traffic on the kanakas that we have to look to. On this matter various opinions have been expressed, and it has been suggested that we have been doing very good work for the kanaka in bringing him to Australia. I do not believe for a moment that we ever introduced the kanaka for his own good. He was introduced merely because we believed that we were going to make money out of him. We wanted to get a cheap reliable low-class labour, and he was introduced for the purpose of supplying that labour, and for no other purpose. We had no regard for his moral condition,

otherwise we should have taken care that the married men brought their wives with them. I think we can honestly say that for the last ten years the white people of Queensland have given considerable attention to them. I know that the churches have shown a great deal of careful consideration, and missionary societies have done a great deal to keep the kanaka from falling into a lower state. At the same time we cannot suddenly transplant a man from a state of heathendom and hope in a few months to convert him to a state of Christianity. It takes a period of time, and I believe that the process of education can be best given to the kanaka in his own country. On this matter I would like to read a letter which was written to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, setting out the sugar-planters' case. Contending that if you want to grow sugar in Queensland you must have cheap labour, and referring incidentally to the effect of the traffic on the islands themselves, the writer says—

The islands from which these natives are recruited are fast being depopulated, and only in a minor degree by emigration to Australia, though this has certainly assisted in the general result. In the New Hebrides, from which nearly all the kanakas employed on the Queensland plantations are recruited, this is especially the case. On one island of that group, Aneiteum, where a few years ago the population was between 4,000 and 5,000, it now numbers something like 3,000, and is declining. The Island of Malo, in a few years, will be without an inhabitant. Disease has swept off vast numbers in every island, and the birth rate has rapidly declined. As with the Australian aborigine, so it is with the kanaka. When the white man comes, he goes. The problem, so far as he is concerned, is settling itself, and that without the aid of legislation. The South Sea Islander will soon cease to contribute his share to the vexed question of coloured labour in these colonies; even his native islands will know him no more.

In other words, the contention is that the kanaka is dying out; that by our contact with him we are practically killing him or wiping him out of existence. The writer goes on to say—

So we see that not only is there no danger of the kanaka establishing himself on a permanent footing in Australia, but that it is necessary that the Queensland planter should speedily look to some other source for his labour.

When they take up the position that there should be a further extension of time granted, the question which we may very reasonably ask the planters is—"When the kanaka is wiped out, as you say he really is by reason of his contact with the white

race, what races are you going to get in order to carry on your industry? If you say that cheap labour is an essential condition, what races are you going to have?" The only answer which they can possibly give is that they hope at some future time to get Asiatic labour, or perhaps African. When you come to the root of the question you see that they are advocating this extension of time only as a sort of stop-gap. Just as in the early days they advocated it as a stop-gap in the hope that they were going to get coolies, so now they are asking for an additional extension, in the firm belief that in the future Parliament will repeal the statutes, and allow the free introduction of coloured labour from all sources. I do not believe that that is the sentiment of Australia, or the sentiment of Queensland. I believe that the true sentiment of Australia is expressed in the opinion which was given by the Prime Minister when he visited Queensland, and which is really registered in the Bill before the House. I can see no reason why we should grant an extension. We are told that we should grant a further extension so as to give more justice. The argument, if carried to its extreme, would be to give them an infinite extension, and thus do infinite justice. We have to approach the matter impartially and carefully. We have to look at both sides, and, while trying to prevent suffering on the part of the kanaka, we have to take every care to see that we do not cause suffering to our own people. In other words, it becomes a question of compromise. I think the Prime Minister has made a very happy compromise in his proposals. He has given ample time to the planter to accustom himself to the conditions of a white Australia, and I think he has laid down the conditions by which we may really get a permanent establishment of the industry in Australia, and that is by his fiscal proposals. I do not see how we can separate them. I believe that if the House carries this Bill, it must also, to complete the measure of justice, carry the other proposal. I shall do all I can to assist the right honorable gentleman in that object, because I believe that in so doing we are giving justice to both parties, and are acting impartially and fairly, and at the same time carrying out the national sentiment of the Commonwealth.

Debate (on motion by Mr. WATKINS) adjourned.

PAPER.

Mr. BARTON.—I wish to lay on the table a letter which I have received since question time from the Premier of Queensland on the subject of the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill.

Mr. PAGE.—Has the Minister only got it to-day?

Mr. BARTON.—I have only received it to-day.

Mr. PAGE.—The *Courier* has published it already.

COST OF COMMONWEALTH PRINTING.

Ordered (on motion by Mr. MAHON)—

That there be laid before this House a return showing—

(1) Number of copies printed and published of each issue of the Parliamentary Debates up to and including No. 20.

(2) Total cost of same, specifying in detail the outlay for—(a) type-setting; (b) proof-reading and revision; (c) correcting proofs; (d) stereotyping, if any; (e) machining; (f) paper; (g) binding; and (h) publication.

(3) Revenue from sale of Parliamentary Debates, reprints of any portions thereof, and from sale of all other Commonwealth publications up to 30th September, 1901.

(4) Total cost up to 30th September, 1901, of printing, producing, and issuing—

(a) All Papers, Petitions, Returns, or other documents presented to both Houses of the Parliament and ordered to be printed, the charge for each document to be set out.

(b) Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day (the House of Representatives).

(c) Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day (the Senate).

(d) Votes and Proceedings.

(e) Journals of the Senate.

(f) Weekly Report of Divisions in Committee of the Whole.

(g) All Bills and proposed amendments to Bills presented to the Parliament.

(5) Total cost of all other printing executed for the Commonwealth by the Victorian Government Printing-office to 30th September, 1901, specifying separately value of work done for—

(a) The House of Representatives.

(b) The Senate.

(c) The Executive Council.

And for the departments presided over by—

(d) The Prime Minister.

(e) The Attorney-General.

(f) The Minister of Home Affairs.

(g) The Treasurer.

(h) The Minister of Trade and Customs.

(i) The Minister of Defence.

(j) The Postmaster-General.

(6) Total cost (inclusive of stationery) of all other printing executed for the Commonwealth

(specifying in each case the department served) by any other State Government Printing-office, or by any private firm or company to 30th September, 1901.

House adjourned at 11.12 p.m.

Senate.

Friday, 11 October, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

MOTIONS OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

ADJOURNMENTS OF THE SENATE.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I move—

That the Senate, at its rising, do adjourn until 25 minutes past 2 o'clock p.m., on Wednesday.

I am led to take this course because I have observed in the daily press that a motion of want of confidence is to be moved in the other House after certain business is transacted. I am given to understand that it is proposed to bring forward a Supply Bill in the Senate, and that after it has been passed through all its stages the Vice-President of the Executive Council will move that the Senate do adjourn. Only being empowered under the standing orders to object to that motion, which has to go to a division right away, I have to take this course in order to express my opinion on certain matters which I consider of urgent definite public importance. I understand that if a certain motion is given notice of in the other House the Senate is to adjourn until its fate is decided. Honorable senators may claim, as I have no doubt they will, that in accordance with all precedents the Senate should adjourn when a motion of that kind is before the other House. I do not take that view. If honorable senators were of opinion that a motion of want of confidence in the Government when moved in the Senate, would be taken as a motion of censure by the Government if carried, I should not be so disposed to claim that we should go on with our business on this occasion. But, inasmuch as from expressions which have been used an attack on the Ministry in the Senate would not be regarded as a serious matter. I fail to

see why we should be guided by precedents and adjourn our proceedings while a motion of want of confidence is debated in another place. The Senate, in my opinion, is a House unique in the history of the British Empire. I do not know of any other Chamber which is elected on the same principle. There is no other House in the world that has the same right to claim that it truly represents the opinions of a majority of the people of the country. When honorable senators claim that we should act according to precedents, we must not forget that those precedents have been established by nominee Chambers, which have not the same responsibility I take it that the Senate has. We are told that under the Constitution we have equal power with the other House in regard to all proposed laws, excepting, of course, the origination of Money Bills. If that is so, why should the Senate suspend its deliberations while the other Chamber decides a question brought forward by the leader of the Opposition there. If a similar motion were moved in the Senate by the leader of the Opposition, would the other House adjourn? Is it at all likely that it would? I think it would refuse to make any break in its proceedings, but would go right on. And that is what the Senate should do if a motion is brought forward in the other House next week. We have an immense amount of business to transact, and I do not regard a motion of want of confidence in the Government as the act of a man who has the true interests of the Commonwealth at heart, and that is another reason why the Senate should not adjourn. There is no possible hope of the motion being carried. The only thing which can happen is that a long debate will hang up the business of the Commonwealth for a considerable time, and lead to legislation of a very necessary character being delayed, perhaps for years. I object to subordinate the business of the country to mere propaganda work—an endeavour to educate the public of Australia up to certain principles which are said to be held by honorable members; the spread of ideas concerning a certain fiscal policy. That is all that the motion means, and its mover must know it. We see from what has taken place during the past few months, that honorable gentlemen who have professed to have the interests of the Commonwealth at heart have been delaying the passage of measures, I

Senator Higgs.

suppose intentionally, and awaiting an opportunity to strike a blow at the Government, with a view to discredit them, and to educate the general public up to their own fiscal beliefs. I cannot think that the Senate should treat the motion seriously. We can point as precedents to cases in which Legislative Assemblies have declined to take such motions seriously, and have gone right on with the business of the country. I submit that the representative of the Government should endeavour to have that course taken in the other House, so that we can proceed with business. Why should we hang up the discussion of the Public Service Bill for another fortnight? I submit that it can be nothing but the act of an enemy of the Commonwealth to block the business at this stage. There is legislation before Parliament which is of just as much importance to the people of the country as the Tariff is, and, in the opinion of some of us, of a great deal more importance. When the honorable gentleman, as stated in the *Argus* this morning, says that he proposes to move this motion because the Tariff is against the interests of the poor, let me tell him that two Bills before Parliament directly affect most vitally the interests of the poor, and those are the Immigration Restriction Bill and the Pacific Islanders Bill.

THE PRESIDENT.—I do not think the honorable senator will be in order in discussing either of those Bills except very generally. One of them is down for discussion next Friday, and we must not anticipate the debate on its second reading.

Senator HIGGS.—I shall not enter into the details of the measures. The only result which can follow from the Senate adjourning during the debate in another place is that the passage of those measures will be delayed, perhaps indefinitely. We are now within a few weeks of Christmas, when, the summer season being upon us, honorable senators will want to get away to their homes. I venture to say that we might finish the consideration of the Public Service Bill in about a fortnight, and the way would then be cleared for dealing with other measures. If the motion were one which I thought for a moment its mover had a chance of carrying, we might not take the same serious objections to adjourning the Senate. But he knows well enough that he has no chance of succeeding. He knows too

that he has not put forward any policy that should commend itself to the friends of the Commonwealth. I remember his speeches during the federal election campaign.

Senator SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—What speeches is the honorable senator referring to?

Senator HIGGS.—The speeches of the honorable gentleman who is about to move this want of confidence motion.

Senator SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—I rise to order. This is really travelling too far.

Senator SIR JOHN DOWNER.—If the honorable and learned senator objects, there is an end to it.

Senator SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—I am not objecting; but I object to the honorable senator debating the speeches and attacking some honorable gentleman to whom he refers as proposing to move a motion in another place.

The PRESIDENT.—I think Senator Symon is right. The motion is that the Senate at its rising adjourn until a certain hour on Wednesday, and the matter which Senator Higgs has brought forward is whether or not, pending a vote of want of confidence which may or may not be moved, the Senate should adjourn. I do not think he ought, except in very general terms, to allude to what may possibly take place in that debate, or to the politics of the leader of the Opposition or of the Ministry. To a certain extent this is an abstract proposition as to what should be the attitude and the action of the Senate on a vote of want of confidence being moved, because undoubtedly, what we do at this time, will probably be done hereafter. I ask him not to debate the suggested speech of an honorable member of another place which has not yet been made.

Senator HIGGS.—Feeling, as I do, with regard to certain legislation, no matter what Government was in power, I should object to the Senate adjourning. I hold protectionist views, but, at the same time, if the leader of the Opposition held office, and had before the country two Bills, such as the Immigration Restriction Bill and the Pacific Islanders Bill, I should refuse to be a party to turning him out of office; and I hope that honorable senators will believe me when I say so. It is because I fear that the delay which apparently is about to take place will act injuriously to the best interests of the people of

Australia, that I think the Senate should go right on with its work. The delay which some senators think ought to take place will give a longer time for those persons who favour black and coloured labour to introduce Japanese and similar races into the Commonwealth.

Senator PLAYFORD.—We are well abreast of our work. It is the delay which will take place in the other House on the want of confidence motion which will block the Bill.

Senator HIGGS.—Yes; but the honorable senator will recognise that if the Senate adjourns for a fortnight—and it may take a fortnight to conclude the debate—we shall be a fortnight behind with our work.

Senator PLAYFORD.—But not behind the other House. We are more than abreast of it now.

Senator HIGGS.—There are certain Bills which are ready to come up now.

Senator PLAYFORD.—These arguments might do very well in the other House; they will not do here.

Senator BEST.—What are we to do during the Tariff discussion?

Senator HIGGS.—We are not as well abreast of our work as we should be.

Senator PEARCE.—There is nothing on the notice-paper here.

Senator HIGGS.—Honorable senators know that as soon as we get the Public Service Bill out of the way, we shall have a number of other Bills to go on with.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Where are they to come from?

Senator HIGGS.—There are a number of other Bills which are simply waiting to be put on the notice-paper.

Senator PLAYFORD.—But the Pacific Islanders Bill cannot come here at once.

Senator HIGGS.—It cannot come here at once, because this debate in the other place is going to delay it. We should not join the other Chamber in delaying the business of the country. We should go right on with our work and clear the business-paper, and when that is done it will be time enough to cry out that we have nothing to go on with. I look at this matter principally from the stand-point of a white Australia, and I hope that because I am enthusiastic in my white Australian ideas, honorable senators generally will not take up the same attitude. Digitized by Google

senator, who when we showed a little extra enthusiasm the other day referred to us in a contemptuous fashion.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable member think that that has anything to do with the question he has brought forward as to whether the Senate should adjourn or not?

Senator HIGGS.—I hope the Senate will not blindly follow the actions of the Legislative Councils which have considered it necessary to adjourn whenever a motion of want of confidence has been brought forward in another place. I ask honorable senators to consider whether the Senate is to be at the beck and call of the other House.

Senator PLAYFORD.—It cannot help it so far as the Pacific Islanders Bill is concerned.

Senator HIGGS.—That all depends upon the attitude of honorable senators regarding their own position. I have heard honorable senators say that we should not give way to the other Chamber.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The two Houses are at each other's beck and call, for that matter.

Senator HIGGS.—They are, very largely; but with regard to the conduct of our own business we are separate and independent. There is no reflection upon the other Chamber in the proposition that we should go right on with our own work.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Not a bit.

Senator HIGGS.—I am glad to hear that the proposition that we should not adjourn is supported by other honorable senators.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—I regret that Senator Higgs should have thought it to be his duty—as no doubt he does—to take this form of bringing the question which he has raised before the Senate; because it appears to me that any discussion upon the question can be of no service, whilst it will take up a certain amount of the time of the Senate. I would appeal to honorable senators, now that the discussion has been initiated, to take up no more time than is absolutely essential. The Senate has before it to-day the Public Service Bill, and we had hoped to make some progress with that measure. In addition to that, a very important Bill providing for three months' Supply will shortly come before the Senate, and that will have to be discussed, and I hope

disposed of before we adjourn. I really might have answered the honorable senator by saying that what he has been dealing with is merely a matter of supposition, but I do not intend to take that course, because there is no doubt that he has raised a very important question, which will have to be dealt with practically. I do not wish to say more about the effects and objects of the contemplated motion of censure than is absolutely necessary. I do not wish to say anything about the chances of it, or to enter upon any discussion which may have a party character. In what I propose to say I merely wish to advert to the constitutional question which Senator Higgs has raised. I have no doubt whatever that the only course which can be taken by this Senate when the existence of the Government is challenged in another place is to adjourn. That is not because we are following slavishly any ancient principle or old time precedent without any meaning in it, but because we are following a rule which is inherent in the very principle of responsible government. The Government is one Government. It is represented in the House of Representatives by certain Ministers, and it is represented in the Senate by other Ministers. The business of Parliament is conducted by Ministers in this Senate exactly in the same way as in the other House, and when the existence of the Government and its right to rule is challenged in one House, how can it possibly continue to carry on its business in the other House? That is a rule which has obtained wherever responsible government exists. Senator Higgs has raised the point that that rule should not apply to our proceedings, and that we are in a different position from other second Chambers in countries where responsible government prevails. I can see no difference whatever in our position in that respect. We differ from other second Chambers in many other respects. We have infinitely more power. The source of our strength and authority is altogether different. We have very large powers of independent legislation. But with regard to this matter, we are simply one of two Chambers which constitute the Legislature in which the business of the country must be initiated and carried on by the Government. The control of the procedure of the Houses must be left in the hands of the Government, subject to the opinion and

approval of the Houses in which they conduct such business. I see no reason whatever for supposing that, by taking the course we shall take in the event of the contingency mentioned by Senator Higgs, we shall be in any way derogating from the power or dignity or importance of this Chamber. We are simply carrying on responsible government. The Ministry are responsible to Parliament in both Houses, and they cannot carry on their business in one House when their existence is challenged in the other House. Honorable senators can see at once that if, while the existence of a Government was being challenged in one House, that Government were to carry on business in the other House, the result might be that legislation might be effected, which as the result of the division on the motion of want of confidence might be pronounced to be absolutely contrary to the opinion of Parliament.

Senator BEST.—The Government would be carrying out their policy in one Chamber, though they were checked in the other Chamber.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Yes.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We shall have a bifurcated system.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Exactly. If there is one thing more than another on which British people pride themselves, it is that, whatever the form of the Legislature may be, they manage to work it so that it is a practical machine of government and legislation. We cannot have such a machine unless we follow the principle that there is one Government carrying on its operations in both Houses, that that Government is responsible to Parliament, and that its responsibility in both Houses is for the same policy. Under these circumstances, although the question raised is in one sense abstract, I have stated my view and have expressed what the intentions of the Government are. I have no doubt whatever that this is the only course that can be followed in carrying on the business of the country under our system of government and under our Constitution, that is when the existence of the Government in one House is challenged, the Government must adjourn its business in the other House.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—When I first heard it rumoured that the Senate would be asked to adjourn on account of a contemplated motion of want of confidence

in another place, I felt opposed to any motion of adjournment, because my desire, and I am sure the desire of all my fellow senators, is to get on with the business of the country. Seeing that this is the first session of the Federal Parliament, when we are laying the foundations of our Commonwealth, it is well worthy the consideration of the Senate whether we are bound to follow the practice which has hitherto obtained in other Legislatures. There is a very broad line of distinction which may be drawn between merely machinery Bills and policy Bills; and I think that if this Chamber has machinery work to do, which is absolutely necessary at the start of the Commonwealth, there is no reason whatever for an adjournment. I should consider an adjournment to be a waste of time, and should be of opinion that no matter what vote of no confidence was moved elsewhere we should be carrying out our duties to the electors if we proceeded to deal with purely machinery work.

Senator HIGGS.—The Public Service Bill is a machinery Bill, is it not?

Senator DOBSON.—To a great extent it is a machinery Bill. I was alluding to that measure. Certainly, matters of policy are involved in it, but they can have no party significance at all. The Bill has been treated from that point of view, and I think we may well call it a machinery Bill. I see no reason why the Senate should not proceed with it.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Is it not a matter of Government policy?

Senator DOBSON.—It is a part of their policy, in a way, but it is more a machinery Bill than a policy Bill. Let me say a word or two about the far more important question which Senator Higgs has raised. I do not quite know that he is right in alluding to a supposititious case. It may be that the leader of the Opposition in another place may change his mind, and that there may be no want of confidence motion at all. So that it appears to me that the whole of this discussion may not be in order.

The PRESIDENT.—The motion is undoubtedly in order.

Senator DOBSON.—I hardly see how a question which may never be raised at all can be said to be an urgent matter of public business, simply because we have seen some statements in newspapers.

The PRESIDENT.—It is for the Senate to say whether the matter is urgent or not.

Senator DOBSON.—I do not quite follow the argument of the Vice-President of the Executive Council in regard to the subject. He seems to me to have given away the position which this Senate may desire to take up, and which in the interests of the Commonwealth it should take up. We all know that you, Mr. President, have taken a great interest in the question of whether federation is going to kill responsible government. You have spoken some wise words upon the point whether the Government, under our Federal Constitution, will have to be responsible to one House or to both Houses. That is a very important matter, which may possibly take years to develop. But my honorable and learned friend, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, has practically settled it, if I understand his views aright. But, perhaps, it is hardly fair to take his words as settling the matter. I recognise that he is placed in a rather awkward position in consequence of Senator Higgs having moved in this matter.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It is a perfectly clear position.

Senator DOBSON.—My honorable and learned friend has to some extent been taken by surprise, and probably he has said more than he intended to say. I do not admit that, because we have a Ministry represented in both Houses, if they are attacked in one House the other House must, as a matter of constitutional practice, adjourn. I cannot admit that the Senate should cave in and decline to go on with its business simply on account of the fact that Ministers are fighting for their life in another Chamber. Let me suppose for a moment that a want of confidence motion was moved in another place, not by a gentleman of the status of Mr. Reid, but by some member who could not possibly succeed. Would my honorable and learned friend, Senator O'Connor, say that under such circumstances as that, and under all circumstances without regard to other considerations, this Senate should adjourn?

Senator O'CONNOR.—No, because the Government would not always take such a motion as one of want of confidence.

Senator DOBSON.—I have before my mind an instance that occurred in connexion with the French Senate. It was to this effect—that the Senate had a measure

presented to them by a Ministry in whom they had no confidence. They said they would not consider it; and within 48 hours I believe the Premier, who had a majority in the Lower House, resigned. I quite see that the reason for an adjournment when a motion of censure is moved is that Ministers cannot be expected to push forward their policy and the measures which shape their policy, because if they did push them forward and the Ministry resigned, the work would be lost. But I do not think that argument can apply to machinery Bills or to any work of a formal character. If honorable senators will think over the words uttered by Senator O'Connor, they will see that he has carried the point a great deal too far; and whether it is desirable or not that the Senate should adjourn next week, supposing this vote of censure is moved, I do not think that the Senate should be placed in the position in which the Vice-President of the Executive Council has led us to suppose we are placed.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia).—I should feel myself wanting in candour and in that sense of justice which is due to the situation, if I did not in one word express my entire concurrence with every position which my honorable and learned friend the Vice-President of the Executive Council has so clearly put before the Senate on this question. I do not desire to enter into any debate upon it, because I think we may all feel that a discussion on what is to a certain extent an abstract question at present ought not to be prolonged. My honorable and learned friend was right in saying that it is practically an abstract question, and it may be treated from that point of view as far as the point raised by Senator Higgs is concerned. But I think that we shall all agree that Senator O'Connor has acted with great wisdom in dealing with matters substantially as Senator Higgs desired he should do, and in explaining what is the true constitutional position. Because not only has Senator O'Connor enlightened us, but time and discussion will be saved when the matter does assume concrete shape. Senator Dobson has not taken, what I may call, a precise view of the situation. My honorable and learned friend says truly enough that the contention has been made—and in some aspects there is a great deal of force in it—that the Government is responsible to both Chambers. But the contention which my honorable and

learned friend urges is not that that proposition should be derogated from in any way—no one suggests that—but that part of the Government should be responsible to one Chamber and part to another.

Senator GLASSEY.—A house divided against itself.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is the unfortunate position which, putting it constitutionally, the view of my honorable and learned friend would lead us into. The Ministry is one and undivided. We hear of disagreements in the Ministry occasionally, and they are most promptly denied. But that does not alter the constitutional position, that whatever disagreements there may be amongst Ministers themselves—and those outside appear to know much more about such matters than those inside—the Ministry is in itself homogeneous and complete. If one part of it is attacked, the other part must respond to the attack, and must, of course, assume an attitude of defence. There can be no discrimination, so long as there is responsible government, between one part of the Ministry and another. If the policy of the Government is challenged in the House of Representatives, and Ministers in the exercise of their constitutional rights say "We accept this as a motion of want of confidence"—they need not do so unless they like; they may say we are not going to take the motion as one of no confidence—it means that their whole policy, not a particular part of it, and their whole existence as a Government, is challenged. In that event their operations are suspended—not the operations of one part of the Government in one House of Legislature, but their operations as a whole. It seems to me, therefore, that the constitutional position which my honorable and learned friend, Senator O'Connor, has put, is complete. Does it conflict with the importance of this Senate or with the Constitution upon which the Senate rests? I agree that it does not in the slightest degree. It does not derogate one atom from the powers we possess, and from the constitutional position of the Senate under the Commonwealth Act.

Senator DOBSON.—It is forming a precedent, that is all.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I agree that we are forming a precedent, but unhappily it is not a precedent in the ordinary sense. We are following the constitutional usage that wherever there is responsible

government, if the Government is challenged in one branch of Parliament its existence as a whole is challenged, and not the existence of a part of it. Under these circumstances, no part of a Government can continue to conduct the business of the Government in another branch of the Legislature. The business of the Government must be suspended in the other House of Parliament just as it is suspended in the House where the existence of the Government is challenged. I may also say that I do not think there is power in the Senate to challenge the existence of a Government in the ordinary sense. I do not know that the Senate is in a position to propose a motion of want of confidence; but I hope that will not be taken as any final expression of opinion on the subject, because a situation might arise which might be equivalent to challenging the position of the Government and practically paralyzing their existence, and that might be treated in that way. But if there were a direct power of challenging the Government in such a way that the Ministerial representatives here would accept it as an expression of want of confidence, then I think the other Chamber ought also to adjourn in exactly the same way as my honorable and learned friend suggests, pending the rehabilitation, if I may use the term, of the Ministry and of their policy.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable and learned senator suppose for a moment that they would?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am not going to enter into the question of whether they would or would not; that is not a question that arises now. To use a common expression they might take the bit between their teeth, and that would raise the very important constitutional question of the relative position of the two Houses upon the subject of a Ministry's existence.

Senator O'CONNOR.—We shall wait until that question arises.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—As my honorable and learned friend says we shall wait until that question arises, and we need not debate it now. I rose particularly to express the pleasure I experienced in listening to the clear constitutional speech of the Vice-President of the Executive Council upon the subject.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—It appears to me that this matter must be looked at from two aspects. First of all the constitutional aspect, and secondly the practical business

aspect which has been presented by the honorable senator who introduced it. As to the constitutional aspect of the question, in my opinion, the position taken up and the arguments used by the Vice-President are simply unanswerable. We have to determine whether, as a matter of fact, we have got responsible government incidentally to our Constitution, or we have not. He would be a bold man who would suggest that we are not working under a system of responsible government.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—What does the honorable and learned senator mean by responsible government?

Senator BEST.—The meaning of responsible government is obviously known to my honorable and learned friend. By responsible government is meant, of course, the responsibility of the Government to Parliament.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And not partly in one House and partly in another.

Senator BEST.—Necessarily, of course. The life and existence of the Government depend upon the confidence of Parliament.

Senator HIGGS.—Of both Houses.

Senator BEST.—Parliament, of course, includes both Houses. But the honorable senator must see that no matter how desirable we are to uphold our rights under the Constitution, the fact remains that the other House in finance is the dominant partner, and that the majority of Ministers are in the other Chamber.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Hear, hear ; we must recognise that.

Senator BEST.—We cannot ignore the fact that the majority of Ministers are in the other Chamber.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—That is an accident.

Senator BEST.—It is not a matter of accident at all, it is conceded by this House.

HONORABLE SENATORS.—No, no.

Senator BEST.—I venture to say it has been conceded, inasmuch as this House has not up to the present made any protest that we have only two Ministers in the Senate, while there are six in the other Chamber.

Senator STYLES.—But we have got the pick of them !

Senator BEST.—I fully agree with my honorable friend in that. We are governing under a system of responsible government, and we must accept the inherent

principles so far as that is concerned. The solidarity of the cabinet is amongst the first of those principles. In the other Chamber there has been launched against the Cabinet as a whole a want of confidence motion, and it would be obviously a most incongruous situation that in the case of a Cabinet which has a corporate existence the majority of its members should cease to persist with their policy and measures in the other Chamber, while in this Chamber some two of its members should persist in pushing that policy and upon making it the law of the land. That would be a most incongruous situation, and one that would certainly be novel, so far as our ideas of constitutional government in the British possessions are concerned. The second aspect is the practical one introduced by my honorable friend. The honorable senator is fearful that we may delay business by adjourning. As a matter of fact, we know that we are fully abreast of the business sent up to us. In addition to which, I point out that during the Tariff discussion which will take place in the other branch of the Legislature, and which, perhaps, will last over six or eight weeks, this Chamber will have ample time to consider every possible measure which has already passed the House of Representatives and been sent here.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—What about the Electoral Bill?

Senator BEST.—I do not know that I am permitted to refer to it, but as a matter of fact it is on the business-paper of the other Chamber.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It will be introduced here.

Senator BEST.—At any rate I do not think there is any reason for apprehension in that regard. The business aspect must give way to the constitutional aspect, but I feel that from the constitutional aspect and the business aspect also the apprehensions of my honorable friend are not well founded.

Senator BARRETT (Victoria).—I think this motion is premature. We might have waited until the question of adjournment was spoken of, and we should then have known exactly the position we ought to take with respect to it. I must confess to a feeling of surprise when the matter was mooted in the Chamber. Up to the moment the honorable senator rose in his place to move the motion, I had not the slightest idea that we should consider

a question of this character this morning. In saying that I do not mean to say that it is not the right of any honorable senator to introduce any motion he thinks fit; but in such a matter I think that perhaps it would have been better that we should have consulted each other, and the proper course would have been to have had some understanding beforehand with regard to it. The constitutional aspect of the question has been ably put before the Senate by the Vice-President of the Executive Council, as well as by Senator Symon and Senator Best. Let me say that at first sight I was inclined to take the contrary view. But the position has been so ably demonstrated that, so far as that question is concerned, we cannot be in reasonable doubt as to what we should do. We have the practice in legislative bodies in the past as a precedent in reference to this matter, and the view foreshadowed by the honorable senators to whom I have referred is certainly the proper course to take upon this occasion. I have no doubt we all regret the waste of time that must inevitably occur provided certain events follow. Reference has been made to honorable senators having to come here during the summer, and be occupied with legislative duties. That under present circumstances is unavoidable, and though I agree with Senator Higgs that the Immigration Restriction Bill, and the Pacific Islanders Bill are so important as, perhaps, to overshadow every other question at present before Parliament, yet I think the course suggested ought to be taken. If it be necessary to take that course honorable senators who feel as Senator Higgs does upon the question should see that Parliament does not adjourn until these questions are settled. If an adjournment does take place they should in the ensuing session take steps to compel the Government to pay early attention to those particular matters. I have no doubt, however, that the Government will do what is right. Under the circumstances I believe that this motion is premature, and the best course to adopt would be for the honorable senator to withdraw it, and await later developments.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—I share to some extent the feeling which animates my honorable friend Senator Higgs, with regard to the probability of two important measures being endangered in consequence of delay that may

ultimately ensue, but I do not share his opinions with respect to the adjournment of the Senate causing any delay with regard to those measures. If the honorable senator will look at the business-paper of the other Chamber he will see that, so far as appearances go, the Kanaka Bill cannot possibly be dealt with until such time as the large and important question which is to engage the attention of the other Chamber is first disposed of. The Kanaka Bill is one upon which senators from Queensland feel very strongly. I have no doubt that senators from the other States also feel strongly upon it. I yield to no other man in Australia in the strength of my feelings upon that particular Bill pronounced for many years past upon many occasions. I feel very strongly also upon the Immigration Restriction Bill. That is on the business-paper of the Senate, and, under ordinary circumstances, will be reached in reasonable time, but the Kanaka Bill occupies an entirely different position, inasmuch as the second reading has not yet been passed in the other Chamber, and it must of necessity be blocked in consequence of the motion which will, doubtless, will be given notice of to-day. So far, therefore, as the Kanaka Bill is concerned, the adjournment foreshadowed will in no way jeopardize the passage of the Bill, because it cannot make progress in the other Chamber until the Tariff question is dealt with. With regard to the adjournment, I think it would be impossible and unheard of to continue legislation in the Senate. I see Senator Sargood smiling, and I know the honorable senator was instrumental on two occasions in inducing the Legislative Council in Victoria to proceed with their business under similar circumstances.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Very special business.

Senator O'CONNOR.—And the honorable senator occupied a very special position.

Senator GLASSEY.—I have read the parliamentary proceedings, and the parliamentary history of Great Britain carefully for many years. I have followed similar proceedings in France, Spain, and other countries where they have responsible government, and I am not aware of any instance in which, when a Government has been seriously challenged in the popular House, a portion of the Government in the other Chamber has

attempted to carry on a part of its policy. Such a thing is, I think, entirely unheard of. Although honorable senators from Queensland are anxious to expedite business, and anxious to see some measure placed upon the statute-book, and particularly the Kanaka Bill and the Immigration Restriction Bill, I do not think that under the existing circumstances the delay can be helped. I should like to go on, because it does not suit members coming all the way from Queensland that they should be idling their time here while business is interrupted. But, however anxious we may be to expedite business, there is no help for some delay under existing circumstances. During the period in which the Tariff will be discussed in the other Chamber we shall in this House be able to clear the business-paper before the larger question comes before us for consideration.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—In the speech of Senator Best I attack what the honorable and learned senator stated as the principle of the Constitution, and that is that we are living under responsible government, and that that practically means responsibility to the other branch of the Legislature. I know that that has always been the Victorian view, but it has been the view which we in the smaller States have always contended against. It is not the view we have carried out, or, so far as I am concerned, the view I intend to maintain. I am exceedingly sorry that the motion has been brought forward at all, because, though it is innocuous, it may be taken as the expression of a resolution which I am sure the Senate would never come to. The Vice-President of the Executive Council said that the Ministry is in both Houses and he asked how we can go on in this House when the life of the Ministry is challenged in another. Would they go on in another House, do honorable senators think, supposing we challenged the life of the Government in the Senate?

Senator KEATING.—It depends upon how Ministers took it.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—That is why I regret that the discussion has arisen with the result of having produced expressions of opinion, some of which are in favour of the Constitution, and many of which are entirely, in my opinion, against its vital principles. I object absolutely to the proposition that the Ministry is not responsible to both Houses. I object also to

the proposition that we are to cease our work, when a notice of no confidence is given, by analogy of anything that exists in local Parliaments. We are embarking on a new career. We have refused to follow these old principles. The term "responsible government" has been dragged in by those who wish to drag it in. Of course we have responsible government, but the question has still got to be fought out—responsible to whom? As our Victorian friends understand it, and as my honorable friend Senator Playford understands it, responsible government means the responsibility of the Government to one House.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Not absolutely.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Practically. My honorable friend is loyal and true to his old traditions—he started with that, lived under it, and never can live beyond it. I believe that in Eternity the result will be the same. He will always be considering that he will be turned out on a vote of the Lower House. Senator Best, like the Victorians all through—

Senator BEST.—A bad lot!

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Very nice fellows. They are all very intimate personal friends, and I have the greatest respect for them; but I detest their principles. Of course Senator Best has repeated identically the arguments we had throughout the Convention from his side—that was, that numbers should rule, which meant in other words that the House of Representatives should rule. The whole struggle right through amongst us was whether the Government was to be responsible to one House or to two Houses. Although I except to the general tone of Senator O'Connor's speech, I cannot except to the conclusion he came to. Would it, he asked, be convenient putting it as a mere matter of convenience for the Government to go on when it was challenged in the other House? On that understanding I do not very much mind what is done. But in the meanwhile I distinctly regret that we have had a discussion brought up on this formal motion.

Senator FRASER.—It only clears the atmosphere.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—No, it has fogged an atmosphere which was clear before, and in which we asserted our principles. We have now raised doubt as to our powers, which I think had better

not have been done. I believe that as we go on we shall depart more and more from the traditions which now hamper honorable senators; and, as a result, we shall find that one House may possibly go on with its business—business that is not controversial, which has nothing to do with the life of a Government, and which any Government must do even though the existence of the Government may be challenged.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—It might be private Bills.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It might be private Bills or other business. I very much agree with what Senator Sargood, I understand, was challenged with having done before. It would be a matter of regret if we were to bring too much into our recollections our old notions about responsible government in the State Houses we have been accustomed to. I cannot see any possible reason why the Senate should not go on with its ordinary business. Whether this Government is alive or whether another takes its place is a matter of no concern so far as a great number of the measures are concerned. Supposing that the Government is challenged. On what? On a thing not before us. The Government is in no way challenged on matters which are before the Senate. We have Bills here which have been sent up from the other House, and there will be no difficulty in our proceeding with any possible business.

Senator BEST.—Policy.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—What is the policy that is challenged? It is a policy which is not and cannot be before us, and because the policy which cannot be initiated here, which we know not of, and cannot refer to, is challenged in another place, we are to consider that a sort of dead-lock has arisen, and refuse to do the business which both Houses have practically agreed that we ought to do. I hope that as a result of this discussion we shall very seriously consider whether we shall not depart from this time-honoured abuse in respect of a form of government which does not exist amongst us, and whether we shall not rather follow the practice which Senator Sargood seems to have initiated, and with which I entirely agree. That is, that we should go on, not with controversial business which is not, and cannot be before us, but with the ordinary business which does not concern

the life of Ministers, and which will not be affected whether they are retained or whether they are rejected.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—I do not often disagree with Senator Downer, but I would like to put a proposition to him and other honorable senators for the purpose of getting an answer. Supposing that a no-confidence motion of the same character were simultaneously introduced in each House, and that the House of Representatives supported the Government and the Senate went in the opposite direction. Whom would the Government ultimately be responsible to? To my mind, certainly to the more numerous House, because the provision made in the Constitution to get over a dead-lock gives that body, on account of its numbers, a superiority over the Senate.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—You would lose all balance in the Constitution if the seat of power did not reside somewhere finally.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It must reside somewhere finally. We cannot work responsible Government if we have two Houses with exactly the same powers. Of course I like to maintain the powers of the Senate as much as I possibly can, but I am not so foolish as not to admit that ultimately the more numerous House will certainly win. I do not hold a very strong opinion on the question of an adjournment. The only advantage in the discussion is that it enables us to make a protest against the delaying of some legislation, which may be of a very urgent character. It has been pointed out that the delay in the other House may ultimately delay any measures we may pass, because it will not be in a position to ratify our work, and it has as much say in legislation as we have if not more. I hope that the motion will be withdrawn. I deny that no good has come out of the discussion, because it has shown that there is a great difference of opinion as to the constitutional powers of the two Houses.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—I have always acknowledged that, so far as constitutional precedent is concerned, it is practically the invariable rule for the Second Chamber to adjourn when a motion of want of confidence is moved in another place. But I have equally maintained that there is no law which compels the Second Chamber to

adjourn. On two occasions, when I was a Minister in the Legislative Council, I have induced that House to go on, but I am bound to admit that the circumstances were very exceptional. In each case there were two comparatively small but very important Bills of a non-contentions nature, which only wanted the finishing touches to be given to them. I think the Legislative Council was perfectly justified in completing its work on those Bills, but it recognised constitutional principle by adjourning immediately afterwards. After all, this comes down very much to a matter of practical common sense. What is the use of going on? What is the position of matters here? We have only the two Bills before us—at least, only one until the 18th October. The Bills are, necessarily, in the hands of Ministers, and we cannot for a moment imagine that they would consent to go on with them. As we have nothing else to do, we might just as well adjourn.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland)—(In reply).—I regret that some honorable senators think that the motion has not been productive of any good, but, on the contrary, has placed us in a fog. Those of us who desire to maintain the rights of the Senate must be ever vigilant, and discuss these occurrences as they arise. Although no motion has yet been moved in another place, no honorable senator believes that it will not be moved. It has been bruited about all over the place, and in the press, and there can be no doubt that it will be given notice of, if not to-day, next week. If I had waited until Senator O'Connor had moved that the Senate adjourn until the termination of the debate on the motion, I should not have had an opportunity of saying more than that I object. We should have had to go to a division immediately, without an opportunity of expressing our opinions. The view of Senator O'Connor this morning, that when a Ministry is attacked in one House, the other House is affected, is quite contrary to an interjection from the Government bench in the early part of the session, when it was stated that if a motion of want of confidence were moved here the Government could not take any notice of it. I quite agree with him that if a Ministry is attacked in one House the other House must also consider the question. If that was to be the view I should not offer so much opposition to an adjournment. At some future time there may be three or four Ministers in the Senate. Indeed, owing to

the state of politics, an incoming Premier may find it necessary and expedient to appoint five Ministers in the Senate.

Senator GLASSEY.—We ought to have two paid Ministers in the Senate now. The whole system at present is anomalous.

Senator PLAYFORD.—We have been shamefully treated.

Senator GLASSEY.—And the Senate should resent it.

Senator HIGGS.—If honorable senators are disposed to adjourn on notice being given of a motion of want of confidence, I think it is only fair to regard the seriousness of the motion. I do not seriously regard the motion in this instance. If there is anything in the contention of honorable senators, then when the Prime Minister was met by an amendment in the Immigration Restriction Bill by the leader of the labour party in the other House, and said he regarded it as a motion of censure why did not the Senate adjourn until the question was decided.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But they did not accept that as a motion of want of confidence.

Senator HIGGS.—The Prime Minister said, "If the amendment goes against us I shall take it as a motion of censure."

Senator DRAKE.—No, exactly the reverse is my recollection.

Senator PLAYFORD.—A vote of censure does not necessarily mean that the Ministry goes out of office.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Fatal to the Bill but not to the Ministry.

Senator HIGGS.—Of course if a Ministry are anxious to hang on to office they do not accept a vote of censure as a vote of want of confidence. I can furnish more cases where Ministries have accepted a motion of censure as a motion of want of confidence than honorable senators can cite cases where an Upper House has adjourned on a motion of want of confidence being moved in another place. Surely honorable senators must recognise that the Senate would not be in a stronger position after having created a precedent than it was in before. It must be borne in mind that we are creating a precedent. I feel that the Senate is in a humiliating position, for this reason, that although we hold strong views on each side of the Chamber regarding the motion of want of confidence our mouths must be shut. Honorable senators who have a high opinion of the dignity of the Senate and the powers

and responsibilities of its members can contemplate that fact until further notice. We must close our mouths and retire while the members of another place discuss a motion which cannot be regarded as a serious one. In deference to the wishes of honorable senators I beg leave to withdraw the motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

Senator DRAKE (Queensland—Postmaster-General).—I beg to bring up the reasons of the Senate for disagreeing to certain amendments of the House of Representatives in the Post and Telegraph Bill, as drafted by the committee appointed for the purpose.

Reasons read by the Clerk as follow :—

As to amendment No. 6 :—

Because the definition is not considered necessary.

As to amendments Nos. 58 and 59 :—

Because the expense of working an underground system of telephonic communication, will be greatly and unnecessarily increased, if the department is not permitted to carry wires through private buildings.

As to amendment No. 6 :—

Because an aerial system of telephonic communication, requires that power should be given to lop encroaching trees, and the department should be indemnified for any reasonable action taken to insure the proper working of telephone lines.

As to amendments Nos. 87, 88, and 89 :—

Because the importance of maintaining a telegraphic system inviolate, is so great, that no person interrupting communication by cutting or breaking wires or otherwise, should be excused on the ground that he did not act unlawfully or maliciously.

Reasons adopted.

PAPER.

Senator DRAKE laid on the table, by command—

Regulations under the Customs Act 1901.

PUBLIC SERVICE BILL.

In Committee (consideration resumed from October 10, *vide* page 5892):

Clause 5,

2. The commissioner and inspectors shall each be appointed for a term of seven years, and shall be eligible for re-appointment—

Upon which Senator HIGGS had moved, by way of amendment—

That after the word "commissioner," line 1, the following words be inserted: "Shall hold

office during good behaviour, and shall not be removed except by the Governor-General in Council on an address from both Houses of the Parliament in the same session praying for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity."

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—An amendment somewhat similar in character, certainly similar in principle, was circulated by me some two months ago. I mean in regard to the mode of appointment. It appears to me that to appoint a commissioner for seven years would not be satisfactory. I am not now dealing with the inspectors—they are in a different position altogether. We have decided to appoint one gentleman as chief commissioner. He will have a very heavy responsibility thrown upon him. So far as Victoria is concerned, both in connexion with the railways and public service, the commissioners were appointed for seven years; but there were three of them, and it is certainly desirable that where only one is appointed he shall be surrounded by as many safeguards as regards political and social influence as possible. I am of opinion that the appointment should be, as the Auditor-General's is, during good behaviour. But I do not place the same interpretation on the term "good behaviour" as Senator Playford does. It does not mean liability to dismissal with the same facility as applies to an ordinary public servant.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Surely he should be liable to suspension, and his actions should be subject to investigation by boards of inquiry.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—The duties of the chief commissioner will be in a way quite as onerous and as important as those of the Auditor-General, who is only to receive £1,000 per annum, whilst the Public Service Commissioner is to receive £1,500. My conviction is that it is a great mistake to put the Auditor-General down for a salary of only £1,000, which is too small for the class of officer we require for that very important position. We should also bear in mind that the duties of the Auditor-General are to a large extent mechanical, though they are important. I mean that they are mechanical inasmuch as his primary duty is to see that the votes of Parliament are spent in the direction intended by Parliament, that they are not taken from one department and expended in another, and that surplus votes are not expended otherwise than strictly in accordance

with the law. In addition to that, he has to see to the auditing of the accounts of the whole of the departments. The Public Service Commissioner will have to deal with the appointment, advancement, promotion, and salary of every public servant. He will have to hold the scales of justice very evenly, so that there will be no nepotism and no unfair promotions. Having a very intimate knowledge, extending over a good many years, of the duties both of Public Service Commissioners and Auditors-General, I think that the duties of the one are quite as important as those of the other, and that, therefore, both should be surrounded by due precautions. That is the reason why I think the appointment should not be for seven years, but during good behaviour. I now come to the point raised by Senator Playford, that if the commissioner is appointed during good behaviour he is practically appointed for life, and that will make him an autocrat. I am bound to say that, to a certain extent, the amendment of Senator Higgs would justify the contention of Senator Playford. But my amendment is an exact copy of a section of the Audit Act which we have passed. It enables the Governor-General to suspend the Auditor-General—in this case it would be the Public Service Commissioner—at any time the Government thinks fit. That is a power which should be left absolutely with the Government. The Audit Act enables the Auditor-General to be suspended, first, for incapacity. That is a very wide term and would cover almost anything. Then he may be suspended for incompetency or misbehaviour. I can hardly conceive any behaviour or any act of the commissioner that would not come within the description of one of these words. The Government having so suspended the officer, they are to lay before both Houses of the Parliament a full statement of the grounds of such suspension within seven days if the Parliament is then sitting, or, if Parliament is not in session, within seven days after it meets. Then the Auditor-General—in this case it would be the Public Service Commissioner—so suspended is not to be removed from office unless each House of Parliament, within 42 days after the date upon which the statement is laid upon the table, passes an address praying the Governor-General for his removal. So that if my amendment were adopted the Public Service Commissioner would be upon exactly the same footing

Senator Sir Frederick Sargood.

with regard to his appointment during good behaviour as the Auditor-General. It appears to me that that is all that is wanted. We have considered the power ample and satisfactory so far as concerns the Auditor-General, and I think it would be wise to adopt the same principle with regard to the Chief Commissioner of the Public Service, but not as to the inspectors. I do not propose to deal with them at present. Perhaps it might be advisable for the proposal to be made for the omission of sub-clause (2). If that were done it would leave it open to us to deal with the subject upon clause 6, which I think is the right place. Clause 6 deals really with the suspension of the commissioner and so forth. The suspension, appointment, and such cognate matters would be better dealt with in one clause, for the sake of symmetry.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I can see from the trend of the discussion which has taken place that my amendment is not likely to be carried. I, therefore, beg leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Senator DRAKE.—No doubt Senator Sargood has correctly described the provisions of the Audit Act, but in exactly copying the provisions of one Act in another measure we should be careful to make sure that the two cases dealt with are upon the same lines. There is a great deal of difference between the position of Auditor-General and that of the Commissioner of the Public Service. We know perfectly well that there is a necessity for some system of audit, and that the Auditor-General would be just as much required and just as important seven years hence as now. The same system of audit obtains in nearly all British speaking countries, and in all the Australian States it is recognised that there is an absolute necessity for having an Auditor-General. But the case of the Public Service Commissioner is entirely different. There are considerable differences of opinion as to what is the best system for controlling the public service. Several honorable senators have expressed strong opinions about the desirability of having some system of civil service control entirely different from that proposed by the Bill. Is it not reasonable, therefore, that we should put a limit to the term of the service of this commissioner, on the assumption that possibly between now and seven years hence the Parliament may be of a different

opinion to that which it appears to hold now with regard to the best system to adopt?

Senator BARRETT.—And we may get a better man, perhaps.

Senator DRAKE.—Yes; if we limit the term it also gives an opportunity for getting a better man if the commissioner appointed does not fulfil expectations. The other day Senator Dobson was arguing in favour of sweeping away the proposed system, and having a board appointed, consisting of one or two officers already in the service. He would do away with the commissioner altogether. A number of other honorable senators have said that this legislation is, to a certain extent, experimental. Under these circumstances is it desirable that we should now fix the tenure of the commissioner practically for life? Is it not better that a term should be fixed for his service, so that in the course of years, if some better plan is thought of, that other better system may be adopted? The alteration of a system established by Act of Parliament, or the dispensing with the services of an officer against whom nothing can be alleged except that he does not come up to the expectations formed of him, is always reluctantly undertaken. Honorable senators like Senators Playford and Sargood, who have had a lot of experience of administration, know very well that where an officer is appointed during good behaviour, it is always with considerable reluctance that any action is taken to remove him from his position on the ground of his misbehaviour or incapacity. A man in that position cannot be got rid of except by such an attack upon his character as would practically prevent him from getting any other kind of employment. It is very inadvisable at this stage of the Commonwealth, when we are adopting an admittedly experimental system—which is a choice from amongst a number of systems which have been suggested—to put the commissioner in the position of retaining his office for life. The term of seven years seems to me rather long, and I am surprised that there should be any movement in the direction of giving him a longer term.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—I suggest to the Minister that as there are so few senators present, this clause might be postponed. Only one senator from my State is in the Chamber, and there is only

one, Senator Walker, from the most important State in the Commonwealth. If the Minister would postpone the first part of the Bill, and proceed with the second part, which deals with the public service, what it shall consist of, and what salaries shall be paid, it would be more satisfactory. If we proceed with this clause to-day I shall feel compelled to support its reconsideration on a future occasion, when there are more senators present. I shall vote against sub-clause 2, and am quite willing to support Senator Sargood in the view of the matter which he has submitted. I certainly object to the inspectors being appointed for seven years. It is doing them a little too much honour to appoint them in that way. They should be the servants of the commissioner, and he should have the choosing of them. Therefore, the word "inspector" should come out of the sub-clause, even if the rest of it is passed.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I hope the committee will not agree to postpone the clause. We had a considerable amount of discussion on it last night, and we have again debated it this morning. I think we are all pretty well prepared to vote upon it now. If it is postponed, as suggested by Senator Playford, there is no guarantee that when it is again considered we shall have a better attendance of honorable senators than we have to-day, and we shall have all the discussion over again. It will be better to settle the matter one way or the other. With that end in view, I move—

That sub-clause be omitted.

I do not think the Commonwealth should be tied down to any particular term in the appointment of this commissioner, because there is a great deal of difference of opinion as to whether the appointment is likely to be a satisfactory one or not. I think we should hold the power to express, when the Estimates come before us, an opinion as to whether we shall discontinue the office or not.

Senator BARRETT (Victoria).—The course now being taken emphasizes the necessity of having a fuller House to discuss this matter. Honorable senators appear to be in such a state that they do not feel inclined to go on with business. The Minister knows, as well as I do, that we are now upon one of the vital features of the Bill. We have been threatened with amendments from various

sources. I do not say it offensively, but it appears to me that those who do not desire the appointment of a Public Service Commissioner are not inclined to take the decision of the Senate with regard to that matter. If a vote were taken at the present time it would simply be a chance vote, which would not be satisfactory to either side. On several occasions this morning there has not been a quorum present, and I should have called attention to the state of the committee had I not felt that as a rule it is objectionable to do so. Taking everything into consideration, I think it would be wise to adjourn the consideration of the Bill until after dinner, when we might have a better attendance of honorable senators.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—This Bill has now been discussed for portion of three different days, and although I take a vast interest in it, I do not think I have opened my lips upon the subject on any one of those three days. I have been quietly listening to honorable senators, and trying to ascertain what the views of the Postmaster-General are.

Senator DRAKE.—My views are in the Bill.

Senator DOBSON.—If I may venture to suggest a reason why this Bill appears to be almost dead, whenever we come to discuss it, it is that from the commencement of the discussion upon the second reading a majority of honorable senators have been against the principles of this fifth clause. Little by little Ministers have gained ground with a doubtful member or two, and when we came to divide upon the omission of the word "commissioner" they won. I believe that if we had the whole of the members of the Senate here now it would be found that the principle of the clause is objected to by a majority. It is almost impossible to galvanize this Bill into life when the a majority of the members of the Senate do not want it. Let me direct the the attention of the committee to what the Postmaster-General said a few minutes ago. First of all, he said that the States had not settled what sort of Public Service Bill they ought to have, or how they ought to manage their public services. I quite agree with that. He next stated that some of the States are legislating in the direction of this Bill. I quite agree with him. He then said on the question of making the term of

appointment seven years, that it was in the way of an experiment. I quite agree with him, and a very disastrous experiment it will prove. I object to any term of years whatever being fixed, and I object to the commissioner and the inspectors being placed in any position whatever except that of ordinary public servants, who can be got rid of on six months' notice. As the Postmaster-General has told us, the Bill is an experiment, the States have not yet made up their minds with all the experience they have had, how a public service should be conducted, and I get back to my original argument and say that this Bill, with respect to this controversial part of it, is a mistake, and we do not want it. Why cannot we go on and classify the service with a board of chief officers, men who have known the public service for a life-time? We could get the officers classified in the different States, and the whole of the departments graded as one service, and we should then have overcome more than half the difficulty and should not require this £10,000 a year Bill to carry on the service in the future. With reference to the experience of the States, let me call the attention of the Postmaster-General to the fact that in Western Australia they passed a Bill eighteen months ago. With all the experience of the other States fresh in their minds, and knowing all the trouble that arose in Victoria since 1883, knowing also the disastrous consequences in New South Wales, and the failure of the boards established there, and knowing the dissatisfaction which existed in all the States, through systems under which the civil servants were taken from their rightful position of being under Ministerial control and responsibility, what did our brothers in Western Australia do? They went right back again to a Public Service Bill, under which there should be no commissioners, and no inspectors, and under which the Minister should be in his rightful position. I say again that if Members of Parliament will think more highly of their duties, and bear in mind that everything that has to do with the civil service is a judicial matter, that we must hold the scales of justice fairly, and must be prepared to pass a vote of censure against any Minister who dares to contravene these principles by allowing himself to be influenced in matters of detail, we shall make Ministers feel that they are responsible; we shall keep them up to the mark, and there

will be no occasion for passing this Bill, which will involve an expenditure of £10,000 a year.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—What is responsibility? With a large majority in another place the Ministry can do as they like.

Senator DOBSON.—When we find that honorable members of the Federal Parliament are set upon continuing political influence, and that a majority in this Senate approve of it—which I very much doubt—it will be time enough to give way to that humiliating position. Here is Western Australia, with all the evidence in front of her, passing such a Bill as I have referred to. I hold in my hand another piece of evidence trending in the direction I am indicating. Senator Glassey has told us that they have a Public Service Board in Queensland, and the honorable senator thinks that that board is working admirably. When I told the honorable senator yesterday that the board was not going to be continued, he said that there were three members of the board at present, and that having lost the Customs and Post and Telegraph departments, the proposal was to curtail the board and have only one commissioner.

Senator GLASSEY.—I did not say there was to be only one. I said there would be some alteration in consequence of the changed conditions.

Senator DOBSON.—I can tell the honorable senator what is proposed, because I find from the Queensland *Hansard* that Mr. Annear asked the Premier—

Is it the intention of the Government to continue the Public Service Board after their present term has expired?

And the answer to that question was "No." There is nothing there about appointing one commissioner.

Senator GLASSEY.—I happen to know that there is going to be a commissioner.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator said yesterday that we should get away from theory and come to practical experience. I have pointed out the practical experience of Western Australia, and I now point out the practical experience of Queensland, where they are not going to continue their Public Service Board. If the Queensland Minister who gave that reply that they were not going to continue the board, knew that there was to be one

commissioner instead of three, the answer was incorrect, disingenuous, and unfair.

Senator GLASSEY.—That often happens.

Senator DOBSON.—I hope that Ministers in Queensland do give straight answers sometimes. I think it is clear that the Queensland Government are now going back upon their Public Service Board. Ever since 1883 great efforts have been made in this colony to do away with political influence. Certain experiments have been made, and I do not need to repeat the history of them. The result has been that no single board or method devised for keeping out influence has succeeded. Where political influence has been minimized on one hand, on the other there has been club influence or social influence, and in either case there has been taken away from the Minister the responsibility which rightly belongs to him. Under all the circumstances, I do not wonder at my honorable friend the Postmaster-General saying that this is an experiment.

Senator DRAKE.—It has all been experimental legislation in the States.

Senator DOBSON.—We are going to spend £10,000 a year on this experiment for the management of two departments, and to do away with Ministerial responsibility. Under one of the later clauses the commissioner is to make certain recommendations to the Governor-General for classification and so forth. Does the Postmaster-General dare to think that one commissioner can classify all the officers in the various States into one service, or that he will have knowledge enough to do it? Does the honorable and learned senator suppose that these galloping inspectors or anybody else can din into that one man's head sufficient information about the officers of the several departments in each State to enable him to classify them according to their merits? The thing is impossible, and the Senate will do wrong in passing such a Bill, leading to the impression that we believe that one man can justly, rightly and efficiently perform such a task. The chief officers of the different departments in the various States are the only possible men who could attempt to classify the public servants of the Commonwealth. I should be glad if we could have a division upon sub-clause (1), but as honorable senators have said, what is the use of a division in a committee of sixteen or eighteen members out of thirty-six? The Postmaster-General knows that there was a majority against this

clause, and that some senators have given way out of good nature and good will towards the honorable and learned senator. I should like to do so, but I feel so deeply upon the question that I cannot.

Senator DRAKE.—I have never recognised that.

Senator DOBSON.—I recognise it, but the Senate has now changed its mind, and honorable senators appear to take no interest in the matter. I plead for Tasmania when I say that there is no justification for this extravagance, and I feel it to be my duty to stand here and fight as long as I can against the citizens of my State being asked to contribute any part of this £10,000 a-year, which will only be wasted. I should like to have had sub-clause (1) put as amended, so that we might divide upon it.

The CHAIRMAN.—I would point out that the words "from time to time" have been inserted after the word "fit," and the previous words "during the pleasure of the commissioner" struck out. Now, the position is that we have an amendment to omit sub-clause (2).

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—I intend to support the clause as it stands. With regard to Senator Dobson's reference to Western Australia and Tasmania, I might suggest to the honorable senator that Western Australia has a population of 108,000, whilst all Australia, that we have to deal with, represents a population of something like 3,800,000. What might be excellent for a colony like Western Australia, with an intelligent autocrat like Sir John Forrest, might not be suitable for a population of 3,800,000, extended over six different States. Later on I propose to support Senator Sargood in some of his views with regard to the commissioner, but in the meantime I support the first sub-clause. If any members of the Senate are absent to-day, that is not the fault of those who are present. We are here to do the business of the country, and if other honorable senators have confidence in us, it is our duty to go ahead with the business.

Senator DRAKE.—I do not think there is any lack of interest in this Bill in the Senate. There are certain reasons why there is a small attendance to-day, and why there have been small attendances in the past. This Bill has been postponed on several occasions to make way for important chinery Bills necessary in connexion

with the Tariff. The Senate has recognised that these Bills should be dealt with before anything else. What there has been in the Senate is a determination, particularly on the part of one honorable senator, to kill the Bill. Senator Dobson told us that there was no Bill he would sooner kill than this Public Service Bill.

Senator DOBSON.—The principle of it.

Senator DRAKE.—We know that that sentiment is entertained also by some other members of the Senate. Then there are others who do not want to kill the Bill, who recognise that it is very necessary that the Bill should live, because unless it does we shall have no prospect of obtaining a proper system of civil service control.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—We must have a Bill.

Senator DRAKE.—Senator Sargood is an instance in point of honorable senators who desire to amend the Bill in such a way as to make it, in their opinion, better than it is at the present time. The real difficulty is that all the way through there has been a conjunction of forces between those who desire to amend the Bill and those who desire to kill it. Comparing the Bill with the Audit Act, it is, in a sense, experimental legislation, because the best system of civil service control has not yet been decided upon in any State. Senator Dobson bears me out absolutely by saying that eighteen months ago the Parliament of Western Australia passed a Bill embodying a system of civil service control different from this one, and probably different from any one adopted in other States.

Senator DOBSON.—The system of Ministerial control.

Senator DRAKE.—I take it that the principle of that Bill commends itself to Senator Dobson's approval. He seems to think that it is the height of wisdom; that the whole question is settled for ever; that with the experience of other States to go upon, Western Australia has decided upon a system which is going to stand for all time. Judging of what may happen from the past, the probability is that when the Parliament of Western Australia has had a few months', perhaps a few years', experience of that particular system, it will come to the conclusion that it has not all the wisdom in that State, and will probably revert to the other system.

Senator PEARCE.—They are dissatisfied with it already.

Senator DRAKE.—I have elicited that useful piece of information.

Senator DOBSON.—Everybody is dissatisfied with everything about the civil service, but that is no argument.

Senator DRAKE.—No system has been devised in any State which has given absolute satisfaction. Senator Glassey was quite correct in his observations in regard to Queensland. The Civil Service Board, which has been in existence since 1889, has been giving very fair satisfaction. At the present time, and for a year or two past, the Government have been contemplating some change in the construction of the board. I have had charge of two Bills continuing the Act for a year each time, showing that neither the Government nor the people are so dissatisfied with the system as to abolish it. What has been done has been to continue the Act four or five times—for a year each time—pending an opportunity in Parliament to rediscuss the matter, and, perhaps, to hit upon a better system.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—They have found it difficult to improve on it.

Senator DRAKE.—Up to the present time they have not been able to devise any system which they have been prepared to accept as an improvement on the present one. Seeing that we are getting nearer and nearer to some common agreement as to the best system of control, my contention is that in the present state of public feeling, the system adopted in the Bill is the best which can be devised. But we are not going to say that the matter is so absolutely settled for all time that we can state confidently that in seven years it may not be considered advisable to supersede this by a better system. In the present state of public opinion it is desirable that the appointment of the Public Service Commissioner should be limited to some term of years, so that on fuller consideration, if the Parliament considers that a better system can be adopted when the term of service expires, it can make the necessary change or appoint another man.

Progress reported.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4).

Bill received from the House of Representatives, and read a first time.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—In pursuance of my contingent notice of motion I move—

That so much of the standing orders be suspended as would prevent the Bill from passing through all its remaining stages during the same sitting of the Senate.

I submit this motion under circumstances which are known to honorable senators, and which I venture to say are a complete justification for asking the Senate to pass the measure without the usual intervals for consideration. It has been introduced and passed through all its stages in the House of Representatives this morning, and as the supply is based on estimates which have been laid before the House, I ask honorable senators to agree to the motion.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I move—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

This Bill asks for an amount of £928,322 towards the supply for the year ending 30th June, 1902. It will be in the recollection of honorable senators that in July last we obtained what was calculated to be supply up to the 30th September, on the basis of this year's Estimates. We obtained then an amount of £1,010,732, and we now require, on the basis of the Estimates laid on the table of the House, supply calculated to meet our requirements up to the 31st December of this year. With what we have obtained and what we now ask for we shall have supply sufficient to carry us on for the first six months of the financial year ending 30th June, 1902. A very great deal of care has been taken to ask for nothing that is likely to be of a debatable character. No increases will be paid until after the Appropriation Bill has been passed. No increases of salaries which appear on the Estimates are included in this Bill. The Treasurer has not even asked for the full amount of three months' supply, in accordance with the Estimates.

Senator KEATING.—Will there be no increases before the end of June, 1902?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Until the passing of the Appropriation Bill, no increases on the Estimates will be paid, but of course, if Parliament approves of them, there will be back payments. In this Bill we do not ask for any increases, or include any debatable items. What we ask for is the supply necessary to carry on the ordinary services of the Government. The total amount of

the Estimates for the year is £4,024,106. We deduct all the special appropriations, which amount to £86,150, and all the appropriations for new works which amount to £54,480, leaving a balance of £3,883,476. There is a certain amount of arrears charged here under the Estimates—that is to say a sum of £246,899, which ought to have been paid before the 30th of June of this year. The great bulk of these arrears have been appropriated, but there was no time to spend the money, and on the 30th June the authority to pay lapsed. Of course they have to be paid, but the Treasurer, following a very proper course, has put them in separate items. Honorable senators will find that taking one-half of the total votes for 1901–2, and adding the arrears, it amounts to £2,065,187. To make up that amount we should have had to ask for £1,054,455. We ask for only £928,322, which is £126,133 less than the amount to which we would be fairly entitled to complete the half year's supply. If any questions are asked as to particular items I shall be very glad to answer them. I hope the Senate will recognise that it is necessary that three months' supply shall be given, and that there is nothing in the Bill more than is absolutely required to carry on the ordinary business of the Government.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read the second time.

In Committee.

Clause 1—(Issue and application of £928,322).

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Are we dealing with the schedule, sir?

The CHAIRMAN.—No, clause 1.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Clause 1 passes the whole amount, and if we agree to it, practically it is not of much use to discuss the schedule.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Bill can, if necessary, be recommitted. We must follow the usual rule. I have never seen the schedule taken first.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I can see that there is some advantage in taking the schedule first.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I do not believe there is any serious intention of suggesting an amendment in the schedule, and if it is a mere matter of discussion, any point can be raised quite as well on the schedule. All the standing orders have been suspended so that there may be a recommitment.

Senator Sir RICHARD BAKER.—In South Australia, where this practice originated, the Legislative Council has always postponed the clauses and first amended the schedule. If no suggestions were made then the clauses were soon passed. Of course we are not bound by the practice of any House.

Senator O'CONNOR.—In New South Wales the practice was as I stated, and I understand that it was the same in Victoria. It is quite immaterial which method is adopted, only I prefer that we should adopt the method I am now indicating.

The CHAIRMAN.—I propose to follow the standing order, which says that, in going through a Bill, the clauses and schedules shall be taken in the order in which they stand.

Senator WALKER.—I think that the clause ought to be postponed. A principle is involved, although it may only be a matter of form to-day.

Clause agreed to.

Schedule.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—My reason for desiring to call attention to the schedule is that I notice that there is a very large amount of money put down for contingencies. Honorable senators are supposed to know something about the way the money is spent, but I find that in the case of the Senate, a sum of £550 is put down for contingencies. I have taken the trouble to go through the schedule, and I find that the total amount of money set down on account of contingencies is £193,300, or rather less than one-fifth of the total amount. Probably the Minister can give us some information about that.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I think the honorable senator will recognise that it is impossible to do without contingencies altogether.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I quite agree with that.

Senator O'CONNOR.—As an old Minister and parliamentarian, Senator Sargood will know that in every Supply Bill there are contingencies. For instance, in the very last Supply Bill we passed there was a sum of £350 for contingencies on account of the Senate. The explanation is given in detail in the Estimates that have been laid on the table of the Senate. Every honorable senator has access to them. If Senator

Sargood will turn to page 8 of the Estimates he will find that the contingencies for the Senate amount to £1,531. There is a sum of £626 for sessional messengers.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Those are salaries.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The item is put under contingencies because the messengers are only temporary. Then there is £60 for temporary clerical and other assistance, £225 for stores and stationery, £120 for travelling expenses, £150 for incidental expenses, £250 for allowances to office-cleaners, and £100 for the expenses of select committees, including allowances to witnesses. The whole of the contingencies are upon the Estimates, to be discussed when the Appropriation Bill comes before the Senate.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—That schedule is not before us.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It would be impossible to put every item in a Supply Bill, as Senator Sargood knows. While I am on my feet, I think it right to call attention to the fact that there is a difference in this Bill as compared with previous Supply Bills. That difference has been made in pursuance of a suggestion offered in the Senate on the last occasion, when it was strongly put that the expenditure for the Parliament should not be under the heading of the department of the Minister for External Affairs. Accordingly the items for the Parliament appears under a separate heading in this schedule.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the item of £100 for travelling expenses refer to officers of the Senate, or to members?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Certainly not to members. The item refers to travelling expenses in connexion with the officers.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—The only point about which I want information is as to whether this Supply Bill is based upon previous votes, or upon the new Estimates submitted to Parliament by the Treasurer.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It is based upon the Estimates laid upon the table, but in effect it is practically on the basis of actual expenditure.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The usual course to adopt—the course I always adopted in South Australia—is, that when a Supply Bill is asked for, it is based upon the Estimates of the previous year, which

have been agreed to and passed by Parliament. It is not based upon Estimates laid before Parliament, and which have not been agreed to. For instance, there should not be in such a Supply Bill any votes for increases of salary, or any expenditure which has not been previously assented to by Parliament. Increases of salary and other similar expenses should not be paid until Parliament has passed the Estimates for the year. In this case I understand from Senator O'Connor that the schedule is based upon the Estimates which have been laid upon the table, and which have not been approved by Parliament at all. That is a departure from the usual practice, and it is one that may lead to some trouble.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I do not know whether the honorable senator was present when I made the explanation that no increases are included in this schedule. Some increases appear in the Estimates, but they have not been put into this list, which is based upon expenditure which has already been sanctioned. Those to whom increases have been granted will have to wait until the Estimates have the final approval of Parliament.

Senator PLAYFORD.—That is quite right so long as it is understood.

Senator O'CONNOR.—In the next place there are certain items for new expenditure on works. They are not included at all. So far as we have been able to gauge, no debatable items are included in this schedule, but only such as are absolutely essential to the ordinary carrying on of the machinery of government. In regard to what Senator Playford has said as to the usual practice, it must be remembered that these are the first Estimates that have been laid before this Parliament. Hitherto we have been carrying on our expenditure under appropriations, and in accordance with certain schedules and items which have been agreed to by Parliament. These are the first Estimates, and they are for the year ending 30th June, 1902. On the basis of those Estimates this Supply is asked for, but in effect no more has been asked for than has been actually paid on account of the different transferred services and on account of new services since the inauguration of the Commonwealth. Consequently, although these items are based upon the Estimates, we are asking for nothing more than has already been approved of by Parliament.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—As to the contingency vote for the Library, £700, I wish to ask—Does the Library belong to the Commonwealth?

Senator O'CONNOR.—No; the Library does not belong to the Commonwealth, but we have the use of it, and have undertaken to carry on the expenses in connexion with it.

Senator MACFARLANE.—What about the contingency vote, then?

Senator O'CONNOR.—If Senator Macfarlane looks at page 10 of the Estimates he will find that the contingencies are for books and book-binding, stationery, postage and telegrams, incidental expenses, allowance to charwoman, and temporary assistance.

Senator MACFARLANE.—Are we purchasing books?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Yes; but any books we buy belong to the Commonwealth.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the payment for telegrams mean the franking of the letters of Members of Parliament and so forth?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Yes.

Senator DOBSON.—I should like to raise a point, which I mentioned a little while ago to the Postmaster-General, with reference to the salaries and so forth of officers of the Commonwealth who are now receiving smaller salaries than the fair average paid by the Commonwealth. One honorable senator put it to me some time ago that in opposing the Public Service Bill I should be blocking increases of salaries to many officers in my own State who are at present underpaid. It is hardly fair to put an honorable senator in that position. There is no reason why the increases of salaries to the officers in question should not date back. Further, there is no reason why, because I honestly think that I ought to oppose the Public Service Bill, justice should not be done to our civil servants who are at present underpaid. Therefore I would ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council whether the Cabinet have considered this matter, and, if they have, what they propose to do? If they have not considered it, will they consider it and make some announcement within a reasonable time?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The whole question of the adjustment of salaries is one which, according to the policy we have initiated in the Public Service Bill, can only be fairly, properly, and adequately dealt with

by an authority constituted under that Bill. We may be wrong, but that is our policy. I am speaking of the condition of the public service generally and of the equalization of salaries. I presume that Senator Dobson refers to the transferred departments. Our view is that that matter can only be properly and fairly attended to by some such authority as that provided under the Bill.

Senator DOBSON.—I am asking for a date.

Senator O'CONNOR.—How can any one fix a date in reference to a question of that sort? These matters will have to be attended to in a comprehensive way. When we get the proper authority constituted no doubt it will be done at once. If we do not get that authority constituted, we shall have to find some other way of doing it. But I cannot say at what date it will be done.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I would remind Senator Dobson of what I understood the Vice-President of the Executive Council to say when introducing the Bill. I think that statement should satisfy the honorable and learned senator. He said that there will be nothing to prevent the increases of salary being made retrospective, whether those increases are made under the method proposed by the Government or in any other way. I sympathize with Senator Dobson with reference to the salaries, but it is satisfactory to know that the increases will probably be made retrospective.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I have only risen to say that I think the officers who compiled these schedules might have given us the totals for the various departments, so that we might be able to see the total amount that is being voted. That information is not given in this Bill.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I wish to point out to the Government a matter with regard to the provision made under the heading of the Defence department for Tasmania. I myself know, of my own knowledge, that a serious error has been made in a report that was tabled in this Chamber with regard to the Tasmanian defence forces. I think this is the proper time for pointing it out.

Senator O'CONNOR.—To what report does the honorable and learned senator refer?

Senator CLEMONS.—I can only answer Senator O'Connor by saying that I am referring to a report to which the Postmaster General referred me when I spoke to him on this subject the other day.

I admit that that is not a very satisfactory answer, but I can give no better information. In that report, with regard to the various defence forces of the States, a grave mistake has been made in reference to Tasmania. The error is simply this—that a very large proportion—in fact, almost the entire body—of the defence forces of Tasmania have been classed as volunteers. The Vice-President of the Executive Council knows that there is a difference between the part of the defence force classed as volunteers and the part classed as militia. I know that a grave error has been made in regard to Tasmania in that respect, and subsequent inquiry will show that the proportion is the other way round, and that, practically speaking, nearly the whole of the defence force of Tasmania will have to be classified as militia, and not as volunteers. When that is done there will be a considerable difference in the necessary Estimates.

Senator O'CONNOR. — I point out that though a mistake may have been made in the report, it is quite a different thing from the mistake continuing in these Estimates. These Estimates are prepared upon the basis of what is actually due in each State. If in the State of Tasmania, there is any money due for capitation allowances ordinarily paid to militia men there is no doubt it will be met, and it is included in these amounts. There is specification as to the amount payable to the militia of each State.

Senator CLEMONS. — I think that the honorable and learned senator will find on page 16 that the classification is made, and under the heading "Artillery forces" a great discrepancy will be found to arise.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia). — I desire to draw attention to an item of £250 for allowances under the heading of "Western Australia military forces." This, perhaps, is not the best time to raise the question, but looking through the Estimates submitted to the Senate, one cannot but be struck with the large amount paid to military officers under the head "allowances." I think that at the earliest possible moment we should raise a protest against this, with a view to inducing the Ministry to seriously consider whether the time has not arrived when these allowances should be stopped altogether. Most of these men receiving allowances are in receipt of very high salaries. No allowances are paid to officers in receipt of low salaries.

Senator O'CONNOR. — The subject mentioned by the honorable member has already been under consideration by the Government, and the honorable senator is perhaps aware that the Treasurer, in making his financial statement, pointed out that in preparing these Estimates he had himself cut down these allowances in every possible way, and had made a very great deal of difference between the state of things before and after he took the matter in hand. No doubt allowances ought to be very carefully looked into. We have to make a certain number of payments, and it is very much better wherever it can be done, that the payments should be made in the shape of salaries rather than of allowances, so that we may know what we are doing. I think, however, that the honorable senator will recognise that it is impossible to do away with allowances altogether. Very often the most economical way to pay, is by allowances, with proper safeguards as to vouchers. The whole question of allowances is worthy of consideration, and will no doubt be considered when the Estimates are being fully dealt with. The honorable senator is quite right in calling attention to the matter, but he must see that nothing can be done in the way of regulating these things until the whole matter is discussed in a comprehensive way.

Senator HIGGS. — Will the Vice-President of the Executive Council tell us how much it is now proposed that the Senate shall pass for defence expenditure? I must congratulate the Postmaster-General upon having set forth the items of his department very clearly. I should like to get the information I have asked for, because I am very much afraid that the defence vote is swelling into undue proportions. There are four or five pages of items under the heading of defence, and we are anxious to know what the total really is. While keeping an eye on defence expenditure, I recognise the very great necessity for it in view of the talk of a resort to arms in one of the States. Apparently we never know when we may be involved in civil war, and we may have to call out the Defence Force to preserve the Commonwealth against division. Incidentally, I may mention that the Government have not taken the steps taken by the Queensland Government in the past, when those, who in that State talked of drilling or resorting to arms, were promptly put into gaol. I refer to the unionists in the shearers' strike.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Let the shearers' strike die.

Senator HIGGS.—I sincerely hope that industrial warfare is a thing of the past, and I believe the Ministry have every desire to pass an Industrial Conciliation Bill as soon as possible.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The total amount asked for under the heading of military is £171,590. According to the Estimates laid upon the table, the total amount is £869,855. One-fourth of that would be £217,464. We are only asking for £171,590. The honorable senator will therefore see that, so far as this payment is concerned, we have cut it down to the lowest possible extent.

Schedule agreed to.

Bill reported without amendment.

Report adopted.

Bill read the third time.

STEAM-SHIP COMMUNICATION WITH TASMANIA.

Debate resumed (from 13th September, *vide* page 4892), on motion by Senator KEATING—

That the Tasmania and Australia Steam-ship Communication Select Committee have power to adjourn its sittings from place to place.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—With the consent and approval of the mover of the motion, I beg to move as an amendment—

That the following words be added to the motion:—"at any time between to-day and Tuesday, 22nd October instant, and to sit during any adjournment of the Senate."

The effect of the motion, if amended as proposed, will be that the committee will have power to adjourn from place to place during next week. It is anticipated that there will be an adjournment of the Senate during that week, and it will be a convenient time for the committee to carry on its investigations without interfering with the business of the Senate.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I have no objection to the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL.

Order of the Day for the second reading of the Bill called on.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—Senator Dobson having had to leave to catch a train for Geelong, asked me to take charge of

business standing in his name. I know the honorable senator did not anticipate that this matter would come on, and I move—

That the order of the day be adjourned to this day fortnight.

Senator CLEMONS.—I rise to a point of order. I desire to ask if this motion can be moved without authority? —

The PRESIDENT.—Any one can move an order of the day.

Senator CLEMONS.—I respectfully submit that Senator Keating is not moving the second reading of the Bill. The motion is that the order of the day for the second reading of the Bill be postponed, and ask as a point of order if that can be done?

The PRESIDENT.—Strictly speaking, I think that Senator Clemons is right, and that the order of the day should disappear from the paper. It can, of course, be put on the paper again.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Perhaps it will best suit the convenience of honorable senators if I take a step which will bring the sitting to a close. By consent of the Senate, I move—

That the Senate at its rising adjourn until Wednesday, the 23rd instant.

I do this in view of what has occurred in another place. After the debate we had at an earlier hour to-day it is not necessary that I should do any more than move the motion.

Motion agreed to.

ELECTIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS COMMITTEE.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER brought up the second report of the Committee of Elections and Qualifications.

Ordered:

That the report be printed, and its consideration made an Order of the Day for Wednesday, the 23rd inst.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

The PRESIDENT announced the receipt of the following message from the House of Representatives:—

Mr. PRESIDENT.—The House of Representatives returns to the Senate the Bill intituled—"An Act relating to the Postal and Telegraph services of the Commonwealth," and acquaints the Senate that the House of Representatives has agreed to the amendments made by the Senate to the amendments of the House of Representatives, Nos. 2, 8, 13, 50, 66, 69, 71, and 75; that it has disagreed to the amendments made by the

Senate to amendments Nos. 16, 19, and 20, for the reason assigned herewith; that it does not insist on amendments Nos. 58, 59, 62, 87, 88, and 89, to which the Senate has disagreed, and does not insist on amendment No. 6.

F. W. HOLDER, Speaker.

Reason of the House of Representatives for disagreeing to certain amendments of the Senate to certain amendments of the House of Representatives—"As to amendments of the Senate to amendments Nos. 16, 19, and 20, because of the difficulty of defining section."

Senate adjourned at 4.3 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 11 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

PAPER.

Sir GEORGE TURNER (for Mr. KINGSTON) laid on the table—

Regulations under the Customs Act 1901.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4).

In Committee of Supply:

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava—Treasurer).—I move—

That a sum not exceeding £928,322 be granted to His Majesty for or towards defraying the services for the year ending 30th June, 1902.

Honorable members will recollect that some time ago the committee passed Supply for a period of three months, which ended on the 30th September. It is now necessary for the Government to obtain further Supply in order that the Treasurer may be able to make the necessary provision for the payment of salaries, and the various other claims that are made upon the Government from time to time. Some days ago I circulated, for the information of honorable members, a list of the amounts asked for by the various departments. As I said yesterday, however, I had had no opportunity of checking the requirements there stated, and when I saw the total amount I was satisfied that the heads of departments were asking for more than I was justified in requesting the House to grant. Yesterday I went as carefully as possible through the various demands that were made, and I have made a deduction of about a quarter of a million from the amount originally asked for. That, I think, was

only right and fair to the House, because, while the Treasurer may be justified in asking for Supply sufficient for three months, he ought not to request more than that, or, at all events, he should not ask for more than will afford a reasonable margin beyond what he expects to expend—otherwise he might find that he had four months' Supply instead of three. I took out some amounts that were not required to be paid before the 31st of December, I have reduced other payments, and I have only allowed for those amounts which I think it is absolutely necessary to pay during the currency of the three months. The total expenditure on votes comes to £3,636,577, and one-half of that amount is £1,818,288. In addition to this there were large arrears that came forward from the last financial year, which would have to be paid either during the quarter which has passed or during the current quarter. The Estimates were somewhat increased last quarter, because these arrears necessarily had to be paid. The amounts that, in the ordinary course, would be paid before the 30th June to mail contractors and others are, as a rule, paid early in July. Supply was granted so late in June that it was impossible for me to pay these accounts before the 30th June, and, as honorable members are aware, under our Audit Act we have to close down sharp on the 30th June. These arrears amount to £246,899, and the total expenditure for the half-year, plus arrears, therefore, comes to £2,065,187. The first Supply amounted to £1,010,732, and now I am asking for £928,322, making a total of £1,939,054 or something under the total expenditure for the half-year, according to the Estimates. There are no extraordinary payments provided for. I have looked carefully over the list, and I have provided for just the ordinary expenditure. There are increases of salary provided for in the Estimates, but none of these increases will be paid until the Estimates have been finally dealt with. Honorable members will, I dare say, notice with pleasure that I have provided a considerable sum for maintenance and repairs—about £40,000 altogether—because complaints have been made to the department of Home Affairs with regard to the delay in carrying out repairs. I put down a very small amount for this work during the previous quarter, with the result

that we have not been able to go on as rapidly as we ought to have done, and we are therefore asking for a larger amount now. It is somewhat late in October for us to bring down a Supply Bill, but circumstances over which we had no control compelled us to hold over the financial statement until this week. Therefore I am very anxious now to get this Supply through both Houses to-day. The Senate does not sit until Wednesday next, and unless I get the Bill through that Chamber to-day it will be Wednesday before it can be passed and Thursday before I can get it assented to. In the meantime, there are claims which I am very anxious to pay at the earliest possible moment. I do not know that there are any really debatable matters in the Supply, and, therefore, I would ask honorable members to reserve any comments on the Estimates themselves until we have them before us—I hope in a month or six weeks' time at the outside. If, in the meantime, honorable members desire any information in regard to any of the items my colleagues and I will be only too glad to supply it.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I think that under the circumstances the committee will be disposed to fully accept the assurance the Treasurer has just given us. Under ordinary conditions this is a matter which might provoke considerable discussion, but inasmuch as the financial statement has just been delivered, and honorable members will soon have full opportunities of dealing with every subject which presents itself to us under this motion, I think we might well—unless some honorable member has some matter of great importance to mention—allow this Supply to go through without any delay, in the interests of public business. I have a number of observations to make upon the financial administration of the Government, but I can well postpone these until the general debate upon the financial statement of the Treasurer, when I think we shall have much larger scope, and where such a discussion would perhaps be more appropriate. Therefore, I am quite prepared to facilitate the Treasurer in getting Supply through at once. At the same time, I think honorable members will agree with me that this granting of a three months' Supply should not be made a precedent. The more regular course is to grant one month's Supply at a time, and we must not make it too

easy for this or any other Government to dispense with the proper constitutional method of obtaining Supply. The Prime Minister has, however, fully recognised this, and has asked us, on this occasion as a matter of unusual urgency, to give this three months' Supply. Under the circumstances, I shall facilitate the passing of the Bill to-day.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia).—It is not my desire to prevent the Supply from going through, but I should certainly like to have more information as to the expenditure that is provided for under the heading of "contingencies." In connexion with the Estimates, I find that the word "contingencies" covers an enormous amount of money; and I think it is necessary that we should have the details clearly before us, so that we may know what we are voting. As a matter of fact, under "other expenditure"—which means new expenditure—"contingencies" represent a greater sum than salaries. I am not going to allow these items to pass, at any rate in the future, without further information than we have at the present time. Under the head of the House of Representatives, for instance, there is set down £1,500 for contingencies, and £1,554 for salaries.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The contingencies are large, because they all come in during the session, whereas salaries are spread over the whole year.

Mr. POYNTON.—We ought to know what these contingencies mean.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They are all set out in the Estimates.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then we have the large sum of £3,000, in connexion with Government printing, put amongst the contingencies.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Most of the printing is done during the session. I could not set out every detail. I should have to re-copy the whole of the Estimates, and honorable members will not, I am sure, ask me to do that.

Mr. POYNTON.—I hope the Treasurer will not find fault with me. I take his assurance that the item is for printing; but, at the same time, it might cover a multitude of sins. The same remark applies to the old expenditure; but I am not taking so much exception to that, because in that case, the States have handed

it over to us as a sort of legacy. Nevertheless, we shall, later on, require more information in regard to old expenditure; and, as to new expenditure, the Treasurer would save time by giving full particulars of what is covered by contingencies.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I should like to ask the Treasurer if any of the items under the Defence department include any moneys proposed to be expended from loans?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Certainly not; the items are simply revenue expenditure, and are not intended to cover new buildings.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am not alluding to new buildings. From the Budget statement I understand that a quantity of ammunition and other things are to be purchased with loan moneys.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No ammunition is to be purchased out of loan moneys. There is £70,000 provided on the Estimates for ammunition.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I have not the Estimates by me, but I have a clear vision of what I saw there, namely, that a large amount was to be expended out of loan money for ammunition and for other purposes, which ought to be provided for out of revenue.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable and learned member will not find ammunition mentioned in the loan schedules, though he will see rifles and guns.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Ammunition is covered by the schedule. Though it is not mentioned, there is an expression used which distinctly is meant to cover ammunition. Do any of the numerous items to which I am referring include sums which are to be expended out of loan moneys?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not a shilling; it is all money to be paid out of revenue.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The Treasurer has intimated that the "other" expenditure—that is expenditure other than that connected with the transferred departments—amounts to about £269,000. That can easily be brought out by debiting to loans a great deal of the expenditure which ought to come out of the revenue; it is simply a matter of bookkeeping. Of course, according to the estimate this expenditure should not exceed £300,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But that does not include anything for new buildings, for which I am providing £24,000.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I do not want to be drawn off the track. I hope the committee will understand that this loan money is meant to cover a number of other things besides buildings. It is meant to cover a number of matters which, ordinarily and properly, in any good system of finance, ought to be provided for out of revenue. I have to warn honorable members that the very greediest department with which we have to deal is the Defence department.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Do not put it in that way.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I do not say a word against the Minister for Defence, but, unless the right honorable gentleman is careful, he will be helpless in the hands of numerous commandants and others. Here we have about 19 pages of supply schedules, and about 13 are taken up with Defence. It is very significant that the most unprofitable department is that which occupies most of the space in the Federal Supply schedules. I fancy there will be a big discussion eventually on the question whether we are to give the Treasurer power to borrow for the purposes he has mentioned. I feel that we are getting into the old rut of financial policy which has injured several States of Australia.

Mr. WILKS.—A policy of drift.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is a policy of borrowing for purposes which should be defrayed from revenue. I did hope that in starting the career of this new Commonwealth, we should have had an announcement that the Government were going to use none of the loan moneys in this way, except in cases of absolute necessity and of emergency of an extreme sort, or where the expenditure was for remunerative investment. We cannot too soon lay down the principle that we will not allow future generations to be burdened with expenditure which we ought to pay ourselves. Honorable members here represent living persons—the existing electors of Australia—but we have none here representing the future electors of Australia. The worst of it is that the whole tendency is to lift the burden from the present taxpayers and put it on future taxpayers. Whatever may be said in regard to the expenditure in other departments, there is no department which is so unremunerative, so costly, and so greedy, as the department of Defence. I intend to object to any loan moneys being

raised or applied for the purposes of defence. I am not speaking at present of the permanent forts, which may present an exceptional case from which future generations can reap a benefit; but in the Budget statement there is a clear intimation, which we ought to weigh well, that the Treasurer intends to throw on to the £1,000,000 loan, a number of items of expenditure which properly, and in the eye of any business man, ought to fall on revenue to be obtained by our own payments. We have a trust not only for the present taxpayers but for future taxpayers, and we ought to see that we do not allow the position to be glossed over. It is very easy, by throwing the expenditure on loans, to make out that we are keeping within the £300,000 limit.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There was no expenditure for new buildings provided for in the £300,000.

Mr. HIGGINS.—No one says that there was.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But the honorable and learned member wants me to pay for all new buildings out of the £300,000.

Mr. HIGGINS.—If the Treasurer says that, he misunderstands me, because my position is absolutely different. What I am saying is that I object to the Treasurer using loan moneys to meet expenditure which ought to come out of the revenue. The Treasurer has indicated that he intends to expend some of the £1,000,000 loan for defence purposes, and for such defence purposes as ought to be met by expenditure from revenue.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Surely we can discuss this question better when I bring in the Loan Bill, and we have all the details before us.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Do I understand from the Treasurer that none of the items here under the department of Defence involve the application of loan moneys?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not a shilling.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Then we are free afterwards to deal with the whole question.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes; there is not a shilling in the items which deals with loan moneys.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I hope we shall make up our minds whether we are going to discuss the whole financial policy of the Government while the Senate is waiting to pass a Supply Bill in order to

pay salaries, or whether we intend to reserve our observations until we can deal with the proposals of the Government at one time. The Opposition are not delaying the progress of the Bill in any way. I could easily make a speech on the subject, but I shall have an opportunity of doing so in two or three days' time. I hope honorable members will allow this general discussion to stand over until we are dealing with the general financial policy and proposals of the Government. I am quite as much in earnest in this matter as the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, but I feel that there is no time, under existing circumstances, to enter into such questions, and I should like to see the rest of the time to-day devoted to important measures now before the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I subscribe to all that the leader of the Opposition has said, but I have to complain that there are no loan funds available for necessary public works. I believe in every word of the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, who has uttered a caution which is wise and opportune; and I hope with him that we shall not resort to loan funds except for purely reproductive purposes. I want to call attention to a very serious disability which the services of the whole of the States are labouring under by reason of their being no loan funds available at the present time. The Post-office, we know, is a constantly expanding department, in which fresh expenditure is continuously required on permanent reproductive works. But there are no loan funds available for expenditure in that direction, and the consequence is that these works are entirely suspended. The Postmaster-General and the Treasurer should, on taking office, either have made arrangements with the States to carry on the normal expenditure on these new services, or have themselves raised a loan for the purpose. I do not care how small a loan it might have been, but there should be a fund out of which the services could have been continued. Honorable members will perhaps realize my point by an illustration afforded in my own electorate, and that instance is multiplied in other electorates. In the fruit-growing districts in my electorate, those engaged in that industry have been trying for some time to get connected with Sydney by telephone. All arrangements for this were made last

year. A guarantee was asked from the fruit-growers by the Government, and that guarantee was forthcoming, and a deposit paid in January. Notwithstanding that fact, no work has yet been done.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Why did not the States start some of these works? We did not take over the departments till the 1st March.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Treasurer knows just how long it takes a State department to make a beginning—even the Victorian department. Now, honorable members are told that there are no funds to enable the work to be carried out until loan moneys are available. The same condition of affairs prevails in regard to urgently required additions to post-offices. At one place, with which I am acquainted, the population has of late considerably increased, with the result that people cannot gain access to the local post-office during certain hours of the day, to say nothing of transacting any business.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If we gave everything that is asked for there would soon be trouble. We should be blamed for the expenditure.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This is an expenditure which the Treasurer cannot escape. I am not talking about superfluous expenditure.

Mr. DEAKIN.—No one thinks that expenditure in his own constituency is superfluous.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Postmaster-General says that this expenditure must be incurred, and will be incurred as soon as loan funds are available. If the Government, through their own mouth-piece, declare that these works are absolutely necessary, surely some arrangement should have been made with the Public Works departments in the various States for the continuance of extension operations in connexion with post-offices. I hope that some arrangement will be speedily arrived at which will enable these works to be put in hand. There is another matter to which I should like to direct attention. In New South Wales I believe that the line repairers are regarded as temporary hands. They have not those privileges which attach to the permanent servants of the State.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Has not that been promised?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There was a promise made by the Minister, but it was

taken back by the head of the Government. The latter gave us to understand that there was not much likelihood of the Ministry being bound by the declaration of the Minister for Home Affairs. He would not commit himself to saying that the promise made by the Minister would be carried out. If what I ask is going to be done, I have nothing further to say. I merely desire that the line repairers in New South Wales should be placed in a similar position to that which they occupy in the other States. Either there must be a levelling down or a levelling up. I hope that this Parliament will not permit of any levelling down process so far as the ordinary services of the Commonwealth are concerned. The disposition should be rather to level up those services to the highest possible point. I trust that we shall soon see a realization of the promise made so definitely to the House by the Minister for Home Affairs. I wish also to say a word or two upon the question of increments to transferred officers. It is well known that in New South Wales certain increments have been restored to officials of which they have been deprived for several years. But whereas our Public Service Bill provides for the payment of increments of £15 a year up to a certain amount, only £10 per annum has been given for some years past to these officers by the Public Service Board.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I directed the Post-office to give them what they were entitled to under the laws existing in the States.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I take it that the increments which are being restored to the State officials will also be paid to transferred officers.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes; up to £150. I gave instructions that they should be paid what they were entitled to under the laws of the States, and in the absence of any such laws that they should be paid according to the practice in vogue in the various States. We provided £28,000 for that purpose, nearly all of which will be disbursed amongst officials in the Postal department.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That meets the point which I have raised. There is one other subject regarding which I should like some information. I desire to know what is being done in reference to the Federal capital site. This matter seems to be in a

most nebulous condition. No one seems to have any precise knowledge regarding it. The Minister for Home Affairs says that he is doing all he can to facilitate the selection of the site. On the other hand, the Premier of New South Wales declares that he has already done all that can possibly be done to assist in its early selection. In other words, he has collected all available information and presented it to the Minister for Home Affairs, with a view of expediting a decision in regard to this matter. What is the cause of the delay in the department of the Minister for Home Affairs?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—What does the honorable member wish me to do?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I want the site to be selected and operations commenced for the building of the capital. I wish the Minister to carry out his specific promise to the people of New South Wales in regard to this question. Except for the vague statements which appear from time to time in the newspapers, as emanating from the Minister, nobody seems to know that anything of a tangible character is being done, and I therefore hope that he will see his way clear to make a statement to the House concerning the position which this very important matter occupies at the present time.

Mr. CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro). — I agree with a good deal of what has been said by the honorable member for Parramatta regarding the Postal department. The delay in erecting new buildings and in extending post-offices which now provide insufficient accommodation for the general public, has given rise to keen disappointment in New South Wales. I do not blame the Government for this delay, because they have had no opportunity of getting the public service into line. Whenever an attempt is made to do that, it seems to me that honorable members are expected not to voice the wants of their constituents, but to sit quietly by and allow some high officials—as in the case of Mr. Outtrim the other day—to do what they choose. These officials are permitted to put their constituents to very great inconvenience, and a hubbub is created the moment an honorable member expresses disapproval of what has been done. I wish to enter my protest against the actions of some of these gentlemen. I do not single out Mr. Outtrim particularly. Many officials in New South

Wales seem to think that applications from big centres of population are entitled to every consideration, and that any request from them backed up by a deputation, such as can be got together at any moment, ought to receive immediate and favorable attention. But the invariable reply to people upon small mining fields or in the “never-never” country, who ask for some trifling consideration, is that an officer will be sent to report upon the matter. Then two or three months are wasted before any satisfaction can be obtained. It frequently happens that men are driven off these gold-fields, which might, under other circumstances, become centres of population, because they are denied the most ordinary postal facilities. I wish further to point out that in many cases new mail services are required. In New South Wales a system was formerly in vogue under which, when a mail was asked for a new gold-field, a report was obtained from the nearest postmaster upon the matter. If there was anything like reasonable justification for the request a small mail service was granted on trial. Owing to the opinions entertained by some of the highly-salaried post-office officials that system has now been swept away. There is a great deal of discontent in New South Wales amongst the postal officials. They say that a system amounting almost to tyranny is growing up, and there is a very bad feeling right through the department.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If the honorable member will give me any specific instances of the kind I will have them inquired into.

Mr. CHAPMAN. — I shall be very pleased to furnish the Treasurer with particulars. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction caused by the tyranny of some of these officers, and by what is regarded as favoritism on their part. Some of the men are afraid to make representations on the subject lest they should suffer for them, and I think this is the proper place to ventilate such matters. While we can understand that the Government are not to blame, inasmuch as they have half-a-dozen departments to administer under very difficult circumstances, pending the passage of the Public Service Bill, nevertheless I think some of these officials should be pulled up with a round turn. As the result of information which I have received during the last two or three days, I propose to supply the Postmaster-General with the names of some of these

officials. I have no doubt that the Minister will take steps to let them know that they do not own this country, and that the department is not run for their especial benefit. I do not wish to go any further than that. Many of these men require only a little "shaking up," and we shall soon have some changes made. I agree also with some of the remarks which have been made upon the question of defence. When the Defence estimates come before us we should take care to see that men in country districts who desire to form rifle clubs or corps of the Australian Horse and other regiments of that description receive some consideration. Very little difficulty has been experienced in securing the expenditure of large sums of money by the Defence department in the principal centres of population. I hope we shall now give some attention to the residents of country districts who desire to train themselves, so that they may be prepared to fight for their country should occasion arise. To my mind it is an alarming fact that, while hundreds of thousands of pounds are spent on city forces, no attempt is made to secure scouts or men with a knowledge of the coast line, who would be invaluable in time of invasion. Something in that direction should be done, and when the vote for the Defence department is before us I hope we shall take the matter into consideration. These men in the country districts are ready to train themselves at their own expense, and the Government should facilitate the carrying out of their desires. I would welcome the formation of a corps of scouts, and of men having a knowledge of the coast line. It is unnecessary to make any further reference to the question of a citizen soldiery, but before I resume my seat I desire to say a few words on the question of the site for the Federal capital.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member must be getting sick of the delay.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I am certainly getting tired of it. I am anxious that we should settle on the site as early as possible.

Mr. TUDOR.—What site?

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I have no doubt as to the site which will be selected, but I am anxious that honorable members shall be afforded an early opportunity of coming to a decision. All that the people of Southern Monaro desire is that honorable members shall be given a fair opportunity of judging

of the merits of the respective sites. The newspaper paragraphs referring to a proposed parliamentary picnic in connexion with the inspection of sites must be taken with a very large grain of salt. It seems to me, however, that there could be no better way of enabling Parliament to come to a proper decision than by allowing honorable members to visit the various sites. The experts who have gone into the question of water supply, climate, and other matters should be with us when we make the inspection, and with their statements before use we shall be enabled to come to an early decision.

Mr. A. McLEW.—After honorable members have seen the sites they will not be in a hurry to shift.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—We know, of course, that there is a very strong inclination on the part of honorable members to settle down in the comfortable quarters provided for us here. Many have said that we have not been made welcome, but I do not think that is so. I know of no honorable member who has not settled down comfortably here, and who has not been treated with courtesy and kindness by the people of Victoria. The statement that we have not is only a libel, fomented by persons who have certain objects to serve. Some of the suggested sites are no larger than a garden, with nothing but barren country about them. Honorable members should see them for themselves, and after the inspection has been made we should take a vote on the question as speedily as possible. I entertain no doubt as to the site which will be selected, but I am willing to bow to the decision of the majority. There is no reason why we should visit any place other than those recommended by the New South Wales commissioner. That gentleman has expended a great deal of time and trouble inquiring into the respective claims. Some 30 or 40 sites were submitted to him, and he has selected three or four, the merits of which in his opinion stand out conspicuously. If we visit those places we shall have very little difficulty in coming to a determination. Once the location of the Federal Capital has been agreed upon, we should proceed with the erection of temporary quarters, so that the Federal Parliament may settle down with as little delay as possible, in what is to be its permanent home. I hope the visit will be made at

an early date, and that every facility will be afforded honorable members to come to a right decision.

Mr. HUME COOK (Bourke).—I propose to follow the example of other honorable members and avail myself of the present opportunity to refer to the administration of the Postal department, and more particularly in regard to the construction branch. I agree with the honorable member for Paramatta as to the unfair and almost improper way in which some of the works are being carried on. Let me cite a case in point. Prior to the taking over of the Postal department by the Commonwealth the people of Preston were promised that a post-office would be erected there. That promise has not been carried out.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—When was it made?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Some four or five months before the department was taken over.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Then why did not the State Government go on with the work? They made a lot of promises which they did not fulfil, and we get the blame.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Application was made to the Federal Government for the erection of the post-office, but an answer was received that no funds were available. The people of the district were satisfied with that reply until they saw what was being done elsewhere. The honorable member for South Australia, Sir Langdon Bonython, has made three or four requests for the erection of a post-office at Tarcoola or Walkerville. He has been told again and again that no funds are available, but I suppose that because he has a big newspaper at his back, in which articles have appeared pointing out the delay of the department in dealing with this matter, provision has been made on the Estimates for the work.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But that is a wooden building.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That does not affect the question. The honorable member was told by the Prime Minister, on the first occasion, that the work could not be carried out. A similar reply was given by the Minister representing the Postmaster-General, but as soon as articles appeared in the honorable member's newspaper, and pressure was brought to bear, the money was found. That is not fair to honorable members from other States, who have equally pressing claims.

Mr. WATSON.—Is the money for that work being found out of revenue?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I do not know where it is coming from, but I say it is hardly fair, and honorable members are justified in expressing their disapproval of what looks like favoritism.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There is no foundation for the suggestion of favoritism.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It looks like favoritism.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is not so.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Another matter to which I desire to refer is the alleged political influence in the Postal department. That question has been commented upon pretty freely in the public press, and my name has been associated with those of other honorable members, who, it is said, endeavoured to do something improper and unfair in connexion with the administration of the department.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member should be proud of the advertisement.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It is all very well to have one side of the case stated in the press, but it is only fair that the other side should be put. It is true that I, with some other honorable members, waited on Mr. Outtrim touching certain departmental matters. The first case was that of a man who had been working for years as a telegraph operator. His right hand had given way, and he had been forced to use his left when working his instrument. He thought that his left hand would also break down, and he desired a change. He asked me if there were any chance, and I recommended him to apply to the department, promising to see Mr. Outtrim about it. I laid the matter before Mr. Outtrim, who said there was no objection to a transfer if there were an opening. The man sent in an application, and was transferred to a position a long way up the country. When he asked what was the reason for this, he was told—not by Mr. Outtrim, but by one of the other officers—that he should not try to bring political influence to bear, but should attend to his own business. Now, I had asked Mr. Outtrim in the most friendly manner about this man being transferred, with the result that my action was resented, and that the man who applied for the transfer was sent away 120 or 130 miles into the country. The other case was even worse. A man was sent out to do some telegraph line repairing

and had climbed up a telegraph post, when one of the cross-pieces broke off, and he fell to the ground, and hurt his hip, and was laid up for months. He put in an application, not for compensation, but for sufficient to cover the doctor's fees, amounting to £20. He was put off from time to time, but, meanwhile, made inquiries, and found that the very cross-piece that had given way with him had been reported upon by the inspector of the department some months before as defective, and requiring to be replaced. The department, in that case, was clearly to blame in not having the cross-piece repaired; and yet the man who met with serious injury in consequence of their neglect, could not even get a refund of the money spent in doctor's fees. If he had been an official he would have drawn his salary all the time, but being only a poor working man he did not even get his doctor's fees. At my suggestion, he made an application to the Federal Government, but what was the paltry treatment he received from them? He was informed that, in view of the fact that this matter was not settled by the State Government, it was now too late for the Federal Government to take it in hand. It was too late to do this man justice.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Will the honorable member give me a note of the matter?

Mr. HUME COOK.—With pleasure. I consider that that was a paltry way in which to put off a man who had a good case and a genuine grievance. Then again, there was the case which was brought forward by the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley, in which an innocent man was accused of stealing money belonging to the Post-office, and discharged. The honorable member brought the case before the Post-master-General, and, on inquiry, it was found that the man was absolutely guiltless, and that two messenger-boys had taken the money. If the honorable member had not brought that matter before the head of the department, an innocent man would have rested all the days of his life under the stigma of a crime in which he had no hand. These are the sort of cases which justify members at times in bringing matters before the responsible Minister, and I am rather pleased at the fact that members can go to Ministers of the Commonwealth Government and see that justice is done. I deprecate altogether statements being made in the press which seek to implicate

Members of Parliament in attempts to bring unfair pressure to bear upon officials and induce them to do something improper. If all the facts were stated it would be found that, in most cases at any rate, honorable members act in a perfectly legitimate manner. My experience has been that the Member of Parliament who brings alleged grievances under the notice of the department is in nine cases out of ten convinced by the officials that he has got hold of the wrong side of the story, and he allows the matter to drop, but it is the tenth case in which there is a real grievance that renders it necessary that Members of Parliament should have opportunities to make their representations to head-quarters. I am glad to accept the assurance of the Treasurer that he will cause inquiries to be made into the matters I have mentioned.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).

—Whilst the question of increased postal facilities is under consideration, I should like to direct the attention of Ministers to what I consider to be a still greater cause of complaint than anything yet mentioned. In the very crowded suburb of Erskineville, which forms part of my constituency, the residents have had a post-office in their midst for many years, but now, for some reason which I am quite unable to understand, the department are going to close up the office, and it is proposed to substitute mere letter-receiving boxes. It seems to me that if we are going to conduct the Post and Telegraph department on these lines under federation we shall not develop it at all, but shall have to allow for a decrease in the receipts of the department. One reason given for the proposed change is, I believe, that there is a post and telegraph office at Newtown, which is little less than a mile away, and another post and telegraph office at Alexandria, which is a little over a mile distant, but that seems to me to afford no ground for removing the post and telegraph office from the midst of a thickly-populated suburb such as Erskineville. I desire to express my great gratification that the Treasurer has cut down the Estimates, and I can assure him that he has the great sympathy of honorable members on both sides of the House in his efforts at economy, and that he will be fully supported in any stand he may take in that direction. I have been looking at the Defence Estimates, and it seems to me that there is a terrible crop

of contingencies provided for in that department. Although I do not wish to debate that particular subject now, I hope the Treasurer will do everything he can to cut down the defence expenditure and earmark it, so that we may know how the money is spent.

Mr. WATKINS (Newcastle).—I quite sympathize with honorable members who have complained that they cannot get reasonable replies to the requests which they make upon the Postal department. No doubt the transfer of the departments from the States to the Federal Government has been responsible for some of the delays, but now that federal matters are getting under weigh, it is time that the affairs of the departments were conducted in a business-like way. While I quite agree with what has been said as to the necessity for economy on the part of the Federal Government, I think it will be false economy not to meet reasonable public requirements in the way of post and telegraph facilities. I do not contend that the Federal Government should be called upon to carry out any particular work that might have been promised by a State Government after it was known that the post and telegraph service was to be taken over by the Commonwealth, but if what has been stated by the honorable member for Bourke is true, and favoritism has been shown to one honorable member who happens to be supported by a big newspaper, I think that honorable members have not been treated fairly.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I hope the honorable member does not believe it.

Mr. WATKINS.—I do not say I believe it. In my own case I have had a distinct refusal on the part of the Postmaster-General to carry out a work that was promised by the Government of New South Wales prior to the transfer of the department to the Federal Government. I was prepared to accept that position on the understanding that general economy was to be practised, but I shall not be satisfied if any exceptions are made. If the Lyne administration had met the Parliament of New South Wales during the last twelve months that work would have been carried out, as the plans had been drawn and the work authorized prior to the date at which it was known that the department was to be taken over by the Commonwealth. I shall be quite ready to

join with other honorable members in putting down anything like favoritism, because I think that would be the very worst form of political patronage that could be introduced into this Parliament.

Mr. KIRWAN (Kalgoorlie).—I desire to raise an objection to what I understand is the intention of the Federal Government, namely, to run the Post and Telegraph department on commercial lines. If this policy is carried out, it will operate very injuriously in regard to a number of mail services in the larger States. There are mail services in the back blocks of Western Australia which, perhaps, do not pay directly, but from which the country generally derives much indirect benefit. Some services will perhaps accommodate only 50 or 100 people, but they have practically kept open large tracts of country that would otherwise have been abandoned. So long as the bookkeeping clauses remain in existence those services ought not to be interfered with, purely on the ground that they are non-paying. So long as these clauses are in operation, the various State Governments will be responsible for any loss or gain in connexion with the services. The State Governments have thought it worth their while to keep the services open for years past, and have regarded the States as repaid many times over for their maintenance. If in consequence of such services into the back country, another Kalgoorlie or Boulder were opened out, that would pay for their maintenance for years. Before any of these mail services are stopped on the ground of their non-paying character, the State Governments ought to be consulted.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—West Australia and Queensland have the two large increases in the Postal department, simply because of their outlying territories.

Mr. KIRWAN.—If necessary, I could mention a case where a service has been maintained for many years by a State Government, for the reason that it has kept open country extending over hundreds of miles. It is good auriferous country, and any day there may be most valuable finds; yet the Federal Government are now threatening to do away with that service, although it is of immense advantage indirectly to the whole of the Commonwealth. It seems to me only fair that the States Government should be consulted in the matter.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I sent a copy of the Estimates to each State, with a request

for advice and suggestions. I could not consult the States before I brought in the Estimates.

Mr. KIRWAN.—I take it for granted that if any suggestions come as to the maintenance of any services threatened with extinction, the suggestions will be favorably considered.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — The suggestions will be fully considered, but I cannot say that they will be favorably considered.

Mr. KIRWAN.—It is to be hoped that all such suggestions will be favourably considered, at any rate during the operation of the bookkeeping clauses. These people in the back country are quite cut off from the advantages of civilization, except by the communicating link of the Post-office. They were the most enthusiastic throughout the Commonwealth in favour of federation, and some of them, when the Bill was submitted, travelled hundreds of miles in order to record their votes in favour of unity. But the very first intimation they get after the accomplishment of federation, is a notification from the Government threatening to remove their one link to civilization. The only public money ever spent on these people, so as to induce them to remain in those outlying districts, has been that devoted to the postal services, and I ask that, at any rate, during the operation of the bookkeeping clauses, no alterations be made contrary to the wishes of the States Governments.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume—Minister for Home Affairs).—One or two expressions have been used on which I think it is necessary I should say a few words. The honorable member for Bourke drew attention to the provision of postal conveniences at Tarcoola, and I refer to this because those matters are dealt with mainly in the department of Home Affairs, which has the carrying out of all public works. In this particular case, I found, on making inquiry, that a promise had been made to provide the desired accommodation. I am not sure that a sum of money for the purpose was not placed on the estimates in South Australia. Tarcoola is in very exceptional circumstances as a new mining centre; good returns have been obtained, and the place has no postal convenience at all. The circumstances are very exceptional, and it would seem hard if the Federal Government were to refuse to carry out a work of the kind desired.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I do not object to the work being carried out, but I only point out that other honorable members cannot get works which have also been promised.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We have honorable members attacking the Government for putting too much money on the estimates, and other honorable members complaining that not enough provision is made for necessary works. I unhesitatingly say that in every State the Federal Government feel bound to carry out these works pretty well in the same ratio as in the past, especially in new mining centres, where development is so necessary. But honorable members must not forget that we have not had time to ascertain exactly what is required in the various States.

Mr. KIRWAN.—Why should the Government do away with existing mail services?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — I know the case to which the honorable member refers; and so far as I understand the matter, the Postal department will have to give up the idea of running this and similar services on commercial lines. No railway would ever be built if it were expected to pay from the start, and the same remark applies to postal and telegraphic matters. These services are for the convenience of the public, and in no more than one or two of the States have they previously paid expenses. In regard to the Preston case, I do not know the reason, though no doubt there is a reason, why that work has not been proceeded with. Claims come into the department of Home Affairs, and in almost every case where the postal authorities recommend a work, the money necessary has been placed on the Estimates. But there are bundles of claims in regard to which the postal authorities do not recommend the construction of works, and honorable members, with their past experience in the various States, must acknowledge that claims are sometimes made, on no very solid foundation, for the expenditure of large sums of money. If the Commonwealth is to husband its resources, and not bring down, for the approval of the House, proposals for large and undue expenditure, we must be careful not to carry out works which are not required in the interests, or for the convenience, of the public.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If we spend the States' money indiscriminately, we shall place them in a difficulty.

Mr. WATKINS.—Is it not a fact in the case of one work recommended, that the recommendation was sent in too late?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Commonwealth Government has laid down the rule, and I think it is a good rule, that in regard to promises made by the States before the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Government of the Commonwealth will carry out the works unless these have actually been commenced by the States. In every case where it was possible, I have had an investigation made, and if it appears to me that a work should be carried out, provision is made on the estimates. One honorable member has asked why the States should not be allowed to carry out these works. I may say I am making arrangements with the works department in the various States to, in some instances, borrow their officers to carry out works; but if we are to have a Federal control of expenditure, I, as head of the construction department in the Commonwealth, must know what moneys are being expended, and I shall certainly not give up my right to have that knowledge. Where works have been commenced by a State department, those works are being completed, but in other cases works will be carried out by the Federal Government, so that we may control the expenditure. The work referred to by the honorable member for Newcastle is one that I was very anxious to see carried out. The honorable member did not define exactly what the work was, but I suppose he meant the addition of a tower to the post-office in Newcastle.

Mr. TUDOR.—And a clock, too?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The State Parliament voted a sum of money for a new post-office in Newcastle, and we generally provide a clock in a tower reared in such a building. There is a very large population in Newcastle, and the post-office is a large structure.

Mr. PAGE.—What would a tower and clock cost?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Leaving the clock out of the question, a tower would cost £10,000. The honorable member for Newcastle is quite right in referring to the matter, because I think it was a great mistake to erect the Newcastle Post-office without a tower, seeing that it is a large building of a national character.

Mr. PAGE.—Let the people of Newcastle subscribe and erect a tower themselves.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The people of a city should not be required to erect part of a building which is to be transferred to the Commonwealth. In this particular case I do not know whether it was £18,000 or £28,000 that was voted by the State Parliament for the erection of the building. But there was a sum voted, and, though the building is a very fine one, it is spoiled by not having a tower such as should form part of a building of the kind. I believe that the sum required to complete the work without the tower is some £8,000 or £8,800; but when I made inquiry as to the reason why a tower was not to be built, I found that the plan on which the estimate was based, did not provide for an addition of the kind. When I approached the Minister of Works in New South Wales in the matter, he pointed out that the work had proceeded so far that it would cost £2,000 to pull down a part in order to form a foundation for the tower, and that the latter would cost from £8,000 to £10,000.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—Is it necessary to have a tower?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the building had to be commenced now, I should say there ought to be a tower.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Is it proposed to have a statue of Mr. O'Sullivan on top of the tower?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I should say that Mr. O'Sullivan had such a statue in the memory of the people of New South Wales, as not to require another on the top of a post-office.

Mr. WILKS.—Mr. O'Sullivan will soon have a statue of Australia facing her creditors.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am very proud of Mr. O'Sullivan as my Minister of Works. I know that the honorable member for Newcastle and his constituents are very anxious in this matter, and I want to point out the reason why the work to which he has called attention has not been carried out.

Mr. WATKINS.—Does the Minister not think that the addition to the post-office could have been carried out for about one-third of the sum estimated?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The estimate was submitted to me, and when I found that

it would cost £2,000 to pull down a portion of the present building in order to carry out the further work, I thought that the expenditure was hardly justified.

Mr. WATSON.—I would not attempt to justify that at all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I regret that the plan was not properly drawn in the first instance.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is proposed to spend £10,000 on a clock-tower, and yet we cannot afford old-age pensions.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The sum of £10,000 would not be spent on such a work in Tasmania.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think some £33,000 is to be spent on a post-office, with a tower, in Hobart. The honorable member for Parramatta referred to the difference between the status of the line-repairers in New South Wales and that of those in Victoria. This matter was brought under my notice upon one occasion in New South Wales. No doubt there is a difference in the status of these two sets of men, who are performing precisely similar work. That is an anomaly which cannot be continued under the Federal Government. I have said that it will be rectified, and I repeat my statement. We cannot have one set of men doing precisely similar work to another set, and yet holding an inferior status. I am merely awaiting the passage of the Public Service Bill through the Senate to have this matter and a number of others put right. As soon as that measure is passed, I shall take the opportunity of appointing persons who are qualified to grade the whole of the service upon one system.

Mr. PAGE.—Will it be a levelling up or a levelling down?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—My policy is one of levelling up, if that can be done, and I believe it can. But the honorable member must not forget that, in dealing with the whole of the service, regard must be paid to the amount of work which is done in the different States. In a very small State, for example, officials may not have to perform anything like the same amount of work that is required of officials occupying similar positions in the larger States. I do not know that the same salaries can be paid to officials in States where there is comparatively small responsibility and work as are paid to those where the responsibilities and work are heavy. Probably all

grades will be placed upon the same footing where possible, but officials who have less responsibility and work than others who occupy similar positions in other States will have to be placed in a different grade. I am not going to level down.

Mr. PAGE.—What is the difference between repairing a telegraph line in Victoria and repairing one in Queensland?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not speaking of matters of that sort. The telegraph line-repairers will all be placed upon the same level. Where officers are engaged in performing the same duties they must, if possible, be put upon the same footing. Some honorable members have complained—and I notice similar complaints in the press—that certain public works are not being carried out. Only yesterday I was looking through the applications received from various States for works of this character. The applications from Victoria are very numerous, but they relate chiefly to small works, such as the repairing of buildings, &c. Already a large number of works are being proceeded with in this State. From the other States the applications have not been so numerous. My desire is to arrange with the Public Works departments of the various States to lend us their officers to supervise any works which we may undertake, at least for a time. I shall make an arrangement for the payment of part of these officers' salaries until the works of the Commonwealth have been advanced to that stage when it will become imperative that we should have a large department of our own. In the interim, however, so long as the department for Home Affairs can exercise the control necessary to safeguard the efficient carrying out of our public works, it is far better to make an arrangement with the States which will not cost the Commonwealth much for supervision, than to appoint a big staff in each State. The staff which I have at present is ridiculously small for the amount of work that is being done.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does not the honorable gentleman intend to refer to the capital site?

Mr. WILKS.—New South Wales is sick at heart about it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—New South Wales has been sick at heart all along. As soon as it is possible to fix the capital site it will be fixed. It will take a considerable time—certainly some years—to complete

the necessary buildings upon that site. I am inclined to think that we shall not have to build on a very extensive scale at first. I saw a gentleman from the Congress of America the other day, and asked him the cost of the buildings at Washington. He told me that the cost of those buildings was £20,000,000. That is a very large sum of money to expend. We shall have to go reasonably slow. I am hopeful that before the termination of the present session honorable members will have an opportunity of inspecting the capital sites which are in the running. It would be nonsense to inspect a large number of sites which cannot possibly be in the running. But those from Albury onwards I think ought to be inspected by honorable members. It is impossible to give a definite promise, but before we separate this session, I hope that honorable members will be able to take a ten days' trip to the chief sites. They would thus acquire a much better knowledge than they could otherwise bring to bear upon the final settlement of this matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has the matter been considered by the Government?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am speaking for the Government. In reference to the remarks of the honorable member for Bourke, I wish to say that I have always held it to be the privilege of an honorable member to unearth and rectify any abuse. I held so in New South Wales, and never refused to see any member who had a complaint of a reasonable character to make. Of course, I recognise that there is a vast difference between that and the practice of going to a Minister with every trivial matter, and thus interfering unduly with heads of departments. But the Ministerial head of a department has a right to see that wrongs are rectified. It is his duty to do so. If he is not aware of the existence of such wrongs, who is better qualified to bring them under his notice than a Member of Parliament, who is the guardian of the public interests? The honorable member for Bourke was unquestionably right in endeavouring to get justice done in the case to which he referred. I know of an instance in which a man had his character blasted till a Member of Parliament embraced the opportunity of exposing the wrong which had been committed, and of insisting upon a searching investigation, with the result that the man's character was thoroughly rehabilitated.

This matter has also been referred to by the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley. At the same time I shall always deprecate any undue interference with the heads of departments. Where abuses do exist—and they will creep in very often—the fountain head is the proper authority to consult in order to get those abuses remedied.

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava—Treasurer).—I must appeal to honorable members to allow this Supply Bill to go through at once. By delaying its passage we are not acting fairly to the Senate. I would point out that unless we get it passed to-day the public servants cannot be paid at the end of the month. I am aware that there is a motion of no confidence pending. Whilst that motion is pending the Senate will not proceed with business. We have been discussing this measure for two and a half hours, and I ask if it is fair to send it up to the Senate at the last moment, and expect that Chamber to swallow it without any opportunity being given for debate? Surely grievances such as have been made by honorable members can well stand over till the Estimates are under consideration. The Senate must have a reasonable amount of time to deal with this Bill. That reasonable time will not be afforded if honorable members of this House insist upon discussing for two or three hours matters which might well stand over till the Estimates are being considered in detail.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The Ministerial supporters have occupied the time.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Time has been occupied by both sides of the House since the leader of the Opposition and I myself appealed to honorable members not to continue the discussion. The responsibility will not be upon my shoulders if the public servants are not paid at the end of the month. When I tried to get a Supply Bill through on the previous occasion, it was almost the last day of the month before I succeeded. That is not fair. Our public servants want their money, and our creditors wish to be paid. The matters which honorable members have referred to are proper subjects for discussion upon the Estimates, but not when we are debating a Supply Bill.

Mr. WATKINS.—If the motion of censure is carried the Treasurer will not get to the Estimates.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — If that motion is likely to be carried there is all the more reason why this Supply Bill should go through to-day. The moment notice has been given of a want of confidence motion all Government business must be suspended.

Mr. CROUCH. — The Opposition must take the responsibility.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — I do not want any one in particular to take the responsibility for delay, but I certainly do not wish it placed upon me. If supply is not granted to-day the Treasurer will be blamed for not having the money. I have a right to appeal to honorable members not to discuss this Bill further. Surely a consideration of such little matters as are involved in additions to buildings and the like can well stand over. I appeal to honorable members to allow this Bill to go through at once, so that we may be able to send it up to the Senate, and give the members of that Chamber an hour or two for its discussion. If we do not get the Bill through at once, there is no possibility of our passing it for another three or four weeks.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie). — I think there is some force in the appeal of the Treasurer. At the same time, if he wished to get his Estimates to the Senate at the proper time, he should have brought them down a little earlier.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — I have been working night and day to get them down.

Mr. MAHON. — I admit that the Treasurer has had difficulties to contend with.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — If the honorable member knew the difficulties, he would not refer to the matter.

Mr. MAHON. — I know that the Treasurer has been overworked, and on that account he is entitled to the sympathy of the House. But I object to allowing what the Treasurer calls "little matters" to pass unnoticed, as they may be important matters to the people we represent. The only opportunity which honorable members have of ventilating their grievances is upon an occasion of this sort. It is not a little thing that districts and important towns should be deprived of telegraphic communications, as is the case in one portion of Western Australia at the present time.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — We cannot deal with that until we come to the Estimates. We cannot deal with it on the Supply Bill.

Mr. MAHON. — I hope that the principle laid down by the Minister for Home Affairs will be preserved; that is to say, that the ratio of expenditure in the Postal and Telegraph department observed by the various States prior to federation will be maintained. It would be a monstrous thing to deprive new towns or settlements of postal or telegraphic facilities upon which their very existence depends. It is unfair to deal with their claims in the same way as those of established towns, which merely want new towers on their post-offices, such as the demand put forward by the honorable member for Newcastle.

I know of a town in Western Australia where nearly £4,000 per month is being distributed in wages. It has a population of between 300 and 400 people, and though a telegraph line passes a point within three miles of the place, the Postal department of Western Australia refuses to recommend that the line be extended to that township.

Mr. TUDOR. — What is the name of that place?

Mr. MAHON. — I refer to the township of Euro. It is one of the new towns which have sprung up in Western Australia of recent years, and it is certainly on the fringe of civilization. The people have enough hardship to contend with there in battling against the forces of nature without being placed at the disadvantage of being refused telegraphic communication. Their request has been refused absolutely by the officials in Perth. Therefore I hope that the Minister for Home Affairs, who, I think, said he would act on the report of the department —

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — What I said was that so far as I could, I would provide on the Estimates for everything recommended by the department.

Mr. MAHON. — If I can satisfy the honorable gentleman that in this case there is some personal feeling which prevents the extension of the line, I hope he will grant the request. I do not wish to delay the Treasurer in obtaining Supply; but I do desire to put before the House the view that the principle applied to well-established towns should not be observed by the Government when dealing with the claims of new settlements.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley). — I should have allowed this Supply Bill to go through without complaint, and have respected the compact between the Treasurer and the leader

of the Opposition, but for the remarks made just now by the Treasurer. Honorable members on this side of the House voluntarily suppressed their desire to speak on this subject in order that public business might be expedited; and I wish to remind the House that several honorable members on the Government side—notably the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, the Minister for Home Affairs, the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, and the honorable member for Bourke—have occupied more time this morning in discussing Supply than have honorable members on the opposition side. You, Mr. Chairman, must have marvelled at the facility for the transaction of business afforded by the Opposition, and then for us to be insulted by the Treasurer in this way—

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I spoke to both sides of the House; I did not refer particularly to the Opposition.

Mr. WILKS.—Well, then, I must have misunderstood the right honorable gentleman. From the very outset the Opposition have given the Government every assistance in the transaction of business; in fact, we have been a model Opposition, and the Treasurer should not have blamed us as he has done. The Minister for Home Affairs, who has charge of the selection of the site for the Federal Capital, has said to-day that he will deal with the question, but he has given no more definite promise than that which he made three months ago. The people of New South Wales are tired of the delay that has taken place in dealing with this matter, and I trust the Minister will organize some plan for keeping the spirit of the bond entered into with that State. I hope we shall come to a definite decision this session. I do not intend to air the grievances of my constituency, because they are too numerous; but I could not allow this occasion to pass without urging upon the Minister the desirability of proceeding at once to the selection of a site for the Federal Capital.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Resolution reported.

Resolved (on motion by Sir GEORGE TURNER)—

That the standing orders be suspended in order to enable all steps to be taken to obtain Supply and to pass a Supply Bill through all its stages without delay.

In Committee of Ways and Means :

Resolved (on motion by Sir GEORGE TURNER)—

That towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the services of the year ending 30th June, 1902, the sum of £928,322 be granted out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Resolution reported and agreed to.

Bill, founded upon resolutions of Supply and Ways and Means, presented, and passed through all its stages.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of the following message from the Senate:—

Mr. SPEAKER.—The Senate returns to the House of Representatives the Bill intituled "An Act relating to the Postal and Telegraph Services of the Commonwealth," and acquaints the House of Representatives that the Senate has agreed to amendments Nos. 1, 3 to 5, 7, 9 to 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21 to 49, 51 to 57, 60, 61, 63 to 65, 67, 68, 70, 72 to 74, 76 to 86, 90 to 104, of the amendments made by the House of Representatives; has agreed to amendments Nos. 2, 8, 13, 16, 19, 20, 50, 66, 69, 71, 75, with the amendments indicated by the annexed schedule; and has disagreed to amendments Nos. 6, 58, 59, 62, and 87 to 89, for the reasons assigned herewith. The Senate desires the concurrence of the House of Representatives in the amendments to the amendments of the House of Representatives, and desires its reconsideration of the Bill in respect to the amendments disagreed to.

R. C. BAKER, President.

In Committee (Consideration of the Senate's message):

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat — Attorney-General).—The amendments which have been made by the Senate are, I think, for the most part such as can be accepted without any hesitation. The first amendment is in clause 1, omitting the first day of October, and substituting the first day of December, as the date on which the Act shall come into operation. The second amendment is in clause 10, from which it is proposed to omit the word "seventeen" and insert "eighteen." We had fixed seventeen as the age at which telegraph messengers should cease to act in that capacity, and should retire from the service if no other occupation could be found for them. The Senate have raised the age to eighteen, and have thus given the lads another year in which they may act as telegraph messengers. At the end of the clause it is proposed to insert the words "but may be eligible to be appointed to some other position in the public service." This means that if, at the time a lad reaches the age of eighteen, there is a

vacancy in some other branch of the service for unskilled youths, he is to have a chance for it.

Mr. PAGE.—I thought that was understood.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The provision did not exist in the Bill, but I do not think there is any harm in inserting it. The next amendment accepts all that is contained in the definition of a newspaper in clause 26a, except the amendment that was inserted at the instance of the honorable member for Bourke. I doubt if it is worth while insisting finally upon that, as there are other means of attaining the same end. The next amendment is in clause 27, in which we proposed to omit the words "seditious and blasphemous." The word "blasphemous" has been given up by the Senate, but they desire to retain the word "seditious."

Mr. WATSON.—Oh, no. We cannot agree to that.

Mr. CONROY.—Do the Government intend to agree to that amendment?

Mr. DEAKIN.—If the committee desires to insist upon its amendment, it can do so, but I do not consider the matter of great importance.

Mr. WATSON.—We have not yet seen the schedule of amendments, and as it is difficult to understand what the effect of an amendment is without having it before us in print, I suggest that we should wait until the schedule of amendments can be circulated amongst honorable members.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It seems to me that, with two or three exceptions, we might accept all the amendments of the Senate. If honorable members prefer to wait until the schedule is before them we can adopt that course. As I stated, in clause 27 the Senate propose to retain the word "seditious." The amendment in clause 78 is a purely verbal one, omitting the words "which were" and "before the commencement of this Act," and inserting further on in the clause the words "in force at the commencement of this Act." The next amendment is in the new clause following clause 88, which was inserted on the motion of the honorable member for Kennedy, to enable the Postmaster-General to take over any private telephone line at six months' notice. The Senate have accepted that provision, with the condition that the action shall be taken by the Postmaster-General with the consent of Parliament. There

is no objection to that. It is also proposed to insert the word "acquired" after the word "erected," so that if the Postmaster-General ever takes over a private telephone he shall have the right to maintain it. That, of course, is a necessary provision. The next amendment is in clause 92, giving power to officers to refuse to transmit objectionable messages, in which we have proposed to omit the words "a person employed in a telegraph office," and insert "postmaster." The Senate now proposes in lieu of postmaster to insert—"person employed under the authority of the Postmaster-General." In clause 93 we inserted a new paragraph enabling the Governor-General to make regulations providing for the payment by the receiver or by the Government of any State instead of the sender of the rate payable on any postal article. The Senate have now amended that so as to provide that the payment may be made by the Governor or by and other person instead of the sender, thus enabling business firms and friendly societies to make such arrangements as they may desire with the Postmaster-General regarding the transmission of postal articles. This will meet the views of the honorable member for Maranoa, at whose instance the paragraph was inserted. In the schedule of amendments made by this House to which the Senate have disagreed, the Senate object to the words in clause 3 extending the definition of "indecent or obscene matter" which were inserted on the motion of the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse. They consider that the words "indecent or obscene matter" are sufficient, and that they will cover all the indecent advertisements which it was the special desire of the honorable member for Tasmania to preclude from passing through the post. The next amendment to which exception is taken is the omission of the word "through" from clause 83. This clause relates to the carrying of telegraph wires through private buildings, and the word "through" was omitted, but the Senate urges that it should be allowed to stand, because in tunnelling it may be necessary to pass underground through a man's property or through a cellar, and because the expense of working an underground system of telegraphic and telephonic communication would be greatly and unnecessarily impeded if the department were not permitted to carry

wires through private buildings. The next amendment is in reference to the question in which the honorable member for Parramatta and others took a great deal of interest, and relates to the power of the department to carry its wires through streets where the municipal authorities have ornamental trees growing. This House limited that power by striking out the provision that the department should have the right to lop off the branches of trees without giving any compensation. The object of this was to require that the department should compensate the local bodies for any trees that were injured or destroyed. The Senate, however, adhere to the view that it is necessary, in the public interest, to give the department power to cut down and lop, and that it should be indemnified for any reasonable action taken to insure the proper working of telephone lines. The department will still be required to consult the municipal authorities, and to meet their views as much as possible, but they are not to be called upon to pay damages. The last amendment to which objection is taken is the proposal to omit the words "unlawfully or maliciously" from clause 126, relating to injuries to telegraphs. The Senate urge that the importance of maintaining a telegraph system inviolate is so great that no person interrupting communication by cutting or breaking wires or otherwise should be excused on the ground that he did not act unlawfully or maliciously.

Progress reported.

PAPER.

The Clerk laid on the table—

Return to the order of the House, dated 3rd October, showing the actual cost of cane-cutting per ton in Queensland.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

Debate resumed (from 10th October, 1901, *vide* page 5952), on motion by Mr. BARTON—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr. WATKINS (Newcastle).—In addressing the House with respect to this Bill, I wish to direct attention chiefly to the question whether we should grant the postponement that has been asked for, and refer

the matter to a Royal commission in the way suggested by the honorable member for Oxley. It seems to me that we should decide this matter now, once and for all, as I fail to see how any postponement would be of any advantage to those engaged in the sugar industry. The cry for an extension of time is simply a repetition of the demands that were made in 1884, 1885, and in 1889.

Mr. BARTON.—The cry will always be raised.

Mr. WATKINS.—Yes. If there is a large vested interest in the sugar industry, that interest will not grow less in the future, and if we cannot deal with it now, it will be more difficult to legislate regarding it in ten years' time. I am totally opposed to the proposal to remit the matter to a commission for further inquiry, because sufficient information has been placed before honorable members to enable them to come to a decision at once. Two commissions have inquired into this question, one in 1885, and another in 1889, and the reports of both of them were simply directed to asking for more time. Any further inquiry at this juncture would fail to enlighten us beyond the extent to which we have already been informed by the speeches made during this debate, and by the facts and figures, derived from various reliable sources, which have been placed before us. It has been urged that we should be very careful in dealing with this question, because sugar-growing is practically the national industry of Queensland, and our action is being protested against by the Queensland Government. If I thought that that Government, as at present constituted, represented the people of the whole of Queensland, I should perhaps be prepared to attach some weight to their views. But when we know that, under their State laws, a majority of the people of Queensland were not represented, and when we compare the result of the State election with the result of the Federal campaign, which was fought entirely on this one question—and when we consider that there have been returned a vast majority of honorable members from that State in favour of the abolition of kanaka labour—I am inclined to think that the Federal elections represent the voice of Queensland. The first time the people of Queensland had

an opportunity of giving effect to one-man-one-vote, they proclaimed with one voice the abolition of this traffic. Some honorable members who have spoken in support of the continuance of kanaka labour, have said that the kanakas are well treated, and that the regulations are properly carried out, and, further, that the kanakas are harmless and peaceful citizens of the State. But if honorable members examine for a moment the reports of the Royal commission, they will find that no fewer than eight vessels were cruising with a view of obtaining kanakas, and that in almost every case kidnapping obtained to some extent, while, in the other cases, the islanders were deluded into entering the agreements.

Mr. ISAACA.—What year was that?

Mr. WATKINS.—That was the inquiry which was commenced in 1889, and extracts from the reports were published in the newspapers of Australasia in 1892, when the final report of the Royal commission was presented.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—That is ancient history.

Mr. WATKINS.—The history is not so ancient as the honorable member would no doubt like to make it appear, but even if it occurred as far back as 1885, I do not think that the honorable member could convince the House that there has been such an improvement as to make it desirable to have the traffic continued.

Mr. SAWERS.—We all know there has been an improvement.

Mr. WATKINS.—We know there has been some improvement, but when I read an extract from one of the reports it will be found that there is any amount of room for further improvement. The first report stated :—

Our opinion is that all the the recruits brought by the *Ceara* on this voyage were seduced aboard by false pretences; that the nature of their engagements was never fully explained to them; that they had little or no comprehension of the kind of work they had to perform, and that the period for which they agreed to come was in no single instance three years.

That is only one of the eight cases, and there is no suggestion of ancient history about that. At that time, every leading newspaper throughout Australia commented on this traffic, and even in England attention was drawn to the fact that slavery was being carried on in Australasia. Call it what we like—smother it up as we like—this is what the American

people called slavery many years ago. If that be a correct position to assume, I cannot understand, after the experience of America in dealing with black labour, how honorable members can stand up in the Federal Parliament and justify the continuance of such a trade in what is supposed to be a Christian country.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The blacks were sold in open market in America.

Mr. WATKINS.—That is so; and here the kanakas were kidnapped in the islands, as the blacks were kidnapped in Africa for the slave market in America. There may be a difference in the method, but the principle is exactly the same, and if it was slavery in the one instance, it is slavery in the other. We have practically had admissions on the floor of the House that the sugar industry cannot be carried on by white labour—that such work is the work of slaves. If that be so, I do not think there is any need to argue the point further. As it presents itself to me, it is a question of cheapness—a question of labour, and nothing else. It is futile to tell a working man, who knows all about the subject, that it is harder for a white man to work in the cane-fields than to work in a railway cutting in such a climate as that of Queensland. No work is harder in a tropical climate than that in a railway cutting, or anywhere else in railway construction. The carrying of huge iron rails in a hot climate like that of Queensland is much harder labour than I, at least, would care to perform, and the same may be said of shovel work in an open cutting, where there is no chance of getting any breeze. The white man has done all the pioneer work in the tropical portions of Queensland. He went there when the climate and general conditions were much worse than they are to-day; and we know that as a country is opened up and railway communication and other agencies of civilisation are brought to bear, the work in such climates becomes easier. With other honorable members, I think that the Queensland people accepted federation believing that a federal Parliament would pronounce on this question with no uncertain voice. I believe that the majority of the people of Queensland accepted federation with the full knowledge, or with the hope, that the Federal Parliament would once and for all abolish kanaka labour.

Mr. WILKINSON.—It was the one great question.

Mr. WATKINS.—It was the one great question, and instead of listening to the few interested individuals who try to prolong this particular traffic, the Commonwealth Parliament would be more faithfully doing their duty if they paid attention to the not uncertain voice of the majority of the people of the country.

Mr. SAWERS.—The honorable member is willing to allow five years. It is only a question of degree.

Mr. WATKINS.—If I had my way, five years would not be allowed. I would do away with the traffic at once; but I, and those who think with me, accept the five years' limit, because it is the nearest possible point to what we desire.

Mr. SAWERS.—The honorable member, to be consistent, ought to vote against allowing five years.

Mr. WATKINS.—But to vote against the five years' limit might result in prolonging the traffic for twenty years, and in placing the advocates of the traffic in a better position.

Mr. ISAACS.—The traffic is being diminished in the meantime.

Mr. WATKINS.—That is so; but in 1889 the supporters of the traffic asked for nine or ten years, and by this time they should have made preparation for doing without coloured labour. The time they then asked for has now expired, and we should be quite justified in stamping the traffic out at once. As it is, however, we propose to allow five years, with a diminution in the traffic as time goes on. The ablest minds in public life, not only in Queensland, but in all the States, have at one time or another spoken against the employment of aliens in this industry. Sir Henry Parkes spoke against it, and we have had other gentlemen, whose names have been mentioned, taking a similar course. But there is another phase of the question. Would it be a fair thing, now that Inter-State free-trade has been established, to allow one State to employ coloured labour in competition with another State where only white labour is employed? In New South Wales most of the sugar is grown by white labour, and it would be totally unfair to the people engaged in the industry in that State if their ports were thrown open to sugar grown by kanaka labour, when all are subject to the same Tariff.

Mr. WILKS.—On the northern rivers in New South Wales a lot of Hindoos are still employed.

Mr. WATKINS.—There are about 300 kanakas and some Hindoos employed, but the kanakas will come under this Bill, while the Hindoos will be dealt with by another measure. We must not forget that we found it necessary in New South Wales, even under a free-trade Government, to levy a £3 duty on all sugar, because the majority of the people engaged in the industry were white, and because we had to compete with the black grown sugar of Queensland; and if it was necessary to impose a duty of that kind then, it is more necessary now that there is Inter-State free-trade, and all Australian-grown sugar is placed on a level. No one can make me believe that those engaged in the sugar industry of Queensland will under this Bill be in any worse condition than they are in at the present time. The Government propose a Tariff of £6 per ton, and give an advantage to those who employ white labour instead of kanaka labour, and, with Inter-State free-trade and an extended market, those engaged in the industry in Queensland will be more than compensated for any loss which they may sustain by the abolition of alien labour. But, apart from questions of trade or labour, the facts laid before us by the honorable member for Maranoa show that it is time the people of Australia dealt with this matter from a racial standpoint, and let the people of Queensland know that we are determined to no longer permit this black blot on the Commonwealth map. I shall not weary members with quotation after quotation, but we have had it pointed out that at Cairns, when a petition was presented to the local council, with a view of abolishing Japanese brothels, which at that time were increasing very rapidly, the council, by its vote, declared in favour of their continuance, in order, as it was said, to protect white females. If there were only that example, together with the quotations laid before honorable members by the honorable member for Kennedy, there is disclosed a disgraceful state of affairs, which this Parliament should not tolerate for one moment longer than we can help. I do not think it is the desire of any honorable member here, on the threshold of our federal career, to continue this traffic in flesh and blood. We have had placed before us the

death-rate of those kanakas engaged in the sugar industry, and it has been disclosed to us that immorality is rampant, and, with the honorable member for Maranoa, I say that we must regard this question from a different stand-point than that of wages. It would be a danger to the poorer classes of our community, and a blot on the history of this Parliament, to any longer allow these hordes of savages to intermingle with our people; and it would not have rebounded to the credit of the Government had they not dealt with the question as firmly as they are now proposing to do. Irrespective of what may transpire during the next few weeks, it would be to the interests of Australia generally to grace the opening of our Federal Parliament by ridding at least one State of this traffic, which carries such dread consequences in its train. If we do that, and that alone, in the next few months, we shall have done a great deal. We shall have earned the thanks of many thousands of people, and we shall have told the world, once and for all, that we in Australia are not prepared, directly or indirectly, to countenance anything in the way of slave traffic. My only regret is that the Government have not tackled the whole alien question in the same firm way.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—A problem that has been familiar to a people for over 30 years is one the solution of which, I think, cannot be said to have been in any way hurried. As Australians, we have been for over a generation painfully familiar with the presence of the kanaka on our soil, and through the whole of that time there has been one thread of constantly increasing determination that sooner or later this traffic must be ended. Speaking for myself, and as a representative more directly of the southern portion of Australia, I consider that the people of Queensland are entitled to hear from us the reasons why we have come to the conclusion at which I believe we have nearly all arrived, and which, I trust, will very soon be put into statutory form. The maintenance of kanaka labour is, I venture to say, indefensible, and I have not been able to gather that any person dares, in view of his own conscience as well as of the great mass of public opinion, to defend that traffic upon its own merits. I think that when we face the evidence before us—as we

are bound to do—calmly, coolly, and considerably—as calmly, at any rate, as our sentiments as human beings will permit us—we are forced to the conclusion that we cannot temporize with this evil any longer. I believe, with many of those who have preceded me, that by overwhelming numbers the people of Queensland are against the continuance of this traffic, but I should be sorry if even that portion of the Queensland community whose sentiments have been voiced fearlessly, courageously, honestly, and with considerable force by the honorable member for Oxley and the honorable and learned member for Brisbane, imagined for a moment that we are endeavouring to ride rough-shod over a very important industry regardless of consequences. I do not hide from myself that if I had my choice between suppressing the kanaka traffic and putting an end to the sugar industry, I should vote in favour of suppressing the kanaka traffic. Happily we are not placed in any such position. I agree with the view expressed by the Prime Minister in his able, temperate, and logical speech, which abounded in information and argument, that we can—and will—preserve the sugar industry, which is so important to Queensland and the whole continent and yet abolish the evils attendant upon the employment of kanaka labour. By what means, then, are we to satisfy our compatriots in Queensland that we are not carried away by any sudden gust of passion or any momentary sentiment, but are guided by considerations of humanity and consideration even for the planters? The Prime Minister traced clearly and succinctly, down substantially to the year 1895, the progress of thought and the public expression of opinion on the part of Queenslanders in regard to this matter. We have been referred by some honorable members on the other side of the House to an alleged change of opinion on the part of some of Queensland's leaders, notably in the year 1892, when Sir Samuel Griffith, the then Premier and Chief Secretary, issued a manifesto and altered the existing law. Anything that Sir Samuel Griffith says is in my opinion worthy of the greatest consideration. He is a man to whom all in Australia look with respect and esteem. I have looked at his words, and have carefully read the debates which took place at that particular juncture, and I

fail to find that Sir Samuel Griffith did alter his opinion upon this subject in any respect whatever. I have his manifesto, and I propose to make one or two very short extracts from it, because I think that not only should we state that we have arrived at our conclusion upon a consideration of the evidence, but we should also place upon record, so that it may be read by those who cannot hear us, what were the particular points of that evidence which appealed most strongly to our reason. I was very much struck by a letter, which no doubt other honorable members have received in common with myself, and which was alluded to by the honorable member for Oxley yesterday. It was a letter from Mr. Crespin, who is writing on behalf of the planters. In that letter an appeal is made for more time. By questions put to various honorable members, such as the honorable member for Wentworth, and the honorable and learned member for Brisbane, I endeavoured to ascertain what practical advantage would be derived by the planters if we gave them a further extension than that which is proposed in the Bill. I could get no answer.

Mr. SAWERS. — Mr. Philp gives an answer.

Mr. ISAACS. — What is it? I have not heard it. It is a significant fact to my mind that no person can give an answer except that if the planters can only delay the final settlement of this question, a chapter of accidents may enable them to get a further postponement in the future. Before I close I shall point out, not merely that there is no positive advantage in delay, even to the planters, except the mere permission to carry on under present conditions, but that history affords us one remarkable example of the danger all round of acceding to any such request. If we consented to prolong the time—as is desired—we should be making a precedent and an admission which, in my judgment, are positively in opposition to the position which we are taking up to-day. If we concede the request that we should postpone the eradication of this evil for five or ten years, or any suggested period, what does it mean? It means that we cannot at present carry on that industry with white labour. It is an admission that we cannot at the present time do without *kanaka* labour. The planters think that if they secure an extension of time they may find

for *kanaka* labour a substitution that is not white labour. Therefore they say, "Let us have time, and see whether we can do it." I am not going to yield to any such suggestion, because that would be an admission that we are not going to put an end to this traffic in *kanakas* until some other coloured or inferior labour can be substituted for it. If we adopt that course once, we may fairly be expected to adopt it again. In the letter from Mr. Crespin, there is, perhaps inadvertently on the part of those who have published it, a singular piece of evidence that carries to my mind the whole point of the planters' contention, which is that they desire to carry on with *kanaka* labour indefinitely. I shall read what is a very important passage, because the words it contains are those of the Hon. A. J. Thynne, who is quoted and relied upon by Mr. Crespin. The passage reads as follows:—

In one of Mr. Thynne's letters, in which he presents results inseparable from the abolition of *kanaka* labour, he says—"So far there are two alternatives; the substitution of other coloured labour, and the extinction of the industry."

I wish to emphasize these words because the position which is really taken up—not on the surface, but substantially and fundamentally—by the planters is, "We shall have to give up the industry unless we are permitted to use inferior labour." I think that ought to be distinctly understood to be the issue. Apart altogether from what I have said, if we were driven to face that issue, the evidence is overwhelming that we are not confronted with those alternatives at all. There is no reason, according to the evidence of witnesses who are relied upon by the sugar planters—evidence that is convincing enough—why we should not pass this Bill. My doubt really is as to whether we ought not to go further than this measure provides. I am satisfied to take the Bill, because it appears to meet with general assent. But I cannot see why we should not stop the importation of *kanaka* labour at once. I am not satisfied with the Bill in my own mind as a matter of pure reasoning, but I see that the sentiment animating the Government is that it is not altogether unfair to postpone the cessation of the traffic for two years, or until the 31st March, 1904, after which no more *kanaka* labour is to be introduced into Australia under any circumstances. That is a small period in the life of the continent,

but it is a definite one, and I am prepared to accede to it, especially as the Government have taken care to diminish the evil as we go along. What is the position with regard to this question? The honorable member for Melbourne said that the crux of it was, "Can this industry be carried on with white labour?" He appealed to the manifesto of Sir Samuel Griffith. In the first place the manifesto was published, as I understand, at a period when circumstances external to the sugar traffic, and circumstances which are, unfortunately, common to Australia, involving depression and severe commercial stricture, prevailed all round. For a temporary purpose, for a moment of urgency, the Government saw fit, in that particular crisis, to relax the then existing kanaka law. But the urgency of Queensland in 1892 is not the urgency of the Commonwealth in 1901, and the period that was then looked forward to by the Queensland Parliament has practically passed. Apart altogether from that consideration, if the matter came up in the Queensland Parliament, I do not see that the Queensland sugar planters could rely with reason on the argument then used. At page 8, volume 67, of the Queensland *Hansard* of 1892, I find the manifesto set out at length. In that manifesto, Sir Samuel Griffith makes this clear and assuring statement — at the very moment, it will be understood, when he was advocating and proposing to carry a Bill to relax the kanaka labour law—

It has been proved that in Queensland cane can be grown by white labour. I am aware that this position is still disputed, but it is admitted by most of the more liberal-minded planters with whom I have been in communication.

That is convincing in my mind. At a later stage Sir Samuel Griffith goes on to say that there is a danger of the kanaka coming into competition with white labourers in other occupations. These are most important statements to make in a manifesto of this kind, statements which must force themselves upon our consideration. The debate upon the Bill which he introduced, and which has since become law, was contributed to by many honorable members of note, the late Mr. Salkeld amongst them, and I find the statement made that in many occupations the kanaka labourers do come into actual competition with white men. Before I pass from this manifesto, I wish to emphasize what I call the third ground of

Sir Samuel Griffith's original objections to kanaka labour. He did not abandon that ground in his manifesto, nor has he ever done so. It is that—

The permanent existence of a large servile population amongst us, not admitted to the franchise, is not compatible with the continuance of our free political institutions.

Speaking of this and other objections, he said in his manifesto—"I recognise the force of these reasons as fully as ever." I trace in this manifesto the honest expression of a most profound conviction on the part of that great Queensland statesman, that even at the moment when he felt the extraordinary circumstances of Queensland demanded extraordinary action, he was still, as ever, profoundly impressed with the necessity of making his proposed measure only a temporary one, and of taking strong steps at as early a date as possible to put an end to an acknowledged and a growing evil. In the course of the same debate, I find the strongest evidence of an unabated and engrossing conviction on the part of Queensland people, that this kanaka traffic was a cancer which must be eradicated. How do I make that discovery? We have had the overpowering weight of all the quotations which the Prime Minister has given us. They go as far as 1885, but in 1888 we have a document, not of a fleeting nature, not a mere statement made at a public meeting, which might be explained away, but an authoritative and considered expression of opinion, and a pledge, by Sir Thomas Mcllwraith, as to his views. That gentleman knew what he was talking about. In the letter which he wrote to the press on that occasion he pledged himself solemnly and publicly to a certain policy, and I think it ought to be placed on record in our *Hansard*. At page 148, vol. 67, of the Queensland *Hansard* for 1892, Mr. Glassey is reported to have spoken as follows:—

Sir Thomas Mcllwraith—

who, by the way, was a member of the Government at the time—

Mr. FISHER.—He was then leading the Opposition.

Mr. ISAACS.—Yes; but in 1892 he was the Colonial Treasurer in Sir Samuel Griffith's Government.

Mr. WILKINSON.—But when he wrote that letter he was leading the Opposition at a general election.

Mr. ISAACS.—This letter was read in the Queensland Legislative Assembly in 1892, at a time when Sir Thomas McLlwraith was second in command in the Griffith Government. Mr. Glassey said :—

Sir Thomas McLlwraith was most emphatic in his declaration on the subject of coloured labour. In the manifesto which he issued to the electors of North Brisbane, to contradict the statements which had been made by the Chief Secretary, he said :—

Now comes the letter, and I think it speaks trumpet-tongued as to the honest opinion of Queensland statesmen, when they felt themselves untrammelled by considerations of financial urgency of an extraordinary nature—

Gentlemen,—With a view of showing you the absurdity of the statements made by my opponents I now pledge myself to the following if I am returned to power :—Not to allow the introduction of coolie or other coloured labour ; not to allow the introduction of Chinese ; not to pay the survey fees of the Transcontinental Syndicate ; not to introduce or support a Transcontinental Railway Bill or scheme ; to oppose a land tax ; to encourage local industries by protection.

I am gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS MCLLWRAITH.

What does that letter show ? It shows not only that a prominent statesman pledged himself, and his party, I apprehend, to oppose the introduction of any more coolie or coloured labour—not ten years ahead, but immediately—but it also shows that the public sentiment of Queensland was so distinctly felt and understood that both parties were competing for support by giving the same pledge. Sir Thomas McLlwraith felt that the chances of himself and his party were being injured by what he considered to be the inaccurate statements of the leader of the opposing party in saying that he was in favour of coloured labour.

Mr. FISHER.—And the leader of the opposing party was Sir Samuel Griffith.

Mr. ISAACS.—Yes ; therefore in 1888 there was practically a consensus of opinion on the part of the two competing parties in Queensland on this important subject.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Sir Thomas McLlwraith made another statement on the same subject at the same time.

Mr. ISAACS.—Surely not at the same time.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Yes ; I can produce it.

Mr. ISAACS.—I should be sorry to believe that at the very moment he was

giving this definite statement in writing, Sir Thomas McLlwraith was saying something different.

Mr. McDONALD.—He was returned to power, too.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is so. I say most distinctly that we have one continuous stream of public expression of opinion on the part of Queenslanders in favour of the abolition, and apparently the immediate abolition, of coolie labour. But we must remember that at that time the Act of 1885 was in force, and everybody was looking forward to the termination of the traffic in 1890. In 1892, for the reasons that I have mentioned, what has been called the “Kanaka bridge” was built. That structure has given us a great deal of trouble, and I think it is time it was swept away by the current of public opinion that is flowing, undoubtedly, in one strong continuous stream all over Australia. I have demonstrated to my own mind, and I hope to the satisfaction of honorable members, that, so far as the possibility of carrying on this work is concerned, it is an admitted fact. We are asked to postpone this legislation. I have already given some reasons why I think we should not, and they are fundamental reasons. It would amount to an admission on our part that would be converted into a precedent, and would be used more forcibly than any argument I have heard used at the present time. I have said that there is a precedent in history the repetition of which in Australia I am very anxious to avoid. We are told that if the planters can only, by means of the progress of invention or by some unexpected event, secure a device for doing the work more cheaply than white labour can do it, they will be ready to surrender kanaka labour. Every one familiar with the history of slavery in the United States knows perfectly well how one little invention accentuated the whole difficulty, and brought about a condition of things that led to enormous trouble at a time when it was thought the slave trade was going to die away. I am not alluding to the original compromise in the Constitution, which was considered to be necessary in order to achieve federation. We have no such excuse as America had, because we have not to stoop to such compromises. We have got our Constitution without it. I am alluding to the fact that when cotton was first grown in the southern States, it was difficult, indeed, to separate the seeds from the cotton, and its

supply to England and the other countries was comparatively limited. It was thought, therefore, that slavery would die a natural death, but one day an inventive American devised the cotton gin.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It was Whitney.

Mr. ISAACS.—Yes; Eli Whitney. By means of the cotton gin it was found that the negro slave could multiply his work infinitely, and it put cotton on the market to a much greater degree than before. That sent up the price of slaves at once, and made the evil more difficult of eradication than ever it was before. We do not know what the future has in store for us. We do not know how invention will turn. It may turn in a direction which will involve the extension of sugar-cane planting in Queensland, and the use of these kanakas, or their resultant product, in some way which will accentuate the evil, may extend vested interests in opposition to the principles of humanity, and put us in a worse position for dealing with the difficulty than we occupy at present. I propose that we should deal with this matter at once; that we should not wait for a future time which may bring more difficulties than facilities for doing what is required. I can see no reason why any postponement should be granted. I cannot absolve our Australian people from blame in this matter. I think we are greatly to blame. There have been already, as it seems to me, three eras in the treatment of kanaka labour. In the first era there was an open violation of the rights of the kanaka by kidnapping. The Imperial Statute of 1872 (on its very forefront) has the charge perpetuated that it was by reason of the criminal offences committed upon the Pacific Islanders that that measure was passed. That was the first era. The next era was marked by the inconsiderate treatment of the kanakas by the sugar planters, which resulted in an enormous number of deaths—66 per 1000 from 1885 to 1890. I get that evidence from the Queensland debates at page 173. It appears from the Registrar-General's returns that, from 1885 to 1890 inclusive, the number of islanders in the State each year, added together, made a total of 5,577. During the six years 3,689 of these men died, or at the rate of 66 per 1,000. That was leaving out of consideration the year during which there was a visitation of measles and the year before it, so that those were normal years. The third era is the present, during which the death-rate of the

kanakas, though very much less—less than it was by more than 50 per cent.—is still abnormally high. I find from the 1901 report of the immigration agent in connexion with the Pacific Island immigration, presented to the Queensland House of Parliament, and dated 4th June this year, that, independently altogether of 940 labourers who returned to their homes during the year 1900, and who, no doubt, carried with them the seeds of disease and death, the mortality on this continent was extremely large. There were 9,324 labourers in the State, and of these 274 died. Now, if we say, roughly speaking, so that we may calculate it mentally, that among 9,000 there were 270 deaths, that is equal to 30 per 1,000. The general mortality in Queensland, I find from "Coghlan," page 258, is less than 13 per 1,000, and that includes, of course, the Chinese and other Asiatics. The normal mortality of Queensland, therefore, is less than that of Victoria, showing that Queensland is really a healthy country. Thus we find that 14 deaths per 1,000 among the kanakas are due practically to the causes attendant upon the sugar-cane work. That is a tremendous mortality when we consider it in conjunction with the diseases from which the kanakas may possibly recover, and the other troubles they have, and I think that if we have any regard for the welfare of these unfortunate beings—these inferior beings who are dragged, so to speak, at the chariot wheels of our progress—we ought, out of consideration for them alone, to abolish this traffic, and at the earliest moment possible. I am reminded by the honorable member for Darling Downs that if we take the percentage of deaths, and even assume that it has not recently been diminished, but has been at this reduced rate during the ten years since the re-organization of the laws, and that there have been 140 deaths per annum among these islanders occasioned by this traffic alone, we find that, roughly speaking, 1,400 deaths lie at our doors. This is an appalling result. When we are told by men whose words can be relied on, that white labour can do this work, and when we see that the sugar industry is not retrogressing, but is progressing, I cannot frame any reason in my own mind that would be satisfying to any humane conscience why we should delay as desired the definite, final, and, I hope, irrevocable solution of this monstrosity. It has been stated that the

planters are entitled to notice, but what notice can they have more than they have had for the last 40 years? Year after year they have had warnings, and Parliament after Parliament has legislated against them, and kindly and considerately, and far too generously in my opinion, has the path been graded for the disappearance of the kanaka. I have had placed in my hands the words uttered by our late honored colleague, Mr. W. H. Groom, formerly the member for Darling Downs, who, in his speech in 1889 in the Queensland Assembly, pointed out what was well understood, namely, that the abolition of the kanaka was in contemplation at no distant date. He says—

I have found prevailing among a large section of the inhabitants of the North the feeling that kanaka labour is merely a stop-gap for coolies.

That shows that as far back as 1889 the planters understood perfectly well that the kanaka had to go. There is no indication that they have made any preparation for it, but there is this indication, that when they were free from the trammels of the law—I do not say the present men—they did not hesitate to steal away the islanders from their homes, regardless of the consequences, and the Imperial Government had to stigmatize such action as a crime, and furnish the Queensland authorities with power to stop it. Then came the force of public opinion, unexpressed, but decidedly felt, which compelled the planters to desist from their wholly inconsiderate treatment of the kanakas, which led to the mortality of 66 per 1,000, so that the death rate to-day, although abnormal, is marvelously smaller. Now, the time has come when public opinion must be formulated in the direction in which it has been expressed articulately at the polls, not only in Queensland, but in all the other States, that the kanaka trade must definitely be put an end to. I do not hesitate to say that this traffic is a reproach to us at the present moment, and I should be wanting in my duty if I did not express myself as I have done, and if I did not do all in my power to wipe out this blot as soon as possible. I can give no ear whatever to the direct proposal for delay, nor to the other proposal for delay which takes the shape of the appointment of a commission or a select committee. I think that the matter is perfectly plain to all the people of all the States, and I believe that when we have passed this Bill, and carried it stringently

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into operation, we shall have simply done our duty. Now, with regard to the measure itself, it is proposed that after the 31st March, 1904, no Pacific Island labourer shall enter any part of Australia. The Queensland Acts, as explained by the Prime Minister, are to be left in full operation, except so far as they are controlled and restricted by this measure. The responsibility of the limited administration which will be left to them, will lie upon the Queensland authorities, and what we say is that in the meantime, from the moment this Bill is passed until the 31st March, 1904, no Pacific Islander shall enter Australia except under licence. That licence is to be granted by the Queensland Government, but they are not to have power to issue licences at their own sweet will, and are to be restricted by the diminishing provisions of the Bill. Therefore, it seems to me that the termination of this business is very nearly at hand. They may bring in these islanders until the 31st March, 1904, but no licences are to be granted after the 31st December, 1903, which is to be the final point of permission, and unless the planters make three years' agreements from that time they will not be able to keep the men as long as 1906. There is no necessity to make out the agreements for one year, but there is an almost absolute necessity from the point of view of the planter to make the agreements for more than one year. Therefore the argument that has been used in connexion with the limitation of the period of the agreement to one year is divested of all reason. Clause 8 is one of the most important in the Bill. We knew that under the terms of the Constitution, after the imposition of uniform duties, the intercourse between the States with regard to persons as well as goods is to be absolutely free, and I welcome the provision that is sought to be made by the Government in clause 8 against the danger that would otherwise exist in regard to the rest of the States. After the imposition by law—not merely by the proposal of the Tariff that we have before us, but by Act—of the uniform duties, in the absence of any other provisions, these islanders would, under the provisions of the Constitution, be at liberty to wander all over Australia. But by sub-section (26) of section 51 of the Constitution, power is given to legislate for any race as to which we desire to make special provision. I have

been anxious on this matter, and the Attorney-General has been good enough to permit me to consult him on the subject. I believe that clause 8 will, upon the whole, render impossible such a disaster as permitting those coloured aliens to wander at liberty over the length and breadth of Australia. Up to the 31st December, 1906, Pacific Island labourers, supposing all other conditions are complied with, may be lawfully employed in Queensland, under labour agreement, but they are not allowed, up to that date, to wander about, even in Queensland, nor to be there, unless they are actually employed under agreement. A *kanaka* is not to be let loose to roam about and come into competition with white men, even in Queensland, and certainly not in the rest of Australia; nor is he permitted to remain in Australia, up to the 31st December, 1906, unless actually employed under a Pacific Island agreement. Sub-clause (2) provides that practically under no circumstances after that date is a Pacific Islander to be allowed to continue in Australia. There may be some question as to the form which that provision has taken, but, on the whole, I commend the Government none the less for that provision than for the other provisions of the Bill. The Government have foreseen, and, on the whole, practically provided against, what would otherwise be a great danger to us all. Australia is under a debt to the Government for carefully and fairly meeting this great question. We should hasten to support them in this work, and, when the desire formulated in this Bill has been carried out, I believe we shall have approached more closely than ever before, and more closely than ever we could have hoped to approach but for federation, to that great ideal which the colonies set before them—one people one destiny.

Mr. WILKINSON (Moreton).—The case for Queensland has been sufficiently strongly put on this question, without my going over ground which has already been trodden. But there are one or two aspects of the question which do not appear to have been dealt with. The Australian Commonwealth, and the State of Queensland in particular, no doubt feel very grateful for the weighty consideration that has been given to this matter by the parliamentary representatives of the Commonwealth. Such a speech as we have just listened to by the honorable and learned member for Indi must convince the most prejudiced persons on the

otherside that this matter is not being decided without due and weighty consideration. On this question of the abolition of Polynesian immigration and its employment in Queensland, I take up a somewhat stronger position than even that taken up by the Government to-day. But I believe that the proposals of the Government are a most reasonable compromise; and, after all the evidence we have had brought to bear, showing that this traffic has been considered a matter of temporary convenience for many years past, I cannot see how there can be any objection to those proposals, even on the part of the most earnest advocate of the continuance of this traffic. Here I should like to make reference to a vote I gave a few nights ago. That vote was called in question, but I must say that I do not think that even the honorable member for Maranoa can question my desire for a "white Australia." My desire, however, is to have a "white Australia" brought about as quickly as possible. I do not want to see 500 Japanese rushed into the country by Burns, Philp, and Company, while we are waiting Imperial sanction to any Bill we may pass. I want to see finality as early as possible. If we think afterwards that our rights of self-government have been infringed or interfered with, we can attend to that matter later on. First of all, let us see that we preserve our Commonwealth against the introduction of these people. In reply to an interjection I said that I should be able to answer my constituents on this question, and so I shall. I do not need to fear them.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member to confine his remarks to the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. WILKINSON.—Had it not been for the rules of the House I should have explained my vote, or, possibly, I might have claimed that right as a matter of privilege. However, I have no desire to go any further in the matter. All I want to do is to assert that my action all through has been consistent, and is consistent still. My desire is, at the earliest possible moment, to have a "white Australia," and to keep from our shores all coloured labourers of a lower degree of civilization than our own. That is the motive which actuated me in the beginning, and it is the motive which actuates me still. This is not a matter of to-day with me. I have been stumping Queensland for the last twelve or

thirteen years on the question. I can tell those honorable members who advocate the continuance of the traffic, that I have stood up in the streets of Mackay itself, and for two or three hours held forth against the kanaka traffic. There the toast of the day used to be "Down with Griffith," because he attempted to abolish the traffic. But shortly after Sir Samuel Griffith made that attempt, I stood up in the streets of Mackay, and in the presence of hundreds of the people who are most affected, I spoke on this subject, and my remarks were received as heartily there as they were in the southern parts of the State. The honorable member for Brisbane sought to impress on the House that he was returned for an electorate which comprises constituencies represented by labour members in the local Parliament. In contradistinction to that, I want to point out that the electorate I represent returned nine members to the Parliament of Queensland, and every one of these is supporting the Philp Government to-day. There are 72 members returned to the Queensland Parliament, and the Philp Government have a majority. Yet when the whole of these constituencies were polled we found that three-fourths of the members returned to the Federal Parliament were in favour of a white Australia. Under these circumstances can much weight be attached to the argument of the honorable member for Brisbane? Then in the federal electorate of Darling Downs, which was the latest polled in Queensland, only two of the State Parliament representatives are sitting in opposition; all the rest are Ministerial supporters. Yet with the whole weight of the Government of Queensland opposed to him, the honorable member for Darling Downs was sent here to advocate a "white Australia." There can be no question as to the opinion of Queensland, or as to the opinion of the Federal representatives of Queensland. All that the supporters of the kanaka traffic are asking for now is time, and they have been asking for that for the last 20 or 30 years. I have been as long, and perhaps a little longer, a resident of Queensland than the honorable member for Brisbane; and though I was a very young lad when the honorable member came to the State, I was not without a certain amount of observation. I can remember when the first coolies were introduced for the purpose

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of being used in cotton-growing. I have seen them engaged in the work in Northern Queensland, and I have seen them buried there without any more ceremony than is observed in burying a dog. I know of what I am speaking just as much as does the honorable member for Brisbane. As to these kanakas being harmless and docile creatures, I would like to read a letter I have received from a gentleman who was an eye witness of the scenes he describes. I wrote to him for this information, knowing that he had been present, and this is what he sent to me—

In June 1884, at the annual race meeting held in Mackay, between 7th and 14th of that month, a fight between kanakas and whites occurred. In reply to your first query, I saw the first missile thrown by a kanaka, who had been refused a drink by one of the barman at the booth; then a fusilade of bottles came out of the adjacent cane-field. Two or three whites got scalp wounds, and were foolish enough to stand and throw the bottles back at the kanakas. After about ten minutes of this kind of work, the whole of the whites, both on foot and horse-back, made out on to the open course, and the kanakas followed them; and as soon as the blacks were on the open, the whites charged them, the horsemen using their stirrup irons or riding whips, and a large number of kanakas were left lying all about the course wounded; their brains were oozing out of their heads, and with each dying breath they vomited blood. Leaving that scene, I followed the whites as they broke into Raymond's paddock, and there was a large number of kanakas lying bruised and bleeding amongst the cane, whilst the owner was very near frantic at the way the cane was being knocked down. From there I made my way towards Raymond's house, and there were a couple of white men who had followed a kanaka into the house and pulled him out, and gave him a good hiding, he having thrown a missile at a woman riding along the road. The owner took the names of the two whites, and they were afterwards summoned and imprisoned for breaking into Raymond's house. Two supposed ringleaders of the kanakas were also arrested, and they were tried and sent to goal for a couple of months. What led to the fight? For some time previous to the races, the Tanna boys had resolved amongst themselves that they were as good as the white men, and they determined to test the question at the races, viz., they would have grog the same as the whites, and, when refused, the fun began. Who commenced the riot?—The kanakas. Were any whites injured?—Yes. Three were injured sufficiently to require their wounds dressing; but not seriously. Were any kanakas killed?—Yes; saw eight myself. Besides this, J. McLean, who is now working at the State Nursery, Mackay, carried a large number away to the Kanaka Hospital, and Burton, the undertaker, buried the eight. Was there any inquiry?—No, not to my knowledge. Everything was hushed up, except that the Government organ, the *Mercury*, said that three kanakas had been killed, so far as they had been officially informed. The then member

for the district, and Minister of Lands, H. Black, got on the top of the booth, with his two children, for safety. I have sent you this very hurried description, and hope you will pardon the erratic way it is written, but if necessary will give you further particulars after the recess.

That description is furnished by an eye-witness who, from his pugnacity, I know must have taken a pretty active part in the fight. Speaking further of the docility of the kanaka, I should like to refer honorable members to the number of undiscovered murders and other crimes which have occurred in Northern Queensland. Up to 1896 no fewer than seventeen murders had been committed, the perpetrators of which had not been traced.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Over how long a period?

Mr. WILKINSON.—I cannot say. The inference drawn from this fact is that the kanakas, who resemble each other very closely, rush out of the cane-fields and commit outrages, the authors of which it is thus impossible to trace. Despite all attempts to Christianize him the kanaka is still a savage. We cannot eradicate his savage instincts in one or two generations. I have in my mind a kanaka whom I have known for over 30 years. He is a member of the Salvation Army and beats the drum. He stands in the streets and exhorts the white people to repentance, and thinks that he is better than the Europeans. But he is a savage none the less. During the course of this debate the reason has been given why the white people permit certain low classes of women to inhabit the towns in which these kanakas are congregated. I have not been sparing in my denunciation of the Chinese quarters of Melbourne and Sydney, but there are canker spots in Queensland just as there are elsewhere. Where the kanakas are brought here without their women we may depend upon it that there will be a degree of immorality which we in our civilization do not desire to see perpetuated in Australia. Some honorable members have asked for an extension of the period during which the planters shall be able to employ kanakas, in order that the planters may have an opportunity of accommodating themselves to the new set of circumstances. I admired much of that was said the other day by the honorable member for Wentworth. But he pleads for time. I should like to ask that honorable member, as well as the honorable member for Kooyong and the honorable member for Oxley, whether, if they saw one of

their loved ones suffering from a cancer, they would delay the surgical operation which would be necessary to cut the cancer away? Certainly not! They would permit the operation to be performed, and afterwards by tender nursing would endeavour to heal the wound which the knife had made. That is what the Government propose to do. They desire to cut away this cancerous growth from the sugar industry, and afterwards, by offering practically a bonus for sugar grown by white labour, they hope to heal the wound which has been made. They have no desire to kill the sugar industry, but merely wish to get rid of an evil which threatens the life of the Commonwealth. I am proud that I gave a vote the other night in support of a Government which I know to be earnest in its endeavour to bring about a white Australia. I am not a bit ashamed of that vote. The evils regarding the recruiting traffic have already been referred to. Some honorable members say—"Let us continue the recruiting for five years"; others plead for an extension to seven years; and others again favour limiting the period to ten years. I am pleased to admit that the evils of recruiting have been very much diminished of late years. But they have not been entirely abolished, nor can they be. Where many men—some of them utterly unscrupulous—are out upon the ocean plying a trade which brings them gain, we cannot keep them all honest. We may send inspectors to the islands, but we cannot always get honest inspectors. I have in my hand a letter from a man who has been on the "black-birders." He writes—

Looking at this question honestly in the face, one can only come to the conclusion that greed and selfishness are at the bottom of the matter.

The author of this letter is now resident in a sugar district in Southern Queensland. He continues—

I have the journal of a gentleman who was three years sailing amongst the South Sea Islands. He was on a religious mission, and he had time to make observations at each island he visited. There was food everywhere in abundance, and, as the weather is nearly always warm, clothes are very little used. The natives require to labour very little. Fishing, or the planting of a few yams, is about all the work they do. Those who come to Queensland may make a little money, but it is of little use in the islands, so that when about to return they generally expend it in clothes and knickknacks for their friends and relations. The question naturally arises, "If the

islanders have all they require in their own islands, why do they come to Queensland?" Is it to improve their position—to take home money with which to buy land and houses? The thing is absurd. The schooners engaged in this black-birding carry men who are called recruiters. They make arrangements with the chief for so many men or women, and, of course, the chiefs have to get presents. This a recruiter, is a bit lavish over it when he is sure of a good number. Then the relations have to be provided with presents, and, of course, all the grand things which the islanders are to get when they arrive in Queensland are not forgotten, but, of course, the hoe and cane-fields are not mentioned. But, to satisfy those who are not engaged in growing cane in Queensland by kanaka labour, the Queensland Government step in and say that all vessels engaged in this business must carry a Government agent. Simply a farce! He is supposed to explain to the islanders what they are coming or being brought to Queensland for, and the wages they are to get, &c. Now, the cost of keeping one of these vessels at sea is from £70 to £90 per month, according to size, &c. and no time must be wasted in getting a full ship; and if the Government agent is in the way there is one way he can be got rid of. The golden key can open a door when others fail, and I suppose human nature is the same on the high seas as on land. Then, as I told you in a previous letter, there are many kanakas in this State, who, when they left their island homes, did not know what part of the world they were being brought to. The old plan was to heave the schooner to, well off the land, get the islanders to come on board for trade, &c., throw pig iron into the canoe and sink it, and make all sail away with all those on board.

We know that that was the practice in the old times. Proceeding, the writer says:—

We have islanders here who were brought to this country against their will, when they were quite young lads. They have no wish to return, and if they were sent out of the country it would be as great a hardship to them as it was when they were first brought here.

I have every faith in the author of these statements. From whatever standpoint the kanaka traffic is viewed, it is one that Australia should endeavour to get rid of at the earliest possible moment. Before concluding, I wish to say a word or two in regard to the allegation that it is impossible for white men to do the work which is now being performed by kanakas. I have been the guest of a number of Melbourne manufacturers since my arrival in Victoria. Indeed, I have only failed to avail myself of one invitation which was forwarded to me. I visited the Colonial Sugar Refinery works, and there saw men working under worse conditions than prevail in an ill-ventilated coal mine. I saw men working there attired in loin clothes. The atmosphere was not merely only warm but humid. I have never

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seen men in the cane-fields of Queensland working under such conditions. Yet we are told that while white men can perform that sort of work, they cannot work in the cane fields. But it is merely a matter of paying a proper wage, and the men will be forthcoming to do the work. Malarial fever, too, is held up as a sort of scarecrow. I remember when malaria was just as rampant about Moreton Bay as it is to-day around the Johnston River. I remember when my father used to suffer from that fever, but to-day he is still alive and can walk out hand in hand with his great grandchildren. Four generations have lived there, although it was said at the period I refer to that white men could not people that district. Honorable members are aware that in the early history of the Botany Bay settlement, it was said that white men could not thrive there. The settlement was upon the verge of famine on two or three occasions, notwithstanding the fact that it had the rich virgin soil of a continent at its back. It was simply because the people did not try to avail themselves of the advantages which nature had placed at their disposal that they were reduced to such dire extremity. So it is with the planters of Queensland to-day. So long as humanity is cheaper than machinery, humanity will be used. So long as human beings can be procured at a cheaper rate than machinery the planters will not bother about machinery. Necessity is the mother of invention. If we create the necessity, the machinery will come all the quicker. I am perfectly satisfied—as was pointed out by the honorable and learned member for Indi—that just as the cotton gin was introduced in America, so some machine will be invented for the trashing of cane if that trashing be necessary. I know that in the Southern States of America, a machine revolving at a very high rate of speed brushes the cotton. If dry leaf gets into the cotton, there is a machine in use that will separate it from the cotton. Surely that is a much more difficult operation than the trashing of cane in the cane-fields. The people of Australia have declared—and no part of this continent has done so more emphatically than Queensland—that the Commonwealth shall be white. In order that no one shall suffer, the people have willingly said that if it costs more to produce sugar by white labour they are prepared to pay more for it. The proposals of the Government are eminently

fair. In addition to the duty to be imposed on sugar coming into the Commonwealth, they propose to offer a bonus of £2 per ton to those who employ white labour in the industry as against that from the Polynesian Islands, India, China, Japan, and Java. I do not know that I would be justified at this late hour in taking up the time of the House further, but I should like to thank those honorable members, who represent constituencies other than electorates in the State of Queensland, for their advocacy of this measure and their support of the policy of a white Australia. The people of Queensland realize, perhaps more than those of any other State, what the cry means, and I refuse to believe that there is any part of my native country which cannot be peopled and populated by men as good as those who occupy the more temperate portions of the continent. I have travelled from the Gulf of Carpentaria to Wilson's Promontory, but I have not yet seen any part of Australia where the white man could not accommodate himself to the circumstances and surroundings in which he has to work. I have seen white men working on the arid plains of the west, in the jungles along the coast, and in the tropics, and as far as my observation goes they have not degenerated. The honorable member for Kooyong says that the men who do this work may be able to stand it themselves, but that their children will show signs of race deterioration. We can go to these places, however, and see the children of the second and third generation showing no signs of deterioration.

Mr. MAHON.—What did Dr. Ahearn say about the third generation?

Mr. WILKINSON.—I do not take that gentleman as an authority against my own observations.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is the honorable member of the second or third generation?

Mr. WILKINSON.—I am of the third. I am not big physically, but I am one of a family of fifteen, several members of which are over six feet high; and we are all Queensland natives. There is no reason, so far as I can see, why white people should degenerate if they only take care of themselves, and work under proper conditions. It has been pointed out that the hardest work of the cane-fields is done in the coolest months of the year—

Mr. PAGE.—Statistics show that the white men are not deteriorating.

Mr. WILKINSON.—That is so. If, instead of working in the heat of the day, those engaged in the industry were to adopt the system in force in some parts of Europe, and work in the cool of the morning and the evening, they would avoid the great heat which is supposed to be the chief objection to the employment of white men in these localities. Having regard to the assistance which it is going to receive from the Commonwealth Parliament, there is no reason whatever why this industry should be destroyed because of the abolition of kanaka labour. I am sure we are going to give it that assistance, and that the industry will survive the passing of this measure. There is no country which does not possess some territory which cannot be utilized. I have no desire to see the sugar industry of Queensland injured, but, if it came to be a question between its abolition and its perpetuation at the cost of a white Australia, I should say—"Away with the industry, even if it represents seventy millions instead of seven millions of capital." Every country has its deserts, its mountain ranges, and its swamps, and if any portion of Queensland territory is found to be unfit for occupation by white races let it remain as it is. That is the position I take up, for the poet's lines are as true to-day as when they were written—

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

If we admit races to our country which will contaminate the blood that has peopled the world, which has come forth from the northern parts of Europe, and from Great Britain particularly, to cultivate and gladden the waste places of the earth—if we allow any deterioration in that blood—then, I say that, even though wealth may accumulate, our race may well decay.

Debate (on motion of Mr. HIGGINS) adjourned.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

In Committee (Consideration of Senate's amendments):

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the Senate's amendments in amendments Nos. 2 and 8.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat—Attorney-General).—I have already explained these amendments. The first alters the date on

which the Bill shall come into operation from the 1st October to 1st December next, and the second alters the age at which telegraph messengers shall cease to be employed in the department from seventeen to eighteen years.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—I am not going to offer any opposition to the motion, but I think it is a very great pity that the change from seventeen to eighteen years has been made. These youths will be employed in the department until they are eighteen years of age, and it will then be too late for them to learn any trade. While I do not want to hinder the passing of this measure, I think this amendment is an indication that honorable members of another place are not aware of the seriousness of their proposal.

Amendments agreed to.

Motion proposed—

That the committee agree to the Senate's amendment in amendment No. 13.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I think, as we are to object to some amendments, we ought to press for the reconsideration of this matter, which omits paragraph (b) in sub-clause (2) of clause 26, as passed by us. The paragraph deals with newspaper supplements, and was debated by us at great length. As honorable members will recollect, the question relates entirely to the letterpress of these supplements, and the provision, as finally modified by us, was that the letterpress should be set up within the Commonwealth. In view of the importance of the discussion here, I think we should ask the Senate to reconsider its decision.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—With all respect, I should like to ask the Attorney-General how often he is able to change his mind in a day? When he spoke on this subject two hours ago he actually proposed that the committee should accept the amendment made by another place.

Mr. DEAKIN.—No.

Mr. MAHON.—Does the honorable and learned member deny that that is so?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes.

Mr. CROUCH.—The Attorney-General only set out what the amendments were. I did not understand him to say that we should accept this amendment.

Mr. MAHON.—The Attorney-General distinctly referred to the honorable member for Bourke, who, it will be remembered, moved

this amendment to the clause when it was originally before us. He said the honorable member would have no objection to forego this amendment now, and he indicated, so far as it was possible to do so, without committing himself absolutely, that the Government did not intend to ask the committee to dissent from the action of the Senate in this matter.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I indicated that if the committee was prepared to take the whole of the amendments without criticism, and adopt them, I should offer no objection, but not otherwise.

Mr. MAHON.—The Attorney-General appears to be willing to swallow anything, and he thinks the committee has an equally capacious windpipe. I am certainly not going to let this matter pass without a protest. I disagreed with the Government proposal before, as a protectionist dodge. After three or four weeks' consideration, I repeat that this is a protectionist dodge, which will do the Government no good, nor will it help the parties concerned. The Attorney-General is always willing apparently to do everything he possibly can to impose some little protection on the unfortunate people of this Commonwealth. When this matter was being debated by us on a former occasion he actually consented to an amendment, suggested by the honorable member for Bland, that supplements printed from matrices set up by linotype should not be deemed a supplement to a newspaper for the purposes of this measure. It is a difficult matter to explain to honorable members who do not understand the technique of the printing trade, but when I pointed out that we do not print from matrices, but from the stereotyped plates cast from them, the proposal was reluctantly withdrawn. I hope honorable members will coincide with the amendment made by the Senate. I shall divide the committee on this question, if necessary, for I think we ought to have a little respect for the mature judgment of legislators in another place.

Mr. MAUGER.—That will be recorded against the honorable member.

Mr. MAHON.—We have to concede something to them. They have conceded a good deal to us. We need not accept their objections to the use of the words "seditious" and "blasphemous," and I feel sure that such a lover of liberty as the honorable member for Melbourne Ports

would not do so. If it could have been foreseen that the honorable member was to be elected for Melbourne Ports, what a splendid sarcasm that man must have possessed who named that electorate, for it is now represented by an honorable member who does not want a port. He thinks apparently that a harbor is one of the mistakes of Providence, and would erect a barrier across every port in Australia. I hope the committee will see fit to respect the judgment of the Senate, who have conceded many things to us, and have shown a very good spirit towards this branch of the Legislature.

Mr. THOMAS (Barrier).—I think the Government may give way on this point, as a little later on we shall have an opportunity of dealing with the subject of blasphemy, and we may then reasonably ask the Senate to agree with us.

Mr. WATSON (Bland). — Notwithstanding the statements of the honorable member for Coolgardie, who seems to always become very much irritated at the mere mention of protection, I hope the Government will stand by the former decision of this committee. I do not see that there is any force in the argument that we should give way to the Senate.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I hope the Government will not insist upon any alteration in the clause as amended by the Senate. When this matter was discussed in the committee previously, the question of free-trade and protection was unnecessarily raised by the Government supporters. It was not right to introduce an amendment importing the fiscal issue into a purely machinery Bill of this sort. The Attorney-General led honorable members to believe that he would accede to the Senate's amendment upon our amendment, and many honorable members have left the chamber believing that no difficulty would be raised in regard to it. For that reason alone I think the Government ought to give way in this matter.

Question put. The committee divided—

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | ... | 21 |
| Noes | ... | ... | ... | 20 |
| | | | | — |
| Majority | ... | ... | ... | 1 |

Ayes.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Brown, T. | McDonald, C. |
| Conroy, A. H. | Page, J. |
| Cooke, S. W. | Paterson, A. |
| Edwards, G. B. | Poynton, A. |
| Edwards, R. | Reid, G. H. |
| Fisher, A. | Smith, S. |
| Fowler, J. M. | Thomas, J. |
| Fuller, G. W. | Wilks, W. H. |
| Kirwan, J. W. | <i>Tellers.</i> |
| Knox, W. | O'Malley, K. |
| Mahon, H. | Willis, H. |

Noes.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Bamford, F. W. | McLean, A. |
| Barton, E. | Ronald, J. B. |
| Chapman, A. | Sawers, W. B. S. C. |
| Crouch, R. A. | Tudor, F. |
| Cruickshank, G. A. | Watkins, D. |
| Deakin, A. | Watson, J. C. |
| Groom, A. C. | Wilkinson, J. |
| Groom, L. E. | <i>Tellers.</i> |
| Higgins, H. B. | McCay, J. W. |
| Isaacs, I. A. | Salmon, C. C. |
| Mauger, S. | |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion proposed—

That the committee insist upon its amendment, No. 6, disagreed to by the Senate.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I propose to ask the Senate to reconsider this matter, because, although they do not consider it necessary to insert the words proposed by us, the provision is found in all the State Acts, and if it is not included in this Bill there may be considerable doubt as to whether the restrictions now provided for can be any longer imposed. It is desirable that the States should not be placed under any disability in attempting to prevent papers containing undesirable advertisements from being transmitted through the post.

Motion agreed to.

Motion proposed—

That the committee does not insist upon its amendments Nos. 58, 59, 62, 87, 88, and 89 disagreed to by the Senate.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Attention has been called to the fact that in dealing with trees, clause 126 as amended allows either the Postmaster-General or any officer to exercise authority. As a further safeguard, I am willing to agree, on behalf of the Postmaster-General, that the regulations which may be made in this matter shall provide that the officer shall not be an officer of any less rank than an inspector. By that means we get the safeguard of a high officer, and ample time is allowed to a municipality or public body,

who consider their rights affected, to bring their case before the Postmaster-General. Heretofore, officers have dealt with trees at their pleasure, but now notice will have to be given, and a consultation is required.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I do not gather whether the Attorney-General is asking us to agree to the omission of the words "unlawfully or maliciously" in clause 196.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That is what I am asking.

Mr. ISAACS. — Is that not very dangerous?

Mr. DEAKIN.—No. I find that in this city and elsewhere the question of the destruction of telegraph lines is very important. In the moving of buildings and large quantities of furniture in the city, it is the constant practice of carriers to drive deliberately along, to the destruction of the lower lines, and the cost and trouble involved is extreme.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is there any penalty?

Mr. WATSON.—By a proviso inserted in this committee, it is made an indictable offence.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I find that according to the clause, any person who commits a breach of the provision is guilty of an indictable offence, and liable to imprisonment, provided that, if it appear to a justice of the peace, on the examination of the person charged, that it is not expedient in the ends of justice that it shall be prosecuted as an indictable offence, the case may be heard and determined in a summary way, and the penalty is not to exceed £25.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is the "examination" of a man charged with the offence?

Mr. DEAKIN.—I suppose that is intended to refer to the statement made by the person charged. I am assured that this is a constant matter of practical difficulty, and unless some such threat is held over those who have the management of vehicles of height in and around our great cities, it will be impossible to prevent a repetition of these offences.

Motion agreed to.

Reported, that the committee had agreed to some and disagreed with others of the Senate's amendments.

Resolved (on motion of Mr. DEAKIN)—

That the Prime Minister, the Attorney-General, and the Minister for Home Affairs be appointed a committee to draw up a reason for not agreeing to the amendments made by the Senate on amendments Nos. 16, 19, and 20 of the House of Representatives.

Mr. DEAKIN brought up the following reason :—

As to the Senate's amendments to amendments Nos. 16, 19, and 20 — Because of the difficulty of defining "sedition."

Reported adopted.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Mr. REID (East Sydney). — I hope I shall have the indulgence of the House in giving notice of motion at a time when it is out of order to do so. I postponed giving notice in the interests of public business, and now, with the concurrence of the House, I beg to give notice that I shall on Tuesday next move—

(1) That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(I.) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis ;

(II.) because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury ;

(III.) because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue, by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolution be conveyed by address to His Excellency the Governor-General.

ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

Under any circumstances, such a notice of motion as that just presented would render it necessary for me to move the adjournment of the House. I am glad, however, that the right honorable gentleman has taken a course which enables me to concur with him in saving the loss of a day. I trust that the debate on this motion—which, of course, is entitled to full discussion—will be concluded next week, so that, whatever the result may be, we may proceed with the business of the country.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 8.55 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 15 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

DISTINGUISHED VISITOR.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I wish to inform the House that Mr. McArthur, a Member of the British House of Commons, being in the city, I have, anticipating the wish of honorable members, invited him to take a seat on the floor of the chamber.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4).

Royal assent to this Bill reported.

FIFTH VICTORIAN CONTINGENT.

Mr. PAGE.—I wish to ask the Minister for Defence if he has taken any action to get evidence from Major McKnight, of the Fifth Victorian Contingent, in regard to the sentences imposed upon Australian soldiers at Pretoria a few weeks ago?

Mr. BARTON.—May I explain to my honorable friend that, with a motion of censure pending, it is the constitutional practice to suspend the answering of questions by Ministers, but that I have not the least doubt that my right honorable colleague has the matter referred to in view.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Mr. SPEAKER.—My attention has been called to the form of the motion which stands first on the notice-paper to-day. I had some doubt as to whether I could permit the motion to be moved in the House, seeing that it refers to business which is before the Committee of Ways and Means, and which has not yet been reported. After careful thought I have concluded that I shall best be promoting the progress of public business and the public interests by permitting the debate to proceed in the House, with such reference to the business of the committee as may be required from time to time to make matters clear.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I beg to move—

(1) That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

- (a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.
- (b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.
- (c) And because they would, in their operation, destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

I make no sort of apology for the course which I have taken. I believe there has been an attempt in some directions to complicate this issue by a reference to certain measures which are upon the paper, notably the Immigration Restriction Bill and the Pacific Islanders Bill. Thanks to the precise statistics of the Attorney-General, in reference to the Immigration Restriction Bill, we now know that it was practically decided upon many months ago. And considering that it was the most vital of the whole list of Government measures—the one calling for promptest action—I do not feel that I am to blame, because it stands on the business paper in an incomplete state. It was entirely within the power of the Government to have had the measure passed into law long ago, and also to have had the somewhat more complicated measure connected with the kanakas put through long ago. But inasmuch as the House is solid as to the necessity for legislation in each case, although we differ radically on certain matters, I do not see that I am to be blamed because I am performing my duty in reference to the fiscal policy of the Government at the only time when I can perform it, that being when they submit their proposals to the House. They have fixed for me the time at which I have to deal with this matter; I have not fixed it for myself. Although I think their proposals are a sufficient challenge in themselves, I should like

to say that the Minister for Trade and Customs, in a manner that was the reverse of conciliatory, challenged this side of the House to assert their principles, and to bring this conflict on. I do not at all say that any challenge was necessary, and that is generally the time when such challenges are offered; but still, there it is. I suppose there is no one throughout the length and breadth of Australia who will not admit that I am taking a proper constitutional course. I also have the belief that it will, in the result, save public time. I believe that this discussion will prevent a great many speeches being made in committee, and if it have that result that in itself will be a saving of time. Now, coming to the performance last Tuesday of the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs, a task that required their united efforts is one of a somewhat serious character, and I feel sure that the House will show me a considerable degree of patience and courtesy in dealing with their statements. The Cabinet have made no secret of the fact that their energies have been almost exhausted in the task of preparing this Tariff and financial policy. Although they have had all the skilled assistance which the Government service could afford, I have to deal with their proposals without that assistance, but whether it is a source of congratulation or not, the fact remains that it is not at all difficult to deal with them. In the first place, I cannot congratulate the Treasurer upon his share in this financial statement. I have lost no opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great service which the Treasurer has rendered to the State of Victoria in putting her finances upon a sound basis. Therefore it is not with any desire to disparage the right honorable gentleman that I make these remarks. But I regret to find in the Treasurer of the Commonwealth a very different Minister from the Treasurer who so successfully steered Victoria through a difficult crisis. the honorable gentleman takes up a position with reference to the Estimates of expenditure which he has submitted to which I shall refer later on. Now, as to the Minister for Trade and Customs, I think it was an unhappy decision which introduced him into the arena at so early a stage in the proceedings. No one denies the fighting powers of my right honorable friend, but the usual result of a first-class display from

him is the creation of an enormous amount of dust, and at the beginning of an historical debate of this sort the less dust we have the better. Therefore, I should very much have preferred the simpler methods of the Treasurer to those of the Minister for Trade and Customs, who always seems to me in his peculiar elocution and effects like a lion-tamer in a poultry yard. The methods of the right honorable gentleman are magnificent, and would be appropriate if he were dealing with some wild kings of the forest in a menagerie, but when he has only tame and docile Members of Parliament to speak to, it seems to me that his methods are somewhat above the situation. The right honorable gentleman was never more magnificent than he was in his speech on the Tariff, and the only thing the right honorable gentleman never referred to during the several hours occupied by his speech was the Tariff. Now, if the Treasurer had given us the main principles upon which this fiscal policy was founded, or if he had given us some information as to the Tariff, that might have been passed by; but the fact remains that whilst this House and the country were anxious to have a clear exposition of the effects of this remarkable Tariff, it was the last thing the Treasurer offered us. He told us he had prepared a return which had classified the items in the Tariff into sixteen divisions; but even those who are familiar with Tariffs must have found it very difficult to follow the arrangements of the right honorable member. However, there the Tariff is, and we have had some time to look at it. One of the chief merits the Minister for Trade and Customs claimed for this Tariff was that there was no insidious drag-net about it, but that it was a plain, straightforward document. Now this Tariff contains more drag-nets under the mysterious initials of "N.E.I." than any Tariff I am acquainted with, and some of the duties which are buried under these initials are of a somewhat remarkable character. I shall refer to them presently; but, I think, since I have to deal with the whole matter in as brief a form as possible, that before I come to the Tariff it is only right that I should make some reference to matters which we should not forget upon an occasion of this sort. I think honorable members will forgive me in the first place if I have a word or two to say with reference to the State I represent. It is

well known that the people of New South Wales—free-traders as they are—to a certain extent sacrificed their fiscal belief in order to help on the great enterprise of federal union. They were prepared to take what fortune had in store for them, believing from the many assurances they had received, that whatever the fiscal policy of the Federal Government might be, there was very little probability that it would be of an extreme character. That is the belief under which the people of New South Wales entered this union. They also entered the union the most lightly taxed people through the Customs—or even, taking the whole of our taxation, the most lightly taxed people in the world. They entered this Commonwealth with all the industries in the State in a thoroughly free and healthy condition. Even their manufacturing industries showed none of that ominous dependence upon those principles of fiscal policy from which some people in other parts of Australia hope so much; and as a result we had manufacturing industries which were able to face the world, and to increase the number of male operatives at a much faster rate than was possible in Victoria under the other policy. We had that broad set of facts before us. Now, in New South Wales we should be paying, under this Tariff, 36 per cent. of the whole of the taxation of the Commonwealth. I think that is a matter that is not altogether unworthy of notice on a great occasion of this sort. The people of New South Wales came freely and generously into this Commonwealth, believing, at any rate, that they would be called upon to pay a fair amount towards the revenue; but now, through the length and breadth of that State there is a universal strong feeling of indignation that the men whom the people had intrusted to safeguard their interests should have acted in a manner to excite the astonishment of their closest political supporters. There is no part of Australia where that feeling is stronger than in that portion represented by the Prime Minister, because the strongest free-traders, not only in that part of the State, but throughout the length and breadth of New South Wales, relied on the Prime Minister to insure that whatever changes were made should be of a thoroughly moderate character. That was the feeling of reliance that was placed in the Ministry. But we know to-day how the Tariff has been received

in that part of Australia. There is one manufacturer who has already sent a testimonial to the Ministry—who has congratulated them—and I think his action is explained by the fact that he is expecting to make a fortune out of this remarkable Tariff. I am afraid, however, that congratulations of that sort will not carry much political weight with them. I should like to give the Prime Minister's words, so that there may be no inaccuracy. In the Maitland speech the people were told by the Prime Minister—

Our protection must be moderate, because prohibition or excessive protection will lead to the prevention of that access of revenue which is absolutely necessary for the proper government and security of the Commonwealth.

I think I shall be able to show, and I am sure experience will show, that this Tariff has been so constructed that Ministers have exhibited an absolute disregard of the interests and stability of the public revenue—that their proposals are artificial to the highest degree, and are fatal to anything like a stable, increasing, and elastic Customs revenue in this Commonwealth. The Prime Minister said—

What is the issue, then? Shall we raise revenue without regard to the effect?

I say that is exactly what the Government have done in the Tariff before us. They have submitted proposals ostensibly for revenue, without any regard for the effect which they will produce. It will not be difficult to show that even the largest lines of revenue, which free-traders and protectionists alike almost agree to put outside the pale of fiscal controversy, are most dangerously imperilled by the proposals of the Government. There was another remarkable statement made by the Prime Minister on that occasion:—

Shall we pile all the duties on the cottager and the artisan?

That is exactly what the Prime Minister has done, as I shall be able to show. Honorable members will understand that I am at present making general observations, which I propose to prove at a later period of my address. I quite admit it is not enough for me to make a statement of that sort, but I shall satisfy honorable members later on that my statement is absolutely correct—that the Prime Minister has piled the burden of these duties upon the cottager and the artisan. But I always speak with reservation in reference to the Prime Minister, because no one has ever accused

him of any knowledge or study of matters of this sort. This is not the Prime Minister's Tariff. I believe that, with the most careless attention from the Prime Minister, he would have been more successful than those who have been the master minds in the construction of this Tariff. We know the master minds of this Tariff, although they come under the initials of "N.E.I." We know the master spirits who have been framing this Tariff; and I need not go further than the Minister for Trade and Customs. We all know his great ability; but I do not suppose there is a man in Australia who would pick this distinguished public man out to ask his advice on a matter of industrial concern on which any one would risk a £5 note. There is no business man in Australia, who is studying the interests of the smallest industry, who would stake, on that Minister's judgment, the smallest amount of currency. I shall not insult the Ministry by saying that they have been open to improper influences; I shall not, for a moment, impute anything of that sort. Ministers had a very delicate task to perform, and I hope they will be able to say that they have kept men who have a personal interest in this Tariff at as great a distance as they possibly could. I feel sure, at least I hope, that is so; because if persons interested in the Tariff were admitted to the counsels of Ministers, I think a few people who are interested in paying the taxation ought also to have been admitted, in which case, I guarantee, the result would have been highly beneficial. Now we come to the proclamation made by the Treasurer—a proclamation of free-trade. It came slowly and heavily from the lips of the Minister for Trade and Customs, did this proclamation of free-trade. What does it mean? It means that, so far as all Australians are concerned, their one ambition and desire was that there should not be the slightest obstacle thrown in the way of their commercial freedom, and upon that part of free-trade we have our friends, who bring down this remarkable Tariff, joining with us in the applause which greets the beginning of free commercial intercourse throughout the length and breadth of Australia. But to rejoice in an instalment of free-trade of any kind and to place this Tariff of the Ministry on the table, argues an elasticity of political principle which is without precedent. The fact of the matter is that Ministers went before Australia on

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this basis—"Our main anxiety will be the production of revenue, and that the burdens levied on the people of Australia shall go into the public Treasury to defray the expenses of government; we shall regard protection, but not as protection was regarded by some honorable members and distinguished men ten or twenty years ago. Ten or twenty years ago they fought for protection as if it were the one influence that would carry prosperity and industrial greatness throughout Australia. Twenty years ago people were asked to take these burdens on themselves, assured that if they did so, the future industrial destinies of Australia were placed on a stable, progressive, and flourishing basis." But now, with the experience which has been borne in on Australians, and with the vicissitudes of hard times, we see a different attitude upon the Ministerial benches and in the Ministerial manifestoes with reference to protection. It is no longer the conquering principle that is to make Australia great. No; the Prime Minister speaks of protection as if she were a shivering mendicant to whom some sort of charitable feeling must be shown. That is the change which has come over the advocates of protection—I do not say in some parts of Australia, but I think in nearly all. The position that protection can make a country great has been abandoned, and now protection figures on the list of charitable objects—she has become an object of charitable concern. "Shall we strangle these infants that have been struggling for 30 years in an attempt to become manly and strong? Shall we not save them—shall we not, to some extent, do something to prevent the pattering of bare feet along the streets of Australia?" The highest ideal of the mission which the Prime Minister had in reference to protection was to save the little feet of Australia from pattering bare along the streets in front of deserted factories. I am happy to say that our cause stands upon a much stronger footing. We do not ask for a sound revenue Tariff on the basis of charity. We ask for it as a right of the people of all classes and of all industries, and we say as to charity—"We are as charitable as you, but we help, instead of entangling, the industries of the people in similar restraints and similar disastrous expedients, which lead to mendicancy, and destroy self-reliance and individual life; our assistance will be of a

strictly charitable character." Charity is a grand thing, which, whether in political life or private life, dignifies human existence. But the most charitable men as a rule are those who make charity a different thing from business management and business enterprise. Men who mix charity up in their business are men who never have money to give away in charity. Too sharp a line can never be drawn between the business interests and business concerns of the community and the cause of charity. Yes, we are all charitable; but none of us wish to tie burdens on the young industries of Australia in the name of charity. None of us wish to strangle our great pioneer industries in order to keep alive some of those who cannot assert their right to live. It is impossible to extend charity unless you draw on some one's pocket, and it is the worst form of charity which draws upon the pockets of the farmer, the miner, and the pioneer settler in order to maintain a number of artificial industries, which are surrounded by all the comforts and enjoyments of life. The Treasurer, with that superficial assurance of language, which imposes so much on gentlemen who are disposed to agree with him, proclaimed in triumphant terms that "Free-trade is with us." This was a glorious announcement to some of us. It was highly theatrical, but still it was a noble pronouncement—"Free-trade is with us." We cheered that announcement, and my right honorable friend saw some significance in those cheers. It occurred to him that there was something supremely ridiculous in the statement of a man who was about to table this Tariff, talking of free-trade, as productive of national benefit. Thereupon he made this qualification. He added—"Free-trade amongst the people of States subscribing to the same conditions of life." A very fine platitude! An able, a broad, an equal pronouncement! Do we not know, Mr. Speaker—not we, perhaps, but do not the people of Australia know—the variety that exists in the conditions of life prevailing in this young Continent of Australia? Do we now know the difference there is between enjoying the comforts of life, and the shorter hours of labour, in these protected industries in the great cities of the sea-coast, with their trams, their theatres, and their gin palaces—do we not know the difference between those conditions of life and the conditions of life

which surround the men who are building up the true greatness of Australia in the interior districts of this continent? There is an idea amongst men of shallowness in politics that once you have a political constitution that gives to every man, and perhaps to every woman, a vote, the conditions of life are made equal. But do we not know, in this young country, as also in the great republic of the United States, even though the Constitution speaks in language which seems to point to an equal share of rights and advantages, that in the working out of the great development of Australia there are hundreds of thousands of people living upon the sea-coast of this vast Commonwealth who do not have the same burdens upon them as are cast upon others in the wilds of the continent? There are no crops to fail in Melbourne and Sydney. There are here none of those vicissitudes which make one feel that men who go out upon the soil of the interior and make homes for themselves, not only have not the same conditions of life as those in the cities, but are men whose lot in life and whose lot in labour we should make as easy as we can. What is the use of a free and equal franchise if men have not free and equal treatment in all those things which make the money they earn less or more valuable to them? What is a man's toil, after all, but that which is represented in coin at the end of his week's work? For money is the medium by which he buys for himself and his family the necessaries of life. Unless we make a man's coin and his wages go as far as they honestly ought to go in the battle of life, we do not treat that man fairly—we do not treat him equally. My indictment against this Tariff—an indictment upon which it will be condemned throughout the length and breadth of Australia; because this is not the end of the battle in the Commonwealth—this is the beginning of the battle—is upon this ground. I see no mark of deformity and of injustice upon this Tariff greater than the way in which artificial industries are treated, as compared with the manner in which the pioneer industries of Australia are treated. When I speak of artificial industries, I speak of industries which notoriously have to come to the Treasury for money to keep them alive. I do not care what the industry is so long as it pays its own way. And surely 30 years of this benevolent policy in Victoria might have made more self-reliant some of these

industries which are supposed still to require such strong nourishment? Do not let it be thought for a moment, Mr. Speaker, that I have any feeling or desire to bring suffering upon the artisans of this great city of Melbourne. The strength of my belief in the policy I advocate stands upon the best of all foundations. It has been tried amongst the artisans of Sydney. Will any one say that the artisans of Sydney are more intelligent, more industrious, than those of Melbourne? Victorians will not say so. Yet these artisans who are the objects of derision on the part of some Victorian authorities on protection, are asking for no Tariff protection. They are asking for none of your benevolence. They ask to be left alone. I have received a letter, Mr. Speaker, which came to me without the slightest knowledge on my part that such a letter was to be addressed to me. I am going to read it in order to draw a contrast between a manufacturing industry which has had to fight its way under natural conditions, and the same industry which has been drawn to its position of mendicancy along a dreary path of benevolence. Sometimes benevolence is a thing that corrodes a man more than anything else in the world. Sometimes the receipt of the pauper's dole does more to demoralize a man or an industry than competing with the cheap labour of the world. As I have said, Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter, not from some political economist, but signed by the three largest manufacturers in Australia in an industry which is a free-trade industry in New South Wales—the manufacture of boots and shoes. It is an important industry in Victoria; it has become an equally important industry in New South Wales, employing a very large number of hands. I received this letter yesterday, signed, as I say, by the three largest boot manufacturers of Australia, employing close upon 1,000 hands between them. One employs 303 hands, another 345 hands, and the third 320 hands; and the letter is also signed by the largest manufacturer of slippers in Australia, Mr. S. Solomon, who employs, in that small line of industry, 95 hands. This is the letter they have addressed to me :—

Sydney, 11th October, 1901.

Sir,—We, the undersigned boot manufacturers, desire to enter, through you, a strong protest

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against the duties now sought to be imposed by the Federal Government. Our reasons are briefly :—Each of our businesses has been successfully established under free-trade, and we wish to emphasize this very important fact, that under this policy we have developed the three largest boot factories and one largest slipper factory in the Commonwealth.

Should information be needed to confirm the above statement, we should be most happy to forward it, but we do not think what has been stated will be controverted.

Under federation we recognise there must be a Tariff, and in our opinion 15 per cent. *ad valorem* is the maximum that would be revenue producing on boots and shoes.

Now, there is a clear issue. Here are manufacturers in New South Wales paying the same wages—without a wages board, without any scientific appliances to force something out of the manufacturers for the benefit of the workers—as are paid in Victoria, and here are men getting the same wages by their own strength. They do not need to beseech Parliament to give them strength to fight their employers. They fight them in the open, and beat them. I suppose that to the average man that simple fact has more political philosophy in it than any other fact in the world. In what countries can men fight capital in the open? They can fight them in the open in England! The great trades unions of England can stand up against the great capitalistic combinations of Great Britain and win. When the workers of America—behind the enormous barricades which were to make them prosperous and strong and self-reliant—strike, some of them are shot down and others are fined for contempt of court. They have a remarkable contrivance in the United States for dealing with labour troubles. An employer has only to go before a Judge and declare on affidavit that he apprehends some trouble with his workmen, and an order is pronounced by the Judge forbidding the workmen to make that trouble. If the difficulty comes along, then the workmen are guilty of contempt for disobeying the injunction of the court. Such are the benefits and blessings which labour gets behind the giant barricades erected in the United States of America. But in New South Wales, in the very trade I have mentioned, the men receive maximum wages without any compulsion except that of their own strength and manhood. I will read to honorable members an explanation of some of the duties proposed by this Government, which professes to have some regard not only for revenue,

but for the ordinary humanity of taxation. What is the principle of humanity that should underlie taxation as far as possible? It is that the burdens of the State should be made to press upon the different classes of the community, in proportion to their ability to bear those burdens. That is the rule which lies at the root of every sound principle of taxation; and that is the principle which is flouted again and again in the tariff proposed by this Government. I take now the difference between the manufacturers of New South Wales, who only wish to be let alone, and the position of the industry under the duties which this Government propose upon men and women's boots and shoes. I have obtained this information from one of the largest business houses in Melbourne, and it is the result of actual working. A duty of 20s. a dozen and 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on men's boots and shoes, sizes above 5, ranges, according to my authority, from 33 per cent. to 61 per cent. The worst of it is that the 61 per cent. duty is on the boots of the poor, and the 33 per cent. is on boots worn by the well-to-do. If that is a principle of taxation which this House is going to establish, we shall become a first-class conservative body right away—a first-class old tory protectionist body. We shall have the old tory policy of England blossoming again upon young Australia. There are twelve grades of value in boots, ranging from 3s. 9d. per pair, up to 10s. The boots at 3s. 9d. a pair, and those a little above that price, are the boots which the masses of the people wear. It is the 61 per cent. *ad valorem* duty which is to be imposed upon them, while the 33 per cent. duty is to be put on the boots that cost 10s. per pair. I ventured to predict, a day or two before the tariff was published, that the true iniquity of it would be concealed under some disguise; that the Government would not have the courage to come forward and put on *ad valorem* duties, and let the public know what they had to pay. Hence this discovery of what the Treasurer calls a composite rate. There is no composite rate for silks and velvets and gloves. Twenty per cent. is thought to be quite enough for gloves and 15 per cent. for silks and velvets. There is no complication in those cases. Straightforward *ad valorem* duties are fixed. But the boots of the masses of the people must be caught on a specific duty of 20s. a dozen pairs first, and then

the Government clap on the duty—which is payable on silks, velvets, and gloves—of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. I come now to women's boots. Their prices range from 3s. 9d.—I mean the average quality that are sold in the shops—to 9s. 6d. a pair. On the boots at 3s. 9d. per pair the duty is 50 per cent. *ad valorem*; on the 9s. 6d. boots it is 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. If the Prime Minister in his speech at Maitland had told the people of New South Wales that he was going to put 60 per cent. on the cheap boots and shoes of the men and women of New South Wales, he would not have been here to-day; he would not have been in his present position to-day. He would be scouted as a public man. This, however, is a composite rate, and it is hoped that the public will not see what that means. Twenty shillings a dozen pairs! How cheap that seems. Why, it is dirt cheap! And yet beneath it there is this monstrous inequality. Let us contrast the position of manufacturers and their men fighting the world with good machinery—good machinery is necessary in order to do that; but any sort of old machinery will do when there is a fence put round the people—with that protection which appals the champion of the industries of Victoria, the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, with its absolute insufficiency. This sort of thing absolutely shocks him. The people of Victoria are accustomed to take protection neat, and this Tariff is a sort of blend. But blend as it is it is too strong for the people of Australia, and proceeds on a wrong principle. "Oh," it may be said, "but just look at the difference. The people who come in and buy a pair of boots at 10s. pay 15 per cent on the difference between the 3s. 9d. and the 10s. boots, in addition to the specific rate." I think it is a simple fact, which no honorable member will deny, no matter on what side he sits, that, once a man gets above a certain basis of income, it is absolutely impossible for the Customs duties to seriously affect him. A man with £1,000 or £2,000 a year can look upon duties on boots and shoes with absolute contempt. What are the boots which he wears in a year, and how much more do they cost him? Practically nothing! But the mass of the people of the country are those to whom the price of men's, women's, and children's boots is a very serious matter of concern, because they

have to pay out of a fund which goes every week. Their capital goes each week. It appears and vanishes from week to week. It may excite the ridicule or laughter of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, because it has been a source of good capital to him.

Mr. MAUGER.—I wish it had.

Mr. REID.—It has been the very best investment the honorable member has ever made, or is ever likely to make, and I point to him as a gentleman who can afford to laugh at these little matters of detail. They are sources of profit to him.

Mr. WATSON.—Did you mention the names of these manufacturers?

Mr. REID.—Yes. Enoch Taylor, John Hunter and Son Limited, McMurtrie and Company Limited, and S. Solomon.

Mr. MAUGER.—But who is the Victorian informant?

Mr. REID.—I obtained these facts from one of the biggest firms in Melbourne, and I do not suppose that they would invent them. I obtained the rates of the incidence of the Tariff upon men's, women's, and children's boots from one of the highest authorities in Melbourne, who guarantees their accuracy. I wish to point out a matter which honorable members who represent other States will probably find of more importance than do those who represent New South Wales. The Treasurer laid upon the table of the House a list showing the duties hitherto operating in the other States. That list would induce honorable members who come from Western Australia, Tasmania, Queensland, and South Australia to think—"Oh, this is very much what we are accustomed to in our own States." But they will see the vast difference which comes over the Tariff—the Victorian Tariff—as a subject for criticism, when it was a Tariff for Victoria and the Victorian Tariff now that it has become a Tariff for Australia. There is all the difference in the world. These duties in Queensland, Western Australia—certainly in Tasmania, and even to some extent in South Australia—were imposed for revenue producing purposes, and they produce large amounts to Tasmania, Western Australia, and Queensland. But these States will now become a shooting preserve for the manufacturers of Melbourne and Sydney. The Tariff as it affects the other States is crinkled up into ashes. Australia will now become a preserve for the manufacturers of these two great overgrown

cities. We have not asked for it upon our side, but if it is forced upon us our business men will take full advantage of it. We cannot blame them for that. But these young States with their pioneer industries had this satisfaction—that if the miner had to pay a high price his money went into the Queensland Treasury, in discharge of his duty to the country in which he earned his living. But a Tariff of £9,000,000 for Australia which is built up in this way means £9,000,000 for Australia and £9,000,000 more for Melbourne and Sydney.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—More than that.

Mr. REID.—More than that, I believe. The business men assure me that for every £1 which goes into the Treasury under this Tariff more than another £1 will disappear in a hundred other mysterious directions.

Sir PHILIP Fysh.—Nonsense.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend is a merchant and does not care what is the policy, because he will make money out of it.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—I hope he did not get anything out of bond.

Mr. REID.—No, he would not do that. He is a merchant and he must know that what I am stating is correct. He must realize that under this Tariff the great bulk of the benefit will go to the large manufacturers of the great cities of Australia.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Quite true.

Mr. REID.—Does it not appeal to common sense? We shall have an enormous amount of money taken out of the pockets of the people, which will go to others better off than themselves. Is not the artisan of Melbourne and Sydney better off than is the bush boundary rider, or, at any rate, the average miner in Victoria? If we look over the lines of labour in Australia we shall find that, if we ought to stretch a point at all, we ought to stretch it on behalf of those men who are out in the bush. I believe in fair play all round. But this Tariff does not only not give fair play, but it makes the preponderance of benefit go to those who already have the bulk of advantage. Honorable members from the other States must see that in dealing with this Tariff they have to face a very different question from dealing with a Tariff upon the same lines when the States were separate and independent. I wish to deal with the question of the sugar

duties. That is a matter which I admit is entangled with a number of other subjects which are not questions of ordinary fiscal concern. I am prepared to follow the Government upon the question of the advantage of having sugar grown by white labour if we can only work out that problem. I will not go more fully into the matter now, but I have a very strong suspicion that, unless there is a bounty given direct by the Government to the farmer, the wrong man will get it. There is a vast monopoly in Australia known as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company which makes enormous profits out of the Victorian fiscal philosophy. That company admires the Victorian Tariff. They have made hundreds of thousands of pounds out of the people in Melbourne, though the latter do not grow sugar cane. They have established a mammoth monopoly in Australia. I desire to see all these profits go to the farmers. I am prepared, in order to promptly settle the question of the employment of kanakas, to accept the proposals of the Government upon that subject. But in doing away with kanaka labour we are imposing a great burden upon the people of Australia.

Mr. PAGE.—They are willing to bear it.

Mr. REID.—I believe that they are, otherwise I should not support the Government proposals. But this is a matter which will have to be revised after the kanaka has gone, and after a fair interval of time has elapsed. When Ministers try to entangle the kanaka question with this great question I think that they get below the level of high-minded politics. Surely the kanaka question need not be entangled with a matter affecting the industrial destiny of this country? Surely when we have driven the black man out of Australia we are not going to poison our own system of industry? It was said over and over again that the Kanaka Bill was intertwined with the Tariff, and it was brought on ostentatiously just before the Tariff was introduced. Surely we can do an act of justice to Queensland in this matter, and do our duty about the kanaka without mixing up with it matters of high national concern that affect the people for all time? I think we might, and I propose to do it. Now I come to another matter which must be of great importance to members of this Chamber, and again apart from the fiscal question. Let us again remember those solemn assurances that

were directed to the tax-paying people of Australia when this enterprise of national union was recommended to them for acceptance. Was it not with unrivalled force and ability from the leading journals and leading public men of Australia pointed out to them that by establishing this Commonwealth, by giving to one central power a multitude of functions of government, which six independent powers were at the time discharging at great loss and inconvenience, instead of adding to the burdens of the people their burdens would in that way be lightened; that the atmosphere would be cleared and that we should have established in this Commonwealth an orderly system of government—things national under the national Government, and things provincial under the provincial Governments—which was to place the finances of the Commonwealth and the finances of the States upon a fair and economical foundation? Was not that the assurance of our public men to the people of Australia? Are we going to carry it out? Are we going to feel in this Chamber some sort of lingering consciousness of the solemn obligations into which we entered with the people who sent us here? Now, I test the financial policy of this Government on the question of extravagance, and I denounce it. I shall now show the different gentleman with whom we have to deal in Sir George Turner, the Commonwealth Treasurer, and the Treasurer who earned so much proper credit in administering the finances of Victoria. Who could have expected that he would stand at this table, as he did, and submit to us estimates of expenditure running up to large amounts, which he was at pains to tell us had been inflated by the States for several years past, which he was at pains to tell us by returns in the matter of defence had been increased in three or four years from a total of £522,000 for all Australia, to a total, which he submits, of £882,080, an increase of 70 per cent.! We know it is not the Treasurer. He stands there as a Minister, and has to take his share of responsibility. I do not see him in that, I see the extravagance of the Cabinet in it. It was not a man of his calibre who should have come to this table and have said he was submitting inflated estimates of public expenditure, but that he hoped with our assistance to reduce them. It was a question, he said, of whether he should wait until the Commandant came, and

he decided in favour of waiting till the Commandant came. I say we may have a procession of commandants through all eternity, and they will not lighten our military expenditure. I say again that these estimates of expenditure are admittedly inflated and admittedly extravagant, and yet the Government put them before us for our acceptance. So that, out of their own mouths, I convict them of submitting extravagant estimates of expenditure. I go now away from expenditure to revenue, and here we find a singular difference of treatment, which has, I think, a clear motive in it. We have the Treasurer putting his estimates of expenditure on the basis of the year 1900, which, he says, was an abnormally inflated year, and then he points to the year 1899 as supplying the right basis for a revenue year. When we come to consider imports and exports, the Treasurer says that there were imports to the value of £41,000,000 in 1900, but that we must take a number of millions off that, and get back to the year 1899. Why? Because the smaller the amount of estimates, the nicer high duties will look, and the more absolutely they will impress themselves upon us. I quite admit that there was an inflation to some extent, but I regard the amount at which the right honorable gentleman has fixed the inflation—£4,000,000—as absolutely ridiculous. Now there was a process of unloading going on at the same time, and no allowance seems to have been made for that. There was a very large amount of unloading going on in Australia in connexion with these proposals. I look upon the allowance of £4,000,000 for inflation as extravagant, and I also point out that no allowance is made for normal increase in three years. We know that the history of our trade for the last six years has shown strong increases year after year, but no allowance for normal increase is made, and we are taken back to 1899 to make the basis as narrow as possible for imports in order to make the high duties seem more absolutely necessary. I think that the Treasurer's estimates, whoever prepared them, are inaccurate in that respect. I shall mention one or two matters which, I think, show that the reductions made by the Treasurer were excessive. He allowed £4,000,000 for inflation of values, and £2,500,000 for loading up. Well, I have said there was an unloading process, and I

Mr. Reid.

believe that the loading up did not amount to so much.

Mr. WATSON.—I think it did amount to a little in New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—So far as I can learn the loading up has been in connexion with a few items, and has not been general. The best information I can get is that the amount stated is excessive. I pass the gold and specie and Government goods, as I take the Treasurer's estimates for them. I now come to the allowance for the free list of £6,500,000. I appeal to the common sense of this Chamber, in view of the facts I have referred to, as to the condition of our industries in the interior—because, do not forget that they have not 61 per cent. to protect them. They have to fight against India, against the Argentine Republic, and against Russia, in the markets of the world. Their prices are made for them thousands of miles away, in the desperate conflict with the cheap producing countries of the world. They cannot help themselves—and are these the men upon whom we are going to put more handicaps? Are the men who are struggling to keep your great farming industry alive, the men on whom you will pile up burden upon burden for the rice and the starch of Melbourne—for the hats, the boots, and the shoes, and a thousand and one things here? There is no clap-trap after all about referring to the farmers. My honorable friends opposite have spoken about them often enough when they wanted to put duties on. When they wanted to reconcile them to the bitter dose, they dosed them enough with attention. I am going to give them a little attention with the honest desire to lighten their burdens. I take this free list, and what do I find? There is a special return which looks more like a page in a scientific encyclopædia. One or two healthy items in it would do a world of good. Where are agricultural machinery and implements? They are in the 15 per cent. *ad valorem* list—the duty on silks, velvets, and furs. Agricultural implements and machinery is a little item which might stand among that six million pounds of imports which the Government set aside for the free list. The same with the appliances used in a hundred other industries in the interior. And then, under the “N.E.I.,” some of the heaviest duties are imposed—duties which are being discarded by the common sense of Victoria.

Victoria found out the exquisite absurdity of putting duties on the refrigerating machines which are used to keep the temperature of the butter factories steady, so as to increase the value of the product. Victoria had a duty, and abolished it some years ago. New Zealand had a duty, and abolished it a little time ago. The Federal Government bring it in as a new duty—25 per cent. under “N.E.I.” I am not going to take up the time of honorable members with details just now. They will pardon me for mentioning one or two illustrations. There is one, which is brought in in that way. Surely, in that wonderfully constructed free list there might be room for the agricultural machinery of Australia, because remember, although agriculture was once Victorian, we are now dealing with the agriculture of Australia. We are trying to speed the plough over hundreds of thousands of fertile acres in all parts of this continent. That is the broad prospect before us. That is the field on which these proposals will work, and surely the Government might have put these things on the free list—not to be touched by the tax-gatherer. I, of course, shall be told that the farmers of Victoria will derive an enormous amount of benefit from these duties. I should like to mention what was the position of the Victorian farmer in the year 1888 on the authority of the highest protectionist publication here. This is the statement thirteen years ago—

The greatest consideration which can be given to the farmers is to protect them in whatever department their produce has yet to compete with imports in the local markets. About the only item in which this competition takes place is stock, and it is only natural that, in respect to this, the farmers should demand and receive effective protection.

There was nothing that could be added to the benefits which protection could confer upon them thirteen years ago but the stock tax. Their stock tax has been taken away from them by federation. I would ask honorable members—because this is a test of policies, and we are in a position to compare them in two adjacent States—to listen to this picture drawn a few days ago by the leading protectionist newspaper in Victoria—and it may be accurate sometimes—of the farming industry—

There has been, during the last twenty years, an increase of our rural population, and a multiplication of agencies for dealing with the products

of the country, but has there been a corresponding development of production? Agricultural statistics give us a startlingly unsatisfactory answer to this question. As comparatively little as possible in the way of taking up new lands, expansion depends to a great extent upon securing larger returns from those already under occupation. It is precisely this kind of agricultural improvement that there is no evidence of in our statistical returns. On the contrary, startling proofs are available of a retrograde movement. Of the 36,500,000 acres of land under occupation in Victoria, only 3,824,898 acres is cultivated. In 1881 the area was 1,997,943 acres, so that we have taken twenty years to double the area of cultivation. That we have now reached a period of still slower progress is shown by the fact that the cultivated area was 3,877,922 acres three years ago. While the acreage increased last year, there was a falling-off of 329 in the number of cultivated holdings. The returns of last season showed an increase of oats to the extent of 91,409 acres, and hay to the extent of 61,916 acres; but there were decreases on all other important crops—wheat, 148,372 acres; barley, 20,715 acres; maize, 1,648 acres; peas and beans 4,421 acres; potatoes, 16,992 acres; onions, 1,621 acres; with a falling off also in rye, mangolds, beet, other roots, hops, and tobacco.

The last argument was, “Well, it is true things are disappointing, but wait until we get Inter-State free-trade; wait until the Victorian farmer has the run of the Australian continent, and then you will see the giant strides he will make.” But in the very dawn of this great change, when this free Australia is about to be opened to the enterprise of manufacturers and farmers of Victoria, what is their position, their attitude? Do we find a trace of buoyancy, excitement, enterprise? Do we find a single wing being added to a Melbourne factory, a single brick being put on another brick to reap this rich harvest from the simple free-traders of Australia? No. Farmers, according to this, the chief protectionist paper, a day or two ago, are in a retrograde condition, manufacturers any thing but jubilant. On the other side we find factories, houses, rents going up—not that that is a good thing in itself, but still it is a sign of prosperity: it is never a sign of ruin, at any rate. We have the empty houses filling up, great factories in course of erection. The big men from Adelaide and Melbourne are putting up factories in Sydney after reaping the harvest in those two States for twenty years. When the Australian harvest comes, Sydney is going to get it after all. At any rate, if we do get it we shall have earned it, because we shall not have paid anything for it. We shall have got it by our own enterprise.

But it is a remarkable thing that now that the great opportunity for Victoria has come, there is nothing but stagnation. This is another disappointment for the protectionists, I am afraid. I should like to pass on to the question of the revenue, as I want to show the extravagant basis upon which the Tariff is framed. The Treasurer asks the people to submit to a Tariff which will raise £8,900,000. That is a pretty big Tariff, and it is about as high an amount of revenue as any one could ever dream of getting from imports; especially if the Treasurer's calculation be correct. But now, let us see whether the Treasurer pursues a prudent course by going not upon an inflated year, but upon a normal year. Surely, in laying the foundations of the finances for this great Commonwealth, we should build upon something solid. The Treasurer goes to the year 1899 for solidity, when he puts his duties on, and why should he not go to 1899 for solidity when he estimates his revenue? According to his own statement, the revenue for 1899 was £7,437,000, and adding £300,000 to that for the Federal expenditure, in a normal year we should get a total revenue of £7,737,000. But the Treasurer proposes now to put on £1,200,000 more than that. He asks the people to pay £9,000,000, although the revenue in a normal year, 1899, came to only £7,437,000, and the sum now expected to be derived from duties will be nearly £1,000,000 more than was received during the abnormal year that has just closed; so that on the revenue basis an abnormal basis has been chosen for taxing the people, although according to the Minister, 1899 was a normal year. If Australia could live on that money, and all Australia did live on it, in 1899, we should be able to live on it now. The Treasurer puts £9,000,000 of taxation upon the people of Australia, and still two or three of the States will be short of the amount they formerly received from the Customs. The total that I have given for 1899 includes £1,000,000 of intercolonial duties, and I am assuming that the Treasurer has taken another £1,000,000 of taxes in order to make up for that. I should like to point out that in all these Tariff arrangements there is a marvellous amount of attention paid to the industrial tendencies of a man who makes glass bottles or barbed wire or corks. The profound statesmanship that has been exhausted by this Federal

Mr. Reid.

Ministry in the interests of the man who makes glass bottles is something marvellous. We find that there is a duty of 7s. per cwt. proposed to be imposed upon horse-shoe nails; that is equivalent to 33 per cent. Now, here we have the statesmen of Australia sitting in Cabinet, discussing the momentous question as to how the horseshoe nail industry is to be dealt with, and the assembled intellects of Australia coming to the conclusion that the matter is one that really requires some attention. They find that in the enlightened State of Victoria there has been a 14s. duty on horseshoe nails, and if they had made other inquiries they would also have found that they can get the iron made to the requisite sizes in cheap labour countries, and that when they get the iron into the colony all that they had to do is to use little clinches to cut pieces to certain lengths, and give them a little tap on the top, and there is an Australian nail. There is the Australian horseshoe nail industry—there is a triumph of manufacturing enterprise. This is an industry that we must clip a little, because I understand that 14s. per cwt. is equal to 66 per cent., and that 7s. would be equal to 33 per cent. The Ministry say—"As we are for revenue without destruction, we must take a little off this, and we will reduce the duty on horseshoe nails to 7s. per cwt." Barbed wire, which is to be subject to a duty of 20 per cent., represents another great Melbourne industry. The wire is made in the countries where labour is cheap, and is then brought into Melbourne, where little bits of metal are snipped off and twisted round the wire at decent intervals—and there we have the product of the Australian barbed wire industry, which reflects such enormous credit on the enterprise of the people of Melbourne. It does not occur to the Ministry that that barbed wire is bought by settlers all through Australia, who are fighting against pioneering troubles in the bush. It does not occur to them that these horseshoe nails are wanted in those districts where the people have not a locomotive to draw them to their work every morning. Oh, no! These industries must be cared for. Since there is no industry too small for the statesmanlike interest and ingenuity of the Ministry, is it not a pity that they could not devote some little consideration to the great industries of Australia

upon which we all depend for any prosperity we have? I do not want to underrate the immense advantage of producing as much as we can in our own country, but I give to the industry in the barbed-wire shop and in the horseshoe-nail shop no higher value than I attach to all labour throughout Australia. To my mind every honest worker throughout Australia is engaged in colonial industry—whatever he is doing. That is the broad line on which I float the flag of colonial industry; but according to this Tariff the industry of the man who is solving national problems from the rising to the setting of the sun in the heart of this droughty land is not of sufficient importance for this Cabinet to consider. I do not say that we should give him a duty of 33 per cent. to protect him, but we might put his machinery on the free list. Every one knew that the throwing open of the markets of Australia could bring no gain to the farmer of Victoria. As a matter of fact it has brought him a loss, because the stock tax was alive to the very last, as people found out only recently. I say that the great industries of Australia are not treated fairly, and that everything that is used by these pioneers—the farmers and the miners—should have been placed on the free list. There has been an attempt made to put something on the free list for the miner, but nothing that is worth much. Is not mining machinery one of the most vital things for the development of mining in all parts of Australia, now that the best of the alluvial is gone, and gold is so hard to get? Yet we cannot find a line among these £6,000,000 worth of untaxed imports for mining machinery. These lines have been referred to with sufficient prominence in the newspapers, and I need not refer to them more fully here. I want now to bring before the notice of the House a statement which will throw a great deal of light on the real protection which Commonwealth manufacturers enjoy. When Ministers quote the Tariff rates, and say—"That is the protection we are giving this or that manufacturer," let me point out to the House the natural protection which most of these manufacturers have before the customs reach any one of them. I will mention a few lines. In soft goods, which, I suppose, are most easily imported, the natural protection ranges from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but in addition to this $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on cheaper goods, there

is a duty of 20 per cent. on blankets. In furniture, there is a natural protection ranging from 40 per cent. to 120 per cent., and another 20 per cent. is added. In glassware, the natural protection ranges from 65 per cent. to 93 per cent., and another 40 per cent. is added. On bottles, the natural protection is from 75 per cent. to 100 per cent., and a composite duty of about 75 per cent. is added. On household pottery, the natural protection is 75 per cent. to 100 per cent., plus a duty of 65 per cent. to 112 per cent. On blue, there is a natural protection of 15 per cent., plus 60 per cent.; on candles, 12 per cent., plus 32 per cent.; corn-flour, 33 per cent., plus 66 per cent.; safety matches, 25 per cent., plus 50 per cent.; preserved milk, $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. plus 35 per cent.; rice, 8 to 10 per cent. plus 66 per cent. to 100 per cent.; salt, 100 per cent., plus 66 per cent.; starch, $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., plus 80 per cent.; and sago, 10 per cent., plus 50 per cent. We thus see that there is an enormous advantage, owing to our geographical position, which the Commonwealth manufacturer enjoys, apart altogether from the Tariff. But instead of this protection being thought—I shall not say enough—but a fair instalment, Ministers are actually piling on these necessities of life additional heavy burdens. I will mention the way in which Ministers seem to have apportioned the burdens of the people. If there is a principle which is universally accepted in matters of taxation, it is that luxuries shall be taxed more heavily than the necessities of life. That principle is followed in connexion with narcotics and stimulants, which are luxuries of life. To some people, perhaps, they are necessities; but we know there is an enormous amount of duty put on narcotics and stimulants. Going away from this special list, let me show, in contrast, the way in which the Government have dealt with the luxuries and necessities of life. Woollen material is, I suppose, a necessary of life, especially in this part of Australia in winter. Woollen garments have to pay a duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, while silks and velvets, which I do not call necessities of life, pay 15 per cent., or 5 per cent. lower than the woollens, which have to be worn by the mass of the community. Gloves pay 20 per cent.; and in regard to hats, the cheaper these are the higher the rates. Cheap hats range from 79 per cent. up to over 115 per cent., while cheap boots are 61 per cent. for

men's, and 50 per cent. for women's. Perfumery has to pay 20 per cent., and medicine 25 per cent. The Prime Minister spoke in tones of some levity about the item of medicine; but, as a matter of common sense, there is no item in the world which probably ought to be more leniently treated than that which has to be used in cases of illness by people of limited means. Medicine may save the lives of children who are as dear to their poor parents as are the children of the rich to their parents; and yet sometimes the lives of these children cannot be saved, because the people have not in their pockets the money with which to purchase that medicine. I see nothing in the item of medicine to form the subject of amusement, except to persons who are well fed and stand pretty well in the world. Carpets are 20 per cent., and it might have been thought that the Government would have put a little lower duty than 20 per cent. on tents, in which thousands of men have to spend their lives. China and porcelain pay 20 per cent., and earthenware 6d. per cubic foot, and 15 per cent., or from 45 to 55 per cent. *ad valorem*. It seems to me that that is monstrous. Let us think for a moment of the hundred and one articles that are in use in the home of the poor man, under the head of earthenware and glassware. China and porcelain pay 20 per cent.; earthenware 45 per cent. to 55 per cent. *ad valorem*; glassware, 8d. per cubic foot, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. That comes to 85 per cent. on cheap table glass, and 55 per cent. on the common tumbler. The Victorian Tariff was only 25 per cent. Is that not a marvellous rise—a monstrous rise? I want to show in a general way, without going too much into detail, what, on the statement of the Government themselves, has been their method of treating our imports in the way of taxation? Here is the statement of the Government, and I feelingly appeal to the House whether this is a moderate Tariff—whether it can by any possibility be called a moderate or a revenue Tariff. Taking narcotics and stimulants off, the estimated total imports which form the basis of this Tariff, are £19,100,000. Listen how, according to the Ministry, this burden is divided. Imports that pay 20 per cent., 25 per cent., and 30 per cent., amount to £14,767,000, out of the £19,100,000. I want to hear any man say that this comes within the category of a

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moderate Tariff—of a Tariff that was to aim at revenue, and was only to assist protection in a mild and moderate way. On the Minister's own division of the values of the imports, we see that whilst only £1,040,000, will come in under the 10 per cent. duties, and only £3,306,000 will come in under the 15 per cent. duties 20 cent., 25 per cent., and 31 per cent., will be levied on £14,767,000 of imports. How can this be regarded throughout Australia as a moderate Tariff? Regarded as a revenue Tariff, it is destructive of revenue. Regarded as a protectionist Tariff, it is a red-hot Tariff; and, if that be so, it is a fraud on Australia. There was no one point more emphasised out of Victoria than that there was to be no red-hot protection for Australia, but that there was to be a revenue Tariff with incidental and moderate protection.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON. — That is correct.

Mr. REID. — On that basis, faith is not kept with the public, when out of £19,000,000 of imports, £15,000,000 pay 20 per cent., 25 per cent., and 31 per cent. That is on the averages, and it only shows how enormous some of the duties must be in individual cases. On the Minister's own statement that is the character of this Tariff, and I cannot speak too strongly about it, in the light of the assurances which were given to the people—at any rate, of the colony from which I come, and which, I believe, were given generally throughout Australia. I believe that honorable members, who came from all parts of Australia, assured their constituents that they would follow these lines. Victoria, of course, is an artificial market; but in one sense it is a pretty good test for our purposes, because, if a thing will advance in price in Victoria, it must be something stiff, and it must be something new. I think I may fairly say that of a protected and artificial market such as that of Victoria undoubtedly and admittedly is. On the best authority I can get—one of the biggest houses in Melbourne—I am assured that in dealing with groceries and matters of that kind, there has been a general advance right along the line. In fact, one merchant in Melbourne told me that ever since the introduction of the Tariff he has been busy increasing the price of the articles in which he deals, and that in no less than 100 lines of trade in his

business he has had to advance prices. That is in Victoria, and we know what must be the effect in other parts of Australia if that is so here. He tells me that in 100 lines the price has been advanced. Now I want to deal, as I think I ought to deal, with a few lines. I referred to the benefit this Tariff would confer upon a few individuals—a few favoured individuals and a few favoured industries. I think that this is an aspect of the case as to which the House will bear with me while I bring it before them; because I suppose there are many honorable members sitting opposite to me who, perhaps, have not the remotest intention of voting with me upon this motion, but who probably have a desire to remove abuses. I have no doubt there are some of my honorable friends, who, although they cannot vote with me upon this motion, yet cannot swallow everything the Government has put before them. If they can, they deserve unlimited credit from a party point of view. I must now, as I have said, deal with a few of these favoured, petted industries, and show how necessities which are used to an enormous extent in every household, are to be taxed for the benefit of two or three individuals in Australia. I will begin with rice. There are two kinds of duties imposed by this Tariff upon rice. There is a duty upon dressed rice—that is, cleaned rice—and a duty upon uncleaned rice. It has been thought by the Treasurer, in order to keep a great Australian industry upon its feet, that there should be these two rates of duty. Now, any one who knows the methods employed in cleaning and dressing rice, is aware that it involves a very simple machine, with a man at one end, and a boy or two at the other. There is, nevertheless, a higher difference than £2 a ton between these two items. There is a difference of £2 a ton under the Victorian Tariff; but there is no allowance for waste under this Federal Tariff, so that we may fairly say that although there appears to be a larger difference there is not, and that the difference is practically the same as under the Victorian Tariff—£2 per ton. For that £2 a ton the enterprising rice manufacturer who brings rice into Australia, runs it through his little contrivance, which, no doubt, is full of mysterious expensive methods for getting the rice to the other end. Then we have cleaned rice, with this great benefit per ton. There are three

firms in Melbourne which indulge in this exercise of manufacturing rice—Messrs. Harper Limited—

Mr. CROUCH.—A gross impertinence!

Mr. REID.—A gross impertinence? That is a remark I protest against, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member for Corio must withdraw the remark.

Mr. CROUCH.—I withdraw the remark, sir.

Mr. REID.—It only shows the sort of product we get out of Victorian protection, when, while we are dealing with a national matter affecting the interests and the pockets of the people of Australia, we are told that it is a "gross impertinence."

The SPEAKER.—The remark has been withdrawn.

Mr. REID.—All I can say is this—leaving that matter alone—that if there is one thing we are sent here to do, it is to take the hand of the individual out of the pockets of the people. It may be "a gross impertinence" all the same. But I venture to think that there has been a "gross impertinence" going on against the people who eat rice. That is where the "gross impertinence" comes in.

The SPEAKER.—The right honorable and learned member must not refer to the matter now that the remark has been withdrawn.

Mr. REID.—I am referring to something else now, Mr. Speaker. There are three firms that engage in this pastime in Melbourne, and who will profit from the £2 a ton derived from the mild little process they pursue. In stating this I am giving the view of an independent man—an expert. I can only take the best opinion, and this is the opinion of a person of high standing in the business community of Melbourne. I am not venturing to give an opinion of my own, because I am not in business; but, as I say, I have the very best authority for my statement.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—Max Hirsch's authority.

Mr. REID.—That is untrue.

The SPEAKER.—The right honorable and learned member must withdraw that remark.

Mr. REID.—Still it is untrue.

The SPEAKER.—I cannot help that. The right honorable and learned member must withdraw the remark.

Mr. REID.—I withdraw the remark. Then it is not untrue, but it is confoundedly inaccurate. On that one item, there are three firms who from that difference in duty on rice will make a profit of something over £10,000 a year out of the people of Australia.

Mr. CONROY.—No wonder they ask us to champagne luncheons!

Mr. REID.—I do not want to refer to those expeditions to the establishments of some manufacturers, which honorable members are invited to, winding up always with a champagne luncheon. The pioneers of Australia are not in a position to extend such hospitalities to honorable members. But I hope they will not be forgotten, though they are absent. Now I come to another item, about which there has been a great dispute. That is with reference to starch. Starch is manufactured in Melbourne by two or three firms. Some time ago, Mr. Speaker, there was a controversy in which one of the gentlemen engaged in this industry is said to have made a remark that the price of starch in London was 5d. per pound. On the strength of that remark, some one else was accused of gratuitous falsehood in reference to a statement he made about this industry. But I hold in my hand a price list from a London firm of grocers, which has 50 retail shops, and I find that this celebrated article figures therein in this way:—

Starch (Coleman's) in 1-lb. boxes, 4d.; in packets, 3½d.

A business firm here has been advised by letter from London that 28-lb. lots of Coleman's starch can be got at 3d. per lb. There is the refutation of the remark that was made outside as to this statement about starch. We were told that the London price of starch was 5d. per lb., and that the people here ought to go down on their knees and thank these three firms for their kindness in supplying them with this necessary article at such a ruinous sacrifice. What is the manufacture of starch, Mr. Speaker? Starch is something, no doubt, that is "fearfully and wonderfully made." Again I can only trust to expert authority. All the rice produced in the East that is not good enough to sell to human beings to eat—that is to say, the rice that is not marketable—goes from Singapore to various starch manufacturers in London. Coleman, who is one of these manufacturers, has to take it right through

the Suez Canal to London, and then he has to take it to Norwich by railway. After manufacturing the rice into starch, he has to send it back by railway to London, and to send it out here. One of these enterprising firms has a factory on the water side, and the rice goes from Singapore and other places in the East direct. The wonderful process of making starch is about to begin. Some cheap chemical is used, and this discarded rice assumes at once a solid consistency, in which it can be cut up into slabs and pieces. Two or three experts are required, but I believe that the main labour involved in the manufacture of this article is that of the youths and boys and girls who put it up into those beautiful packets that we see, and which must cost a considerable amount. We have now the starch. Let us look at the gap between the price of the raw material and the price at which it can be bought here. I want to put the matter liberally, so as to prevent any offensive statement. The raw material for starch can be purchased in the markets of the East at something like £8 per ton, and it can be brought from Singapore to Melbourne, and dealt with, I am told, for something like £7 per ton. The price of starch in Melbourne to-day is 40s. per cwt.; that is, £40 per ton. My honorable friend the member for Mernda shakes his head, but the other head from which I have obtained this information is just as experienced as his. I do not know what mysterious rebates my honorable friend gives; but as the result of this Tariff, starch has gone up 1d. per lb. The quotation lists were out on the 10th inst., and starch has gone up a full penny since the publication of the Tariff. Thus we see that the Tariff has added another little advantage to the manufacturers of starch here, except that they have now to pay a duty on the raw material, from which the starch is made, of 6s. 3d. per cwt., and no allowance is made for waste. That duty on the raw material has been imposed by the Federal Government, while the duty is kept at 2d. per lb., and the net price to the wholesale dealer has gone up 40s. per cwt., or thereabouts. This is a hardship which makes itself felt among people in whom I am somewhat interested. These Melbourne firms used to send their starch to Sydney, and, in competition with the starch makers of the whole world, they cut greatly into our trade—greatly to their

credit be it said. One firm, Harper and Co. Limited, fighting the whole world in New South Wales, has made a most creditable and successful onslaught on our trade. It does a very large amount of trade in Victorian starch, without one penny of protection to assist it there. I do not mind the Victorians going on and paying more for their starch for all eternity, if they insist on doing it, but they have now got New South Wales into the ring, and all the people of New South Wales who used to get this starch at 26s. per cwt. wholesale, have now to pay 40s. per cwt. I believe starch is an article which is used by a very humble, hard-working class in the community, who are not altogether deserving of severe measures, that is to say, the washerwomen and laundresses of Australia. It is not a matter of gloves or velvet, but this duty on starch raises the price about 60 per cent. or more. I come now to a third item which I think is one of the worst of all. In the bush one can do without his dressed and starched linen, but we do not want to be too rough upon the man in the far-away bush, when it comes to a question of putting a little milk into his tea. Nevertheless, the man in the bush with his pannikin, who has not got a cow within 500 miles of him, is to be compelled to put his hands in his pockets for the benefit of these limited firms. Surely, the Federal Ministry could have put preserved milk on the free list, considering that it is one of the few necessities of life that can be conveyed into the interior. This may be a matter for amusement to some people, but it is not amusing to the man who has to pass his life in the back blocks.

Mr. CAMERON.—It is not a matter for amusement to the miners on the west coast of Tasmania.

Mr. REID.—No, it is not. It is something to be compelled by a mysterious decree of the mighty Commonwealth to deal with Harper and Co. Limited, instead of having the whole globe from which to make a selection. That is something in the way of legislation, and it has to do with real life, although some people outside may think I have been guilty of gross impertinence in referring to it. There is another aspect of this matter which touches more closely the people of the other States. The preserved milk produced by Harper and Co. Limited, under the

Victorian Tariff, used to be sold to the Victorians at 6s. per dozen tins, and to the New South Wales people at 4s. 6d. a dozen. I do not mind the Victorian people using Harper's preserved milk and paying more for it, if they choose to do so, but what have we done in New South Wales that they should be able to knock off that advantage of 1s. 6d. per dozen to us? That is the result of this duty. We are all put up now to this artificial level on articles of necessity in every man's life; we are all compelled to take a share in this burden. I want to show now the different treatment extended to a very humble person in Melbourne. He is not a limited firm, but he possesses a foreign name. I refer to a gentleman who announced to me very indignantly the other day, that "If this is the way native industry is to be dealt with I am going to be a free-trader." This gentleman does not deal in the hats and caps for summer and winter wear to which I made reference a little while ago, but he put in a tender for the supply of 7,941 caps for the service of the Railway department of New South Wales. The duty in this case is 3s. per dozen, and that on the 7,941 caps—the cost of which amounts to £1,200—would give him a benefit, if he got it, of £99 5s. The Ministry present him with £99 5s. in the shape of the federal duty of 3s. per dozen on these caps. He points out, however—and he gives me all the lines—that while they give him this protection, some of his raw materials and trimmings, amounting to £800, is taxed at 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and £10 worth of trimmings at 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, meaning that he has to pay under this Tariff £181 13s. as duty on his raw materials. He has to pay £181 13s. upon the raw materials, and he gets a benefit of £99 5s. upon the finished article. His name is a foreign one, and perhaps that may account for it, because we feel strongly upon these matters.

Mr. PAGE.—That is revenue producing, is it not?

Mr. REID.—I think it is, but I fear that it would kill the revenue too, because the manufacturer could not go on for long at that rate. This gentleman says that if this is the sort of protection which the united talent of the Federal Government can get for him he will become a free-trader. It is remarkable that such a gross mistake should be made in that case. There is not any mistake made in a number of other cases. Now I come

to items like "timber" and "corrugated iron." The Minister for Trade and Customs was simply immense upon a policy which he hopes to introduce at some future date in reference to the iron industry. I have always been one who would like to see the iron industry firmly established, but my method of effecting this would be by giving it direct encouragement from the national exchequer. My reason for so doing would be that as it is a national industry the nation should pay the expense of encouraging it. The man who uses the iron ought not to be compelled to do that. A national benefit should be paid for out of the national funds. Why should not the whole community pay this bonus to the iron industry if the establishment of that industry confers a national benefit? Why should the man who is encouraging the industry, and who is buying the material, be the only person to pay for this national advantage? The Government proposal puts the burden upon the wrong shoulders. That is one of the radical fallacies of a policy of protection. A national advantage should be paid for out of the national exchequer, and not out of the pockets of the particular individual who happens to encourage the production of a particular article. Such an individual is encouraging trade. He is buying what others produce. Why should he be the only man to bear the burden? To establish a national iron industry by all means let us give a national bonus, but do not let us run up the price of iron all over Australia. By so doing we should accomplish two things: we should cripple our manufacturing industries, and cripple the people who have to buy machinery for those industries. In opposition to the view of putting duties upon iron the moment an iron industry is established, I say, "No; encourage the industry out of the national pocket." But the Treasurer could not wait in order to put a duty upon galvanized iron and a higher duty upon corrugated galvanized iron. Here, again, there is some little process gone through; some wonderfully mysterious process known only to the manufacturer is proceeded with, and as a result we get out of the iron sheet, galvanized iron. Then corrugated iron is produced by some other mechanical appliance. I put it that if there is any one kind of iron which is used throughout the interior of Australia it certainly is galvanized and corrugated iron. But the Government will

not place these things upon their list of £6,000,000 worth of free imports. That is not all. I come now to the item of "timber." From a free-trade point of view all this would be very idle, but I am dealing with the proposals of a protectionist Government. The proposals in reference to timber duties contain some extraordinary features. For example, there are certain kinds of boards which it is well known cannot be produced here. The material which goes to build a cottage cannot be imported free. There is a duty upon weatherboards. A statement was made by the Treasurer that the boards used in packing our butter—I suppose this is another insignificant item, but still some people take a great interest in it—were free of duty. On further inquiry it transpires that they are not free. A certain sort of log or piece of timber out of which these boards can be made is free of duty; but unfortunately—it is really a piece of perversity on the part of these trees—they are so small that the rate levied makes it impossible to obtain these butter boxes without paying what would be equivalent to this duty. The people interested in the butter industry have already represented this fact. Surely this is a class of people whom we all wish to encourage. I suppose that the butter industry is one of the most promising in Australia. It has done a great deal for Victoria—almost as much as the man who puts the bars on the wire. Upon cement there is a nice little duty of 60 per cent. *ad valorem*. Now, we have large cement works in New South Wales, which employ hundreds of hands. These firms are doing an enormous business without being protected by a penny of duty. Now, however, 67 per cent. is to be put upon building operations all over Australia in the way of cement. I now come to the item of twine. It is astonishing how some items acquire a wonderful significance. The item of "twine" refers particularly, I presume, to the twine used by farmers. The Government are not satisfied with imposing a duty upon reaper and binder twine, but they have included the twine which binds the fleeces on the stations, and the sewing twine for the bags containing agricultural produce. This twine is to be taxed. Hitherto it was free in Victoria. Now, however, 8s. a cwt. is to be charged on reaper and binder twine. There are three firms in Australia which make this class of goods—Miller and

Donaghy in Melbourne, and Forsyth in Sydney. I particularly sympathize with Mr. Miller. He is a straight-out free-trader. In principle he is one of the best free-traders in Australia. But a paternal Government will force this fortune upon him. He is acquiring a large fortune, because, although he is a good free-trader, the Government will insist upon imposing this enormous tax upon a twine which is used largely upon the farms of Australia. In New South Wales the farmers have hitherto been able to obtain this twine 2d. per lb. cheaper than the Victorian farmer could get it from Mr. Miller (a genuine free-trader) and Mr. Donaghy, and I believe that about 5 lbs. are required for every acre carrying a fair crop. The duty will therefore represent a difference of 10d. per acre to the New South Wales farmer, and this amount would nearly pay the deposit and interest upon his free selection. He pays off the principal and interest on his selection by instalments of 1s. per acre per year, and there will now be 10d. an acre a year on that one item of which he had the advantage. Now he will get no more of that.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Will the right honorable gentleman repeat those figures?

Mr. REID.—Certainly. I have them on very good authority. It estimated that 5 lb. weight of this twine is required per acre for a good crop.

Mr. WATSON.—8s. per cwt. will not pan out 2d. per lb.

Mr. REID.—It does I am told. They are behind the fence here, and they make the farmers pay accordingly; but we were outside the fence, and they let our farmers have the twine at 2d. per lb. less.

Mr. WATSON.—8s. per cwt. is less than 1d. per lb.

Mr. REID.—I am told that that is the difference absolutely, and that Mr. Miller, in New South Wales sold the article at 2d. per lb. less. We have a rope factory in New South Wales which has been working double time for years under free-trade, and without any duty.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I did not catch those figures.

Mr. REID.—They are given to me as correct, and the estimate is that 5 lbs. weight of reaper and binder twine would be used per acre for a good crop. We come now to deal with the reapers and binders upon which the Minister for Trade and

Customs broke down. There was a duty of 22 per cent. on reapers and binders in Victoria up to the 30th of July, 1879, which, on the then price of £90, meant a difference of £15 on a reaper and binder. The day after that duty was repealed, the price went down £15. There is a pretty solid result from the repeal of a duty. The price went down from £90 to £75 the next day, and the present price of these reapers and binders is from £30 to £40.

Mr. WATSON.—Is that retail?

Mr. REID.—That is buying one.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think that is the price.

Mr. REID.—What is the honorable member's quotation?

Mr. WATSON.—About £50.

Mr. CAMERON.—They can be bought for £40.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—They can be bought from the Massey-Harris Company for £32.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, speaking from knowledge, says they can be bought for £40, and I have made the statement that the price is from £30 to £40. I want to direct the attention of honorable members to another little article, salt. Salt is an industry which flourishes in South Australia. I am sure every one will be delighted to know that it is an industry which, so far as that can be said of a protected industry, has been a flourishing industry. In spite of the duty in Victoria, the South Australians have been able to cut into the market here to a tremendous extent. I believe that they have practically secured the Melbourne market in spite of a duty of 20s. per ton. The price has gone up only 10s. per ton, on the declaration of the Minister for Trade and Customs. This company, which was cutting into Victorian trade, against a duty of 20s. per ton, will now have that protection equally with the rest of Australia. The producers of this article, who have been able to come into Melbourne against a duty of 20s. a ton, will now have the same protection, although they do not require it. That is a very large advantage to that industry. It is an enormous duty, and comes to a considerable amount to the consumer. One would think there would be natural protection enough in the case of this article because the freight and charges upon English salt amount, I think, to about 100

per cent. There is a natural protection for salt of about 100 per cent., and we are being asked to add to that, what I suppose on the value of salt in England is another 100 per cent., by this Federal Tariff. I think this is a highly unnecessary item. There is another duty which will press very hardly upon the manufacturers of Tasmania and other places. We have a duty on candles. Under the Victorian Tariff we have a duty on stearine, but we also have now a duty upon paraffin wax of 1½d. per lb., the same as the duty on candles. There are two or three people in Melbourne who have stearine plants, but there are other people who do not manufacture in Melbourne, and have no stearine plants. They manufacture from this paraffin wax, and this duty of 1½d. per lb. on that material will have the effect of shutting up a number of factories that have not the plant which a few manufacturers in Victoria have got. This is a raw material which one would think Ministers might have allowed to escape. Those are items which are in universal consumption, but they are not of so much importance to the revenue as are the articles I am now about to mention. I want particularly to draw the attention of the House to the probable operation of the duties on spirits, tobacco, and cigarettes. These are very important lines, and the question as to how the proposals of the Government will work out is a matter which will greatly affect the stability of the revenue. I think it is pretty well known already that under the old Tariffs in New South Wales and Victoria affecting tobacco and cigarettes, enormous fortunes have been made out of the Custom-house. I do not hesitate to mention the names of firms. I do not suppose I shall be blamed if I do, and I think it is better to do so. There is one large firm—Cameron's—which has a large capital, and I am informed that their profits amounted every year to a sum equal to the whole of their capital, under the tobacco duties as they existed in Australia under the separate Tariffs. So far as I can see and learn, this Tariff will add a second fortune to the fortune they have been making under the old arrangements. It is right to look at the items for a moment. In New South Wales the imported manufactured tobacco was subject to a duty of 3s. per lb., and imported leaf to a duty of 1s. per lb., and there was an excise of 1s. 3d. per lb.

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The duty on the imported leaf, and the excise in the case of imported leaf manufactured made 2s. 3d. per lb.—a difference of 9d. per lb. as against the imported manufactured tobacco. That was the position in New South Wales. In Victoria the duty was 3s. on imported manufactured tobacco, 1s. on imported leaf, and an excise duty of 9d. per lb. That is a difference of 1s. 3d. in favour of the imported leaf, and 2s. 3d. in favour of the colonial leaf. In New South Wales the difference in favour of colonial leaf would be the difference between 1s. 3d. and 3s., or 1s. 9d. per lb. In Victoria the difference would be the difference between 9d. and 3s.—2s. 3d. a pound. The Commonwealth proposal is to increase the rate of duty which is enormous at present, on the manufactured article to 3s. 6d. a pound. That increase of 6d. on the imported manufactured article will, I am informed by merchants whose opinions I take, gradually destroy the revenue from imported tobacco. There will always be a certain amount imported under any duty, but the duty now proposed will gradually destroy the revenue, and the calculation is that in the course of the year the increase will cause 1,000,000 lbs. of tobacco which would otherwise be imported to be made within Australia. The difference which the Treasurer proposes is a difference of 1s. in favour of the imported leaf, and 2s. 6d. in favour of the Australian grown leaf. The House will see that it splits the difference between the difference of 1s. 3d. in Victoria and the difference of 9d. in New South Wales. But I am assured that the effect of that extra 6d. will be what I have described. There are 3,411,000 lbs. of imported tobacco consumed at 3s., 3,159,000 lbs. of leaf imported, and 1,680,000 lbs. of local leaf being used. The total consumption in Australia in 1900, 8,250,000 lbs., at 3s. per lb., would yield a revenue of £1,237,000. The difference of 1,000,000 lbs. would, it is estimated, be divided in this way: 750,000 lbs. more of imported leaf, and 250,000 lbs. more of colonial leaf would be used. So that on this calculation on 1,000,000 lbs., at 3s. 6d., the Customs would get £175,000, on 750,000 lbs. of imported leaf at 2s. 6d., £93,000; and on 250,000 lbs. of local leaf at 1s., £12,500. Therefore, out of a total of £105,500 there will be a loss to the revenue of £74,500. The

total additional consumption of local leaf, 250,000 lbs. weight, would only be worth from £3,000 to £4,000. Most of this leaf—the best leaf—is grown by Chinamen; so that it is a class of industry which we are not supposed to look at with too affectionate an eye—a Chinese industry. We lose £75,000 a year on that one line. These are the great central lines of revenue production that I am referring to, and I cannot see the object of altering the rates in the way the Government have done, because it is not as if the whole of the local leaf was a colonial industry. Under any system, a large mass of it will be brought in from abroad. Even from a protectionist point of view the encouragement is too great, and it will lead to an enormous destruction of revenue which might be saved by putting on the free list a great number of articles used in the agricultural industries. The effect of the Government proposal will be practically to kill the importation of cigarettes, and about £30,000 will probably be lost to the revenue in the year. We must remember that persons are making enormous fortunes out of this industry as it is, and that one-half of the sum which that big company of Cameron's draws—I am afraid to mention the amount, so enormous is it—goes straight away to New York every year. Half the capital is in the hands of Mr. R. W. Cameron, of New York; he takes an enormous sum out of Australia every year, and it is calculated that on these proposals, as to tobacco especially, his enormous revenue from Australia will be doubled. I regret very much that the Government have made a mistake in these lines, because these are amongst the most important in the tariff. Now we come to spirits, the chief revenue-producing line on the Tariff. Honorable members, I hope, will have some patience with me in mentioning these things, because it is well that they should be brought out at the earliest possible moment in order that they may be properly tested. I wish every statement I make to be properly examined and discussed, and I think it is only right that I should in these matters give the Government straight away my view, on the best information I can get, of the effect of their proposals. The Commonwealth definition of the spirits which are to be allowed to be produced in Australia at 11s. a gallon—that

is a difference of 3s. below the duty on the imported spirit—is spirit produced from grape wine, barley, malt, molasses or maize. That is very nearly the same as the Victorian definition, except that the latter had grain instead of maize. The wheat or potato spirit would come under the 12s. 6d. per gallon charge n.e.i.; but the bulk of the spirit would probably, and could easily be produced on the 11s. per gallon basis. The consumption of spirits in Australia in 1900 was 2,800,000 gallons, and there is this remarkable fact that Joshua Brothers, the Melbourne manufacturers, were able to send their brandy into New South Wales—the duty here being then 12s. per gallon, 2s. less than ours, and paying 14s. per gallon, it entered largely into consumption in that State. So far as I can gather the total production of Joshua Brothers was about 269,000 gallons of which they were able to export 75,000 gallons. It is estimated that the production of spirit locally under this Tariff will be 700,000 gallons for all Australia, and that, at 3s. per gallon, would yield £266,000, which is lost to the revenue. The Government estimates of excise contemplate the payment of £266,000 in the form of excise on spirits. Now, there again, a very large amount of money will be lost to the revenue, owing to the arrangements in connexion with the excise duties. The wages paid in connexion with this industry are comparatively small; it is an industry which does not employ a very large number of persons, and even from the protectionist point of view I think it was a great mistake to have so adjusted these lines as to lead to a great injury to the public Treasury. I am very much obliged to the House for having allowed me to take out from the Tariff a few of the more noticeable items, because I feel that the sooner public attention is drawn to those items the better. The producers of these articles in Australia begin with an enormous amount of natural protection; and, in addition to that, the Government propose a rate of protection for a number of these industries, which seems to me extravagant and beyond all reason, and as likely to prove most fatal to the stability of the revenue. The experience of New South Wales is a very fair and instructive guide in connexion with a large number of these matters. The notion which prevails in some quarters is, that if you have a free port your markets

will become thronged with the products of the cheap labour of the coloured races of the world. It used to be predicted in New South Wales that if we endeavoured to throw our ports open all white men would be crushed beneath the overwhelming avalanche of goods which would be poured in from China and Japan and dumped upon our wharfs, to the destruction of our industries, the ruin of our factories, and the distress of our working population. Now, we have thrown open our ports for the last five years, so that no one can say that that is a policy which has not been tried in Australia and under Australian conditions. We have had one of the finest ports in the world thrown open to the lust of trade of all the coloured races of the world. It was one of the very few ports in the world where commerce had free course. It has free course in Great Britain, but there was no inundation of products of coloured labour there. The answer was, however—"We are here at their very door—we are within the circle of their influence, and what might pass by without disaster to the mother country would out here expose us to universal distress." We have had five years of this free-trade, and I was anxious to ascertain from the statistics of New South Wales during last year what was the value of the imports of the products of these coloured races—the products of this cheap labour. What did I find? I found that out of the total imports, amounting to £27,500,000, sent to us by the whole of the nations of the world, the white nations accounted for the whole amount except the sum of £1,500,000. Thus £26,000,000 out of £27,500,000 worth of goods were the products of white countries. From Australia we got £10,000,000 worth, from the United Kingdom nearly £10,000,000, from the United States £2,500,000, and from Europe and the rest of the world £3,500,000, whilst from the East we received £1,500,000 worth. Where was the ruin and desolation which was expected to take place? The articles that are imported from the East are absolutely necessary for Australia. Take the case of tea, which accounts for an enormous amount of this £1,500,000. That is an article which is imported just as freely into Victoria as into New South Wales. Our factories, as I have said, have a larger number of male operatives than have the Victorian factories, which have existed for so many years at such

a large expense. The honorable and learned member for Indi the other day, during the speech of the Minister for Trade and Customs made reference to the "Song of the Shirt" in connexion with free-trade countries—

Mr. ISAACS.—It was during the right honorable member's own speech.

Mr. REID.—It did not occur to me at the time, I confess; but the expression remained in my ear, and after reflecting over it for a little, I began to think that the exclamation of the honorable and learned member was not so happy as his interjections usually are, because that cry of human misery came out of the wretchedness of the protected period in England.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are the people not paid less now than they were then?

Mr. REID.—My honorable and learned friend will have an opportunity of speaking presently. He must remember, and he does, no doubt, remember, that that wail of wretchedness arose as the climax of the protectionist period in England.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is worse now.

Mr. REID.—It was at the climax of this protected period in the mother country; when the misery which animated the wretched females in the garrets of London was characteristic not only of the sempstresses but of the miners and of every class of English labour. The masses of the British people were then in a state of misery and degradation, and the policy of Victoria would have reduced her people to the same sweated condition if an Act had not been passed to endeavour to extract a fraction of the profits of the monopolists for the benefit of the working classes. The Wages Act of Victoria is a confession of the utter impotence of protection in Victoria, and the people are getting sick of it.

Mr. WATSON.—There is similar impotence in New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—We have done as well, at any rate, without the policy.

Mr. WATSON.—We have done no better.

Mr. REID.—If the honorable member will admit that we have done as well I am content, and that would be a very fair and candid admission for my honorable friend to make. In Victoria millions and millions of pounds sterling have been paid out of the pockets of the masses of the people in order to establish this policy. And for what purpose? To make labour self-reliant and prosperous? It was not said then that the

wages boards would do that, but that it would be done by protection. And when protection made a hideous failure—when the importers of Flinders-lane became the sweaters of Victorian labour—

Mr. ISAACS.—The importers, yes.

Mr. REID. — Yes, the protectionists forced the importers. The protectionists of Victoria—not the honorable and learned member who was a great free-trader—forced the Victorians into this line of policy and industry, and told the importers — “No, you are the enemies of the colony whilst you import, but if you will only employ white labour, then you will become first-class protectionist benefactors.” The importers became first-class protectionist benefactors, but every first-class protectionist I ever knew, has striven for as much as he could get for himself. This is what they tried to do, and that is what the public of Victoria found they were doing. Then it was that the public properly stepped in to endeavour to ensure a fair distribution of money between the manufacturer and the wage-earner. To a system of protection, a wages board is an absolute corollary.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is the new protection.

Mr. REID.—Under any system of protection.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is the right honorable and learned member against wages boards in New South Wales?

Mr. REID.—I am not talking of that at present. We have no wages boards in New South Wales.

Mr. WATSON.—There will be one very shortly.

Mr. REID.—What I say is, that under protection a wages board is, I believe, an absolute necessity. If the Government will take the money out of the people's pockets it is the Government's duty to follow that money as far as they can, and get it put into the pockets of the workers in the industries, leaving a fair margin for the manufacturers. But we manage in New South Wales to get on as well as they do in Victoria, without these extraordinary devices. The result is that our machinery is very much newer, and much more efficient, and, altogether, the state of our manufacturing industries is such as to have quietened down the protectionist feeling in New South Wales. Protection is in a very weak state in the mother colony now. The ocular demonstration afforded

by the experience of five years has so utterly discredited the predictions of the protectionists, and those who were left at all in doubt have been so convinced that they were wrong, on discerning what was going on over the border, that protection in New South Wales is now in a very humiliating condition. But I admit that there are still lingering traces of protection in Victoria. I have no sort of animosity to the industries of this State; but my earnest belief is that those industries would be better and stronger under the other system. I may be wrong, but that is a belief I honestly entertain, and as experience has shown that my belief was right in the case of my own State, I may be pardoned for expressing the opinion that all that is wanted in Victoria now is a little fresh air. Unfortunately, according to the Government, we are not going to get fresh air, and every one else in the Commonwealth is to be deprived of it also. That is too great a concession in the interests of charity. I honestly believe that the Victorian industries would be ten times more self-reliant and vigorous, if these artificial methods were destroyed. There are one or two other facts which I think I am entitled to bring under the notice of the House. I suppose honorable members will admit that the statistics of the movements of population bear very strongly in favour of the view which I express. I do not wish to take a limited period, but a fair period representing the last 30 years—from 1871 to 1900. During these 30 years, the population of New South Wales has increased, owing to excess of arrivals over departures, by a total of 282,000, whereas in Victoria the arrivals have been fewer than departures by 16,000. Is that not a marvellous difference between the two countries? I admit that New South Wales is larger than Victoria, but much of the former State is dry and arid; and if we take the eastern division of New South Wales, which is about the size of Victoria, these figures remain substantially the same, and the contrast is as sharp and as vivid as it is in relation to the people of the whole State. But there is the remarkable state of things that, in contrast with this artificially constructed paradise of labour, every other country in the world has proved more attractive than Victoria. That in itself is marvellous proof that there is something wrong about

this policy, which some honorable members want to fasten on all Australia. If the policy of protection had made Victoria attractive to any human being—to a workman of any kind—there might be some enthusiasm shown in trying to extend that policy all over Australia. The 20 per cent. duties began in Victoria in 1871, following on duties which were more moderate; so that this State has been 30 years under the influence of the policy of protection. It was stated over and over again, in the early days, that protection was to make Victoria attractive to the best artisans of the world, but the result has proved that Victoria is the one country which men avoid. When do we find a New South Welshman coming to Victoria, unless he is a “dead-beat”—a waif and stray or a derelict? In Victoria it is impossible to produce, except in a few odd cases, any men who have come from New South Wales, whereas New South Wales has had the benefit of a large influx of highly useful colonists from Victoria; and we are very glad to welcome them. But there is the broad test for 30 years. I am told that Victoria is becoming a ruinous place even for lawyers, and when a country is in that state, it is about near its end. Stagnation is the picture that the policy of protection presents in Victoria, while in New South Wales there is nothing but progress, and the very industry which is afraid to face competition in Victoria, is the industry which is strong and self-reliant in the mother State.

Mr. SAWERS.—Will the right honorable and learned member give us the average numbers of the unemployed?

Mr. REID.—That is not always a fair test, because in some countries people are so well off that more can afford to remain unemployed than in other countries. One little fact which has struck me shows that there is a striking resemblance, from one point of view, between the habits of our Victorian friends, and the habits of our friends in Ireland. The relative consumption of beef and mutton is, I believe, a very good, if homely, test. In New South Wales I find that the average consumption per head of beef and mutton is 281 lbs., and in Victoria 205 lbs.; and now I begin to understand the pressure of the stock tax on the people of Victoria. But in the matter of potatoes, the average of Victoria is wonderful. In New South Wales the people consume per head 195 lbs. of potatoes, whereas

in Victoria the consumption per head is 258 lbs., so that in the latter State we are approaching the industrial anxiety which prevails in Ireland, where people can get little else but potatoes to live on. The protective policy of Victoria has forced many worthy and promising people to a potato diet. We know that Australians thrive best on a meat diet, and that is why so many Victorians have forsaken the potatoes of Warrnambool to enjoy the beef and mutton of New South Wales; and I do not wonder at it. Here is another fact which embodies a striking truth, and it is a great thing to get admissions of this sort from our protectionist friends—

Nations do not exchange coin. They always pay in goods. For every pound of butter, bushel of wheat, or bale of wool that goes home payment is made in merchandise, and in nothing else.

That is from the highest protectionist authority in Melbourne in the way of a newspaper. That embodies a great principle of trade—a sound principle—but it cuts clean against that selfish, deluding policy of keeping money in the country. Let us apply that principle. Since the products of our great pioneer industries will not bring back sovereigns from other countries but must bring back goods, we see the close relationship between the prosperity of the producing industries and some method or policy which is not protective. What is the object of protection? Protection looks at these goods which are merely our own produce converted into another form, as if they were accursed—as if they should be shut out—as if we should have nothing to do with them at any price. Ten, 15, 100 per cent. are the duties which these protectionists would put upon such goods. But in doing so we impose taxes upon our own Australian industries. We do not get sovereigns for our wool, sovereigns for our wheat, sovereigns for our butter. We get something better. We get something which is worth to us more than the sovereign. But then the State steps in and puts its hand upon these goods in the way of taxation. If that were all, the mischief would not be so great. But the State puts its hands upon these goods, not for the sake of the public Treasury, but to enable some man standing by to make a profit out of the national system of taxation, out of the produce of Australian industry. We can never have in Australia a great producing industry if we

put upon the things which that industry buys heavy burdens of taxation. This is the position taken up, as I have said, by the highest protectionist authority in Melbourne, which sustains the view that I have put before the House. If that is the case we find another reason for placing our revenue system upon a sound basis. As I think honorable members will admit, our farmers and wool-growers have a bitter fight as it is in disposing of their produce. But here again a wonderful remedy is provided by the Minister for Trade and Customs. He would solve the whole trouble affecting our Australian industries in this way. He exclaims, with astonishment—"Why do we not make up our own woollens? Why should our wool go out of the country to be made up? Why do we not make it up ourselves?" His way of turning Australia into a great manufacturer of woollens is to put a duty of 20 per cent. on the few woollens the people of Australia can consume. If my right honorable and learned friend were not a tyro in investigations of this sort, we might ask him another question. It is this: "Why is it that Great Britain can send into the United States of America millions and millions of pounds' worth of cotton goods?" The cotton is grown in the United States. It is taken to Liverpool, and is then sent to Manchester and other places and manufactured into cotton goods, whence it is sent out into the markets of the world to the tune of £66,000,000 a year. The United States is a great protected country, with enormous duties upon imports—enormous duties upon cotton goods and goods of all kind that interfere with the trade of their own manufactures. But in spite of those enormous duties the cotton trade of the world is in the hands of a few people in Manchester and the surrounding towns. It only shows the value of such suggestions. Mr. Murray, the manager of the Australian Woollen Factory—a Melbourne firm—has written a very startling letter to one of the papers upon this subject. We know the struggles there have been in Victoria to set the woollen industry upon its feet. Mr. Murray says he can get on very well without protection; that most of his troubles at the start were due to bad machinery and bad management; and that now he has got good machinery and good management he does not care for protection. There is a striking statement! It is

thoroughly in support of the views I have expressed. Now, I feel deeply indebted to the House for the kind way in which honorable members have allowed me to go over the matters involved in this resolution. It is a subject which involves a large number of considerations, and I hope the House will pardon me for having taken up its time as I have done. I should like to recall to the House the terms of the resolution which I have submitted. I think I have proved clearly enough that the proposals of the Federal Ministry, if effected, will "place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis." I think I have shown clearly enough "the burdens of taxation" are not "fairly adjusted" by the proposals of Ministers, and that there has been a conspicuous failure on their part to show any sort of consistency with regard to the principles which should be observed in framing a great policy of finance. As to the free list, I feel sure that, regardless of party differences, there must be a large number of honorable members in this House who are resolved that it shall contain upon it appliances which are necessary to the proper development of our agricultural, farming, pastoral, and mining industries. I believe that whatever the effect of my motion is, the free list will not be allowed to remain in the unsatisfactory state in which it is. Then as to the necessities of life, the high duties upon them are to be denounced upon two grounds. They are destructive if they are intended to produce revenue from the people. If they are not intended for that national purpose, it is an outrage upon every principle of fairness and humanity to subject the people to these enormous duties upon the necessities of life for the profit of a few individuals. It shocks the common sense of humanity. When I speak in this way honorable members will understand that I am not addressing men whose minds have been soddened with a long course of these outrages on humanity and sound finance. It would be idle for any one to talk to them, for their ears are dulled. I am talking to Australia in all its conditions as represented by this House. Those who have been accustomed to run a country on these lines are not likely to listen to anything which I may say. I speak, however, beyond them to those who, unlike them, have not become immolated with the poison. I speak to

those who have been accustomed to regard to some extent the interests of the public revenue; who have not been accustomed to regard the people as a flock of sheep to be used for the benefit of politicians and manufacturers, but who have paid some regard to the interests of the great industries upon which the Australian community must stand. Great as the fight for vested interests will be; great as the fight will be to maintain tottering concerns which might cease to totter if they were placed upon an honest, sound basis, I feel sure that the interests of the great industries of Australia will triumph in the end. I feel sure that the suggestions of private advantage, and of looking so critically into the affairs of some exotic industry, instead of studying the interests of the great natural industries of the soil, is a process that will be reversed. My feeling with reference to this question has been always one of intense earnestness. I have watched the effect of such a policy as this in other countries. I have seen right through the history of every other country in the world that, looking at the oldest of them, this process of legislation has not lifted up the masses of the people; that it has made the gap between the well-to-do and the necessitous classes larger than ever it was before. When honorable members direct my attention to America, I find in that young country, cursed with this antiquated policy, that in 50 years the gap between the rich and the poor has become greater than the accumulated inequalities of centuries in the countries of Europe. Look where we will, the result is always the same. There may be a majority in this House that may for a time succeed in pushing this young Australian Commonwealth off the path of sound progress, and off the sound tracks of legislation, on to the path which has ended in all other countries in evil and in loss. The result has been always the same. In this young continent the result will be just the same as it is in the freest democracy the world has ever known, and as it is in countries where tyranny is open and undisguised. In all these countries we see that the outcome of this policy is the same. In the mother country we find the huge chasm between the higher and the humbler classes narrowing down. We find the aristocracy of centuries past coming down to the limits and activities of trade and industries, as

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we find the labour of Great Britain during the past 30 years rising from a pitch of misery and degradation to manhood, and more than to manhood, to strength and prosperity. This evil policy which is fastened upon us in the name of a revenue Tariff works the same mischief all the world over. It will, in its result here, as everywhere else, add another measure of prosperity to those who have wealth, and a new measure of hardship to those who earn the right to live only by a daily and constant tax upon their fleeting powers of physical endurance.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—It is far from my purpose to complain that the right honorable the leader of the Opposition has brought forward this motion of censure. I suppose that he could not very well resist doing so. In any case it is said of it that it will clear the air. I hope it will. I hope it will save discussion in committee. It ought to save a great deal of discussion there on the part of the right honorable and learned gentleman, because he has made at this stage a succession of committee speeches upon the Tariff which might better have been reserved until the details are reached. I cannot complain, of course, for the right honorable and learned gentleman is entitled to deal with this subject in his own way.

Mr. REID.—I should think so.

Mr. BARTON.—And in the way in which he chooses to deal with it, we cannot do otherwise than welcome an attempt to test the position which he takes up in his assault upon the Treasury benches.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The time will come when we shall test the country.

Mr. BARTON.—The time will come! We have tested the country, and the country has answered to the test. Let it be understood that I have heard the right honorable the leader of the Opposition from end to end without interruption, and let that same fair play be accorded to me for once. Since I have been appealed to on the point, let me repeat that the question has been tested in the country, and the country has answered the test. I shall proceed to show that the proposals which we have laid before the committee are such as answer to the principles and the policy upon which we went to the country, and therefore justify us in our present position. Of course, there never was a Tariff produced in this world that was not at once greeted with shouts of

universal ruin. The experience of every one in regard to the Tariffs of these States, whether they were free-trade or protectionist, or merely revenue Tariffs, has been the same, namely, that those who are interested one way or the other rise in a chorus of denunciation. Of course we know that we are going through the normal and usual experience of those who frame Tariffs. A great many of the objections raised to the items in our Tariff are such as would have been raised whatever that Tariff had been. If I had come down here with a Tariff averaging 5 per cent., the party which follows the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney, in New South Wales, would have accused me of sneaking in protection. Fourteen years ago *ad valorem* duties were brought down in New South Wales at the rate of 5 per cent. My right honorable friend, and that great man, Sir Henry Parkes, with whom he was then seated, joined in a chorus of denunciation. It was said—"These duties are mild enough. They are not too much. They will yield the necessary revenue to meet an impending deficit." But the Government of the day were accused of sneaking in protection, with the result that the Parliament of New South Wales was subjected to a 56 hours' sitting, at the end of which time—because 12 o'clock on Saturday night had been reached—the Opposition walked out in a body as a protest. If Sir Patrick Jennings—who resigned unnecessarily, when he had a majority of 33—had held his place, as he had a right to do if he chose, those duties would have stood. But my purpose is to show that the party which opposes us, would have opposed us if we had brought down a 5 per cent. Tariff. Had they not done so they would not have been consistent. We have, therefore, the ordinary outcry about the Tariff. Does anybody who raises this outcry give a moment's credit to those who framed it for the immense labour and toil they have bestowed upon the solution of an intensely difficult problem? What was that problem? We found six States, all with differing rates of revenue, and different rates of consumption of dutiable articles—different Tariffs. They ranged from a Tariff which touched nothing save narcotics or stimulants to one which reached most of the articles either by enumeration or by a drag-net clause. It was a necessity for us to evolve order from this

chaos, and to frame a Tariff which would yield the revenue that is absolutely necessary to enable us to make the returns to the States demanded of us by the Constitution, and at the same time to prevent the destruction of industries. That is what we set out to do. That is what we have endeavoured to do; and that is what I claim we shall succeed in doing if this Tariff be passed. First, then, this Tariff is an honest attempt to fulfil our election pledges; secondly, it deals fairly with the States; and thirdly, it does not impose any burden, except what was inevitable, upon the people of Australia. I shall take these propositions one by one. First, we cannot claim—nor can any one claim—that the Tariff is perfect. No Tariff is ever perfect, even with the amendments which Parliament makes in it. The fewer the articles which it lays under contribution, the more imperfect it may be. We do not claim any impossible or absurd standard of excellence of that kind, because it was impossible for any body of men to discharge with perfect success the task which we had before us. But we do say that this Tariff fulfils our election pledges. I wish to quote from my Maitland speech, which has so often been referred to, the following passage:—

... a business Tariff which will yield the sums we need without discouraging production. I am a protectionist, and so are nearly all of my colleagues; but if we are to raise the great revenue which has been the security of the federation, then we cannot be prohibitionists, and our protection must be moderate. We are bound to fill our Treasury without emptying out our industries.

In the Town Hall, Melbourne, I said—

Whether we are protectionists or free-traders, if we consider the problem carefully we must come to the conclusion that, as between the six States comprising the Commonwealth, with their varied Tariffs, the spirit of compromise must have some sway. You in Victoria cannot have your Tariff. That is out of the question. We in New South Wales cannot have ours.

Honorable members have before them a tabulated statement of the duties operating in the several States. I cannot pretend, since notice of this motion was given, to have gone through the printed papers and to have contrasted every one of the duties contained in this Tariff with those hitherto operating in the different States. But I may tell honorable members that I went through the first four pages of that long list, and I

found that there were very few duties which tallied with the Victorian duties. A large number tallied with the duties of Queensland and Tasmania, and some of them with those of South Australia. There cannot be many duties which tally with the duties in New South Wales, except those in regard to narcotics and stimulants. If revenue was to be raised, it could not be raised on the New South Wales basis. What therefore, was the task before us? The Constitution lays it down that we must return to the States in regard to the transferred departments the amount of revenue raised within them less the amount of expenditure in those States, and that after debiting that transferred expenditure, we must also debit each State with what has been spent in it upon the new necessities of the Commonwealth. An estimate has been made of the revenue which it would be necessary to raise, taking each State by itself, in order to return to it the amount which it has been in the habit of receiving. To do that it would have been necessary in the case of New South Wales—I am speaking of the net revenue—to formulate a Tariff which would yield £4,973,000. I wish honorable members to observe that the amount in the case of New South Wales would have been under £5,000,000. The same process would have required us in the case of Victoria to raise £7,350,000; in the case of Queensland, £11,846,000; South Australia, £6,642,000; Tasmania, £10,684,000; and Western Australia, £19,500,000. The amounts, therefore, which would have been sufficient to enable us to return to each State what it was accustomed to receive, upon a fair and liberal computation, and taking the revenue for 1900 as the basis, varied from under £5,000,000 to over £19,000,000. The task before us was to adjust that difficulty in some way which would raise the amount necessary to be returned to the States without landing any of them in serious financial embarrassment, and in such a manner as not to destroy production, because that we had engaged not to do. Now, it is one thing to indulge in airy criticisms of items in a Tariff, to make little farces about starch, and to indulge in acrobaticism about twine—that is one thing, but it is another thing to frame a Tariff which will meet the required purposes; and where is the sign of that in the right honorable gentleman's speech? What attempt has he made to deal with this question

Mr. Barton.

from the stand-point of a practical statesman?

Mr. CONROY.—If the right honorable gentleman will go out we will frame a Tariff for him quickly enough.

Mr. BARTON.—I have not the slightest doubt the honorable member for Werriwa could frame a Tariff in a quarter of an hour, with the result of his own eternal condemnation.

Mr. CONROY.—He could twist twine with the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. BARTON.—I have not the slightest doubt that the honorable member could twist anything, but he had better hold his tongue just now.

Mr. CONROY.—We know the right honorable gentleman intends to take the Chief Justiceship.

Mr. BARTON.—Will the honorable member kindly say that again?

Mr. CONROY.—It is perfectly clear that the right honorable gentleman never intends to go back to Maitland again.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The honorable member did not say that.

Mr. BARTON.—No, the honorable member said clearly that I intended to take the Chief Justiceship.

The SPEAKER.—I cannot allow the honorable member for Werriwa or any other honorable member to continually interrupt the speaker.

Mr. BARTON.—An interjection has been made upon which I shall say no further than that there is nothing I have ever said or done during the whole of my career which should have subjected me to such an insult. But let us get on with the business if the honorable member will allow us to do so. I was saying that the range of the necessities of the States, as indicated from their previous position, was from £5,000,000 to £19,500,000. How is it possible to deal with a problem of that kind by criticism such as we have listened to this evening? Where was the indication of the manner in which this problem should be dealt with? If the right honorable gentleman means to reserve that for his reply, I would ask in what sort of way is he treating this Parliament? Is that the duty the right honorable gentleman owes to the House—to make his alternative proposition at a time when others will not have the opportunity for that criticism upon it which the right honorable gentleman so liberally bestows upon their efforts? That is surely not the right honorable gentleman's idea

of criticism or of courage? Fair play requires something more; and I assume, in the interests of fair play, that if the right honorable gentleman had a proper Tariff to propose, we should have heard something about it. But, sir, the problem that is involved is one which, at the time of the declaration of our policy, depended for its solution upon the closest possible investigation, and if the right honorable gentleman has no Tariff to propose then I can quite sympathize with him, for this reason: that the difficulties of framing, under such new circumstances, a thoroughly fair and workable Tariff are well nigh insuperable, even to those who have the advice and the opportunity of daily consultation with experts; and for one who sits on the other side, without such advice and without such consultation, whatever his political experience may be, I freely concede it would be an injustice to expect him to frame a Tariff. But we are entitled to know in what way it is proposed some things should be done. I am not going into the items as the right honorable gentleman did, because those are matters for discussion in committee; but I will give an illustration. Let us take the item upon which the right honorable gentleman so much delights to dwell—that sticky product, starch.

MR. O'MALLEY.—It will stiffen the right honorable gentleman's motion.

MR. REID.—The honorable member is quite right; there is too much in it.

MR. BARTON.—Let us see how the right honorable gentleman's methods would work out. He does not want to tax the starch of the poor laundry woman. He does not want to raise the price on her. The right honorable gentleman says that that is what we do, but a revenue Tariff, such as he would propose, would, of course, have nothing to do with that. Before this Tariff was brought in the duty upon starch was 2d. per lb. There was no duty upon rice for manufacture into starch. That rice was free in bond. Since the time of that freedom this Tariff for revenue purposes—and I admit for revenue purposes—has placed $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on it or 6s. 3d. per cwtal. My right honorable friend says that the result of that is that the price of starch went up 1d. per lb. But that was a revenue duty, and how can the right honorable gentleman reconcile that with this state of things: that before the revenue duty was

put on—because we have to turn to these things for revenue under the circumstances in which Australia is placed—the price of the starch made here was less than that of the imported starch? The nearest quotations I can get are these—Coleman's starch, the principal imported starch, was sold at $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., less discount of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

MR. REID.—Duty paid, though.

MR. BARTON.—Yes; duty paid, and the local starch was sold at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., less 10 per cent, which would be $3\frac{1}{4}$ d., and with a further reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the local article was sold at a rate cheaper than the imported article by $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., or by almost the extent of the duty. The difference is just $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., and that $\frac{1}{2}$ d. is all that the gentleman, against whom so many insulting remarks have been directed, derives from the whole process, since the Tariff duty of 6s. 3d. per cwtal, or 7s. per cwt., for that is what it comes to, is equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. added to the price of the manufactured article. This is a pure revenue duty, and it acts, of course, in the same way as if starch had been made subject to an excise duty. What follows? This $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. more per lb. has been added to the former price, as above mentioned, and the price now of local starch is $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., or $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., less 10 per cent., which is $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. net, as against $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the imported article, so that even now the local starch is $\frac{1}{4}$ of a penny cheaper. That is the way the thing works out, and the local article is cheaper than the imported article, the price of which has been added to by a class of duty used where necessary in this Tariff, but which would be the very backbone of the right honorable gentleman's Tariff. No other class of Tariff was contemplated if there be any truth in election speeches. And then we should have had in connexion with duties of that sort a flourish of trumpets upon the beauty of taking something out of the Chinamen. There is an instance of the result, and a sample of the effect, of the right honorable gentleman's criticisms. What was further demanded of us in making this Tariff? Let me look at it in the light of the right honorable gentleman's criticism. The first branch of his complaint is that the Government did not take the responsibility of reducing the estimate—because, of course, the question of estimates is intimately related to that of the Tariff—and that we, ourselves, admit them to be extravagant. We do not admit them to be

an extravagance upon our part, but we do admit that, in a way which it will take some time to rectify by way of retrenchment, these departments were handed over to us in some cases overloaded. But we do not turn men into the street at once; we do not turn them into the street at all if we can help it, either with our estimates or with our Tariff, or by means of a Public Service Board. The Treasurer has used his pruning-knife upon these estimates, and that to a considerable extent—to an extent visible at once to any one who chooses to refer to these figures, about which as I have said I am not going into details. So far as the Customs revenue is concerned we rightly tried to meet the necessities of the States as shown by last year's Customs receipts, and the Federal expenditure. The last year's Customs' receipts were, as stated, £7,762,000 for all the States. That was a liberal allowance for Federal expenditure to meet anything unforeseen—placing the federal expenditure at the rate estimated four years ago in Adelaide, when federal needs would not have been nearly so heavy as they are now, owing to the increase of population and the resources of the country. It would come, with that £300,000, to £8,062,053. The estimated yield from this Tariff for the remaining nine months, together with the income which has come in for the three months just passed, comes to £8,009,000, which is a very close approximation. Honorable members will see that the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs have estimated pretty closely to federal requirements; in fact, if we were to spend the whole £300,000 for new expenditure, then the addition of that sum to the estimated net receipts from customs and excise would make us fall short by £53,000 a year. We have not allowed ourselves much margin, but we have practically allowed ourselves a new expenditure not exceeding £247,000 a year up to the 30th June next. Let us see what would happen if the year 1899 were taken as a basis. A difference would then occur of about £360,000. The customs and excise receipts for that year in the various States were £7,402,602, and putting on to that the new federal expenditure—and at the full figure of £300,000—that would necessitate a revenue of £7,702,602, and the figures for 1898 would show about £263,000 less. In 1898 customs and excise yielded £7,139,201. If we add to that the additional cost of

£300,000 we get £7,439,201, so that the further we went back the less revenue would have been required. Let it be understood that that in all cases includes the collections from Inter-State traffic. It was estimated at Maitland by me that by the time the first Federal Tariff had to be brought down—that is to say in the middle of this year or a little later—there would roughly be about £800,000 collected from excise and customs in the States, taking the Inter-State traffic. In addition to that, it was thought that the other needs would amount to £500,000 or more. I said that at least £8,500,000 would be required, and perhaps it would be nearer £9,000,000, so that I was not very far off the mark. And why? Because there is another factor still to be considered, and that is that we cannot give back what is necessary to each of the States by simply raising the revenue which all the States had before and adding it to the federal expenditure, because the bookkeeping clauses in the Constitution force us into what is, as among a cohesive nation, in the nature of an equality; although the principle of justice was at the bottom, perhaps, of making that class of division for five years—to give back to each State what was collected in it, less what was spent in it, so far as the federal departments were concerned. But the necessity of the occasion was the fact which arose out of the Constitution, and which cannot arise out of anything we may do on this side or that side—that a very much larger sum would necessarily have therefore to be returned to two or three of the States than they had been receiving before, and a much less sum to the others. What necessity does that force upon us? At the outset we stated not only that we must make such returns as would meet the requirements of the States as far as possible, but that where we could not meet their requirements, we should prevent them from having serious financial embarrassments. What have we done then? None of the amounts mentioned obviously would give a sufficient total, or if they gave a sufficient total, as I have just put it, would never give a sufficient sum to each and all of the States, and the reason is, first their different necessities, and next their different revenue-producing powers. We have striven to adjust these matters by a Tariff which in the present year will, as I have said, approximately raise £8,009,000

by the combined operation of its own collections for nine months, and the receipts which the States have had from customs and excise for the past three months. We must not only do that, but we must provide for the federal expenditure, and we felt that if we were wise we should have to leave a margin for that very purpose to try to ease off the financial exigencies of the States; that is to say, to give them back a little more than would be got by the bare sum which they had raised before, together with the federal needs. And why? One has only to look at the rate of consumption of the various States to see the reason of it. May I point to that rate of consumption? In the year 1900 the rate of consumption of dutiable articles was indicated by the amounts which they severally paid to the Tariffs so far as we can derive such a calculation from varying Tariffs. The net revenue per head from customs and excise was £1 7s. in New South Wales; £1 19s. 10d. in Victoria; £3 4s. 2d. in Queensland; £1 16s. in South Australia; £2 17s. 10½d. in Tasmania; and £5 5s. 7½d. in Western Australia. It is seen that what they had been accustomed to by way of customs and excise ranged from £1 16s. 11½d. a head up to £5 5s. 7½d., in the latter case no doubt through the greater preponderance of adult males in Western Australia, and a very large consumption consequently of stimulants and narcotics as compared with the States where the proportion of females to males was larger. There was another problem that we had to deal with. In a normal year this Tariff will produce £2 7s. 5½d. a head, let us say £2 7s. 6d., according to the calculations of the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs. What does that mean? It means that it will produce a larger sum per head than the Tariffs of three of the States and a smaller sum per head than the Tariffs of three other States, and no human ingenuity could, by any means, have prevented that. What is the result of that again? The Tariff, in order to meet the difficulty raised by the average of £5 5s. 7½d. per head, would have produced £19,500,000, whereas, in order to place it on the same footing as the former New South Wales Tariff, at £1 7s. per head, the revenue from our Tariff would have amounted to less than £5,000,000. That is where the trouble—as the vernacular

puts it—bumps up against us. How was it possible to frame a tariff to meet these varying conditions without taking into account the staring fact that to give back all that was required or asked for or expected would have meant a tariff that would yield more than twice as much as that now proposed, whilst to give back the least that was expected by any of the States would have called for a tariff only five-ninths as large as that we are now proposing. We had to endeavour to take the middle course, and we knew that in taking it we should have to pour into the Treasury of New South Wales an enormous sum of money.

Mr. CAMERON.—They can reduce their taxation in other ways.

Mr. WILKS.—The trouble is that they will not do it.

Mr. BARTON.—They could do many things with the money, but it is not for us to suggest the way in which they should spend it. Many courses are open to them, such as selling less land, the reduction of taxation in other directions, the application of the money to the purposes of a sinking fund for the extinction of the public debt, or the appropriation of the money to local Government purposes; and there are many other things that they might do. I do not think it will be found that, notwithstanding the large accession to its revenue, either the Treasurer or the people of New South Wales will have any complaint to make when the Tariff has operated for a few years.

Mr. WILKS.—They complain now.

Mr. BARTON.—Of course the statement on the other side is that they will find cause to complain; but there are some people who think that if they say a thing often enough in this world, it must be true. We are fixing a limit, to which we should strive to adjust matters, the total in a normal year being about £9,000,000, although the current year will only bring us in a little over £8,000,000. That must be either approved or condemned by my right honorable friend. If he approves, well and good, but if he does not approve—and he does not—and if he suggests anything else he must add to the difficulties of the States, which are left with deficiencies under the present arrangement; and how he can be supported in that course by any one elected from Tasmania, Western Australia, or Queensland, is a Chinese puzzle.

Mr. CAMERON.—The money will remain in the pockets of the people.

Mr. BARTON.—Of course, the less we tax the people, the more they will have in their pockets, as far as taxation is concerned, but does not my honorable friend see that it is of no use to the citizens to have a lot of money jingling in their pockets if the public Treasury is bankrupt, and the public credit is gone.

Mr. CAMERON.—It will simply shift the incidence of taxation.

Mr. BARTON.—It will do more than that, because there is a great deal of difficulty in imposing any more direct taxation in Tasmania. That is a matter of common knowledge to any one who has studied the subject. I was dealing with the possible adjustment of a total of £9,000,000 in a normal year, the total, I think being, as exactly brought out, £8,942,000. Of course that is a high Tariff; and we cannot meet these difficulties without a high Tariff. That, as I shall show presently, is the price paid for Inter-State free-trade. But was not the high Tariff expected? Did not the leader of the Opposition expect a high Tariff himself? If he did not, why did he say in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, on the 21st February, 1899, that there was bound to be a very high Tariff, and that that was the price we were about to pay for federation, or, in other words, that that was the price we were to pay for intercolonial free-trade? Surely that utterance of his is sufficient in itself to shatter any attempt to say that the burdens of the Commonwealth can be borne so as to do justice to the States by a low Tariff, ordinarily known as a revenue Tariff. There must be a Tariff which, to those who have been accustomed to a free-trade Tariff, appears to be highly protective. But we must recollect that this is largely a question of standpoint. The question of whether a Tariff is regarded as high or low, or is a revenue or a protective Tariff, depends very largely on the condition of things which has prevailed in the several States, of which my own, or that from which I come, is only one of six, although I am happy to say that in natural resources and in population, I believe, it leads the van. That eminent abundance of resources and that superiority of population have been a great stand-by to that State in the past, and have enabled it, with liberal sales of land, the proceeds of which have been treated as

revenue, to go on from year to year—that is, together with the additional means derived from loans into which everything was crowded which bore the least semblance of being not merely reproductive but a permanent work, even it were only a wooden bridge. If, as I was saying, the leader of the Opposition does not approve of a Tariff which in a normal year would approach £9,000,000 the exact figures being £8,942,000, and if he attempts another plan, he will add to the difficulties of the States which are left short at present. Let us examine this statement. The figures I quote are all extracted from the Budget papers which accompanied the Budget and the Tariff. Queensland, as we stand with this Tariff, supposing it to be carried, will be nearly a quarter of a million short, or, to give the exact figures, £246,979 as estimated. If we knock off Queensland's share of the extra million, out of which is to come not merely the new expenses of federation but all further effort to meet the difficulties of the States which will otherwise experience a serious shortage. If we knock off the difference between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 her proportion of the deficiency will be increased 50 per cent. If we say the deficiency will be increased by £150,000, or, to be exact, by £123,000 the shortage of Queensland will then be about £370,000, or approaching £400,000 a year. In the case of Tasmania the deficiency will be increased by nearly £40,000, so that instead of being short £149,000—at first, of course, for these things tend to equalize later on—that State will be short nearly £190,000. Honorable members who follow me will find the verification of these statements in the public figures. Western Australia will have her position made worse by nearly £80,000 or, in other words, will have her deficiency increased from £251,000 to £330,000. In South Australia the surplus estimated of £16,199 will disappear, and be replaced by a deficit of about £60,000, or, in other words, that State will be worse off by £76,000. Victoria, to come nearer to where we are, instead of having a surplus of £175,271, will have a deficiency of about £100,000; that is to say, she will be worse off by £275,000. I am still speaking of a normal year, and I put it to honorable members whether these results would not be simply intolerable? It is very easy to say that the taxpayer will save, but, as I said before, if we for one

moment put alongside the saving to the taxpayer, the condition of the impaired national credit, it will be seen that the taxpayer's position is not improved, because he suffers in all his avocations by the loss of credit. The figures showing the results in a normal year are given, and these rough computations are given by the officers on a basis of £9,000,000; that is, on the supposition that a Tariff of £9,000,000 total will give certain results to each State, and that a Tariff of £8,000,000 will, as a mere matter of arithmetic, give one-ninth less. Therefore, I take it, that the contention against us that we are raising too much, must fail in view of the disastrous results to five out of the six States. If anything else were attempted the only State whose Treasury would be in the semblance of a sound position, would be New South Wales, and the disaster and suffering in all the other States would be enormous. It was not for that we entered into federation. We have been charged with failing to adjust the burdens of taxation fairly. We have been charged with pressing on the necessities of life, and on the farming and pastoral industries, more than on luxuries. As to the farming industry, about which so much is said, agricultural machinery is made here which is pretty well as good as any that can be got elsewhere. It has not been by the duties to which agricultural machinery has been subjected that Australia, or any part of it, has been bled—and we must look at six States, and not at one—but it has been by something else. There have been combinations to which protected manufacturers have been strangers, but with which certain importers have been familiar. One of the cases was hinted at in an interjection by the honorable member for Bland, namely, that of reapers and binders. I do not know whether it is a fact, but it may be, that in anticipation of the Tariff to be enacted here, the price of reapers and binders has dropped from £55 to £32. But with a price of from £16 to £20 for reapers and binders in the United States and in Canada, how came it that, until that Tariff loomed in the distance, a reaper and binder was charged for in Victoria at the rate of £55? Reapers and binders were free—they were not subject to duty. What protectionist machination was it that took an article worth from £16 to £20 and charged for it at the rate of £55? No manufacturer in a protected industry had

anything to do with that. Who had to do with it? The importer. There is now a reduction of nearly 100 per cent. on that very article. But what has protection to do with that? There is a typical instance. Who can say that the tricks of trade are confined to one class or another? Who contends that every protectionist and every protected manufacturer is an honest man? Nobody! Who says that every free-trade importer is an honest man? Nobody, either, who is sane! The fact is that, while there are black sheep in every flock, abuses of this kind are possible just as much under free-trade as under protection. There are some who would say more; I will leave it at that. But I will say that these abuses are just as much possible under one régime as under the other. It is shown from an instance of that kind that agriculture generally is not likely to thrive while certain people can rig the market, and charge more than three times the value of an article, though there is no duty upon it. As to the pastoral industry, it seems to me that that has been thrown in only as a makeshift. The right honorable and learned member has not given instances that are worthy of attention with regard to the pressure upon that industry. But it is quite true—undoubtedly true—that we cannot protect the production of wool, if that is the point of the contention. No one says that we can. No one has urged it on this side, or will urge it. But still there is this to be recollected—that with a reasonable protection, which declines to let down into the dust any established industry, which does not profess to raise mountains of Tariff walls but only to prevent destruction, it is possible to have such a production of woollen material in this country as will assure the making up of our own product in our own land and at no loss to our own people. While, as I have said, I do not wish to follow my right honorable and learned friend through the numerous intricacies wherein he wriggled among the Tariff papers, yet I would point out that he has complained among other things that silks are not taxed as highly as blankets. Let us take that as another instance. How does my right honorable and learned friend bring about that contention? By taking the duty on the finished article on the one side as against the duty on a comparatively raw product

on the other. Silk under the heading of apparel—that is to say, the finished article—is charged 25 per cent., which is the highest *ad valorem* rate on textiles. It is the same rate as is charged for all apparel, whether made from woollen or silk. To say that we have treated silk more leniently than blankets is grossly incorrect on this comparison, because when we turn to blankets in the finished state, we find that this Government has specially taken them out of the 25 per cent. list, and has included them in the 20 per cent. list, though in the case of blankets the wool and the finished article are produced here. See how an instance of that kind, elaborately worked up, disappears immediately one takes the two articles according to the rate of advance in manufacture which they occupy! Take them both as unfinished articles, and then take them both as finished articles, and it will be found that it is not the poor man's blanket that is the more highly taxed, but the rich woman's silk. Then take silk piece goods, that are not capable of production here, but are the raw material for silken apparel to be made here. They are admitted at 15 per cent., as being, comparatively speaking, raw material. Criticism on this point must be silent if the right honorable and learned member is going to admit that, when he produces his Tariff, if he gets the opportunity, he is going to have one uniform *ad valorem* list for articles, no matter in what state they are as regards their advance towards being finished products. If he is going to set forth a 5, 10, and 15 per cent. list instead of an average of 20 per cent.—because that is the line, except on a very few articles—and if he taxes the finished product under his Tariff more highly than the raw material, then to that extent he is a protectionist.

Mr. THOMSON.—Not at all.

Mr. BARTON.—If my right honorable and learned friend discriminates between those two things, and says that he makes an advantage in favour of one of them because it is a finished product—an advantage, that is to say, to the manufacturer and the employé—and does the opposite with regard to another, which is either actually or relatively a raw product, by that act of discrimination he confesses himself a disciple of protection. If that is not so, it seems to me to be hard to see what does constitute protection on any article. It is easy to talk of duties at 10 and 15 per cent., but when

one has to face the responsibility of raising such an amount of revenue as will relieve these States from financial distress, one finds that one has to have a Tariff very much like the one submitted to honorable members. As to the case of boots and shoes, of which we have heard a great deal to the effect that under this Tariff they are taxed to an enormous rate, I have had an estimate made to show what it amounts to. There is a great art in instancing matters of this sort. It is an art easy to accomplish, by taking out certain lines, and putting them forward as the ruling rate, without saying anything about the average. The question is the average. What is the average? The average of taxation on boots and shoes—which is a composite rate—reduced to the terms of *ad valorem* rates, is this. On men's boots, size above fives, which the right honorable and learned member instanced, instead of the rate being 60 to 61 per cent., the average is 30. On women's boots above twos, the average is 35; and in the matter of slippers, concerning which my right honorable and learned friend was so eloquent, the average is 30 per cent. That is enough to show how easy it is to take out certain items, and try to base a general statement upon them which is most dangerously misleading. I have had a return prepared to show the extent to which this Tariff injures mining machinery and supplies, regarding which certain telegrams were published a day or two ago, and were sent to me and other honorable members, from Western Australia. One would think that in these lines there was some enormous amount imported from outside. I have here a return of the imports of mining machinery into the State of Western Australia; also timber capable of use for mining purposes, during years 1899 and 1900. We shall see how far the figures of these returns make out the total for the wholesale ruin spoken of.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Do they refer to imports from outside Australia or within?

Mr. BARTON.—They deal with the total imports, because we have to take those from other parts of Australia as well as those from the outside world. I have had them calculated in regard to mining machinery, the produce of British and foreign countries, and also in regard to articles produced in Australia. In 1899 the value of mining machinery produced in Great Britain or foreign States and

imported into Western Australia was £96,614; while the Australian produce of the same kind was £73,948, or within nearly £23,000 of that from outside. Honorable members must recollect, when I read of articles the produce of Australia, that those will be free of duty from now, except so far as Western Australia chooses, inter-colonially, to render them subject to duty under section 95 of the Constitution. In 1900, the British and foreign mining machinery amounted to £169,844—and see how closely that from Australia comes—while the Australian produce amounted to £152,452. That makes a total of £170,562 for 1899, and £322,296 for 1900. The total for the two years was as follows:—British and foreign produce in mining machinery, £266,458; Australian ditto, £226,400. Total, £492,858. Now we come to parts of machinery. In 1899, the British and foreign produce in parts of machinery brought in amounted to £27,551, while that of Australia amounted to £27,985; a total of £55,736. In 1900, the British and foreign produce in parts of machinery was valued at £61,252; and that of Australia at £49,861, a total of £111,113. The sum of the two years in each case was: British and foreign, £89,003; Australian, £77,846. Total, £166,849. These figures will show that except so far as Western Australia herself chooses to keep out mining machinery and parts of mining machinery, it is open to her, under this Tariff, to resort to a market which she has found in the past practically as good as the British.

Mr. POYNTON.—Yet the right honorable and learned gentleman estimates that he will get £80,000 from these lines.

Mr. BARTON.—Suppose we do. I should like to know what my honorable friend thinks he is proving when he says that. Next we come to timber. The British and foreign unworked timber imported into Western Australia in 1899 amounted to £20,435, and that of Australia to £6,753, making a total of £27,188. British and foreign timber in balk, rough and hewn, amounted to £2,962, and Australian to £271 only; making a total of £3,233. In the following year, 1900, we see how the two sources of supply in unworked timber begin to approximate. The British and foreign unworked timber for that year was £13,970, and the Australian £8,332, making a total of £22,302. In balk, for the

same year, the figures are: British and foreign timber, rough and hewn, £2,547; Australian, £461. Total, £3,008. So that the absolute total importations of timber for the two years were as follows:—British and foreign, £39,914; Australian, £15,817; making a total of £55,731.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—That relates only to Western Australia.

Mr. BARTON.—Yes. But these figures have some relation to the outcry about the absolute destruction of the interests of the miner—and also of the mining company, which is carefully omitted from newspaper paragraphs—in regard to the importations of machinery on the one hand, and of timber on the other. The return is illustrative as showing that there is an ample market for the supply of all these products in Australia. The fact that the local products have been imported into Western Australia to such an extent shows that they can be imported to advantage.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Broken Hill is a much larger proposition.

Mr. BARTON.—I shall be happy if my honorable friend will give us the figures relating to Broken Hill. I have had this return prepared as an example. I do not wish to conceal anything. If the honorable member will produce the figures relating to Broken Hill, I shall be as pleased as if I were able to quote them myself.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—It is a well-known fact that most of that machinery can be manufactured here as cheaply as anywhere else.

Mr. BARTON.—Now, as to the duties on necessities, particularly as regards food. There is one thing which we have to notice, namely, that these duties are mainly in the interests of the agriculturist, whom we are said to have neglected.

Mr. CAMERON.—They will not benefit the farmer a penny.

Mr. BARTON.—That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. CAMERON.—I am a farmer, and I ought to know.

Mr. BARTON.—There are some farmers whom nothing will benefit.

Mr. CAMERON.—They will not benefit under the Government Tariff proposals.

Mr. BARTON.—These duties are mainly in the interests of the agriculturist, who is said to have had no consideration shown to him under this Tariff, and they are on articles which have

been and are being produced here, or on articles which displace articles of local production. The argument on the other side is based on the fallacy that duties on articles which may be produced here permanently increase prices. That is not correct. So far as some of the items challenged by my right honorable and learned friend are concerned, he will find, if he will take the two *bêtes noir* of his party—boots, shoes, and hats—that those grades of boots and shoes in respect of which he says workmen are so heavily taxed, are sold in the markets of Melbourne as cheaply as in the markets of Sydney. Not only is that the case, but plenty of Victorian boots and shoes are sold in the Sydney market.

MR. REID.—At very different prices.

MR. BARTON.—No. I can quite understand statistics coming from men who call themselves boot manufacturers, such as the "T Company," and the "Fitwell Company," who mention that they are manufacturers, and employ a number of hands. But they employ a much larger number of hands elsewhere, by reason of their importations. We must remember, if we are to set up statistics that come from interested sources on either side, that we must be impartial, and deal with them as we would deal with others, and investigate the extent to which these people depend upon importations, when they decry the Tariff.

MR. POYNTER.—They employ 1,000 people.

MR. BARTON.—The total given is 1,063, including those employed in the manufacture of slippers. Now the complaint is made that the article of "jewellery" is not taxed sufficiently, because it is a luxury. It is placed on the highest line of the *ad valorem* list, and should be so. It is as high, if not higher—and in this respect I admit that the Tariff goes high—than it has been in any of the States or in New Zealand, although 5 per cent. below that of Canada. It is an article which lends itself to smuggling, and if, as suggested, we were to tax it higher than we propose to do, the extreme rates would provoke smuggling. The comparative rates in regard to Canada and New Zealand are set forth in a tabulated statement which has been put before honorable members. I am not going to weary the House by going through them, but I will make one comparison which is instructive. First of all I

have a word or two to say about the Canadian Tariff. It will be within the recollection of honorable members—and this is on the point of whether ours is relatively a higher Tariff as compared with the sister Federation or that of other countries—that some seven or eight years ago Sir Wilfrid Laurier acceded to power, and proceeded to make alterations in the Tariff. He and his party are what are called "free-traders" over there, but I really suppose that they may now be put down under the fashionable term of "revenue tariffists." I have here a quotation from the *Argus* of 15th February last, which was the day after I addressed an audience in the Melbourne Town Hall during the progress of the federal campaign. It reads as follows:—

Mr. Barton repeated the statement which he made at Maitland, and on which, indeed, he founds many of his remarks that to raise the required revenue there must be "a high Tariff."

That is precisely what my right honorable and learned friend said in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, on 21st February, 1899. The report continues:—

Mr. Barton added that a low Tariff is a delusion.

I did not say that. The *Argus* knows what I said. I said that a low Tariff which would not return to the States what was necessary in order to keep them solvent was a delusion. The *Argus* further says—

Here we have a long standing controversy as to the revenue effect of low and high duties, which it is unnecessary to-day to discuss. However, there is a present case directly in point. Writing on the Tariff reduction effected by the Laurier Government, the *Toronto Globe* says:—"The change effected by the liberal Ministry removes unnecessary taxation, so that the revenue was increased at the same time that the burdens of taxation were lightened. That was regarded as an impossibility by the conservative Government, and its members are still mystified by the appearance of an increased revenue from a lowered rate of taxation."

What was that Tariff? It was the free-trade Tariff. In the tabulated statement it appears side by side with the Tariffs of all the States. Let any one read it, and ask what the free-trade party would have said if we had dared to propose such a Tariff.

MR. REID.—It is a mongrel Tariff like that proposed by the Government.

MR. BARTON.—The Tariff may or may not be a mongrel one, but it comes

from the party to which the right honorable and learned member belongs.

Mr. REID.—No, not that sort of Tariff party.

Mr. BARTON.—It comes from the party to which the leader of the Opposition belongs, and which, perhaps, better recognises than does he the difficulty of raising a sufficient revenue for a number of aggregated States without a high incidence of taxation, unless an impossible rate of direct taxation is resorted to. By the way, we have heard nothing of that to-day, notwithstanding that we have seen—besides being informed of the fact by the newspapers—that a figure so directly associated with the single tax, as that of Mr. Max Hirsch, has been haunting the precincts of this House for the past week.

Mr. REID.—He is not running a factory, at any rate.

Mr. BARTON.—Yes; he is running a factory. He is running a factory of fabrications upon the Tariff, and we have had some of them to-night. He is running a factory which gives employment to himself, but which tends to take away employment from others.

Mr. REID.—I should like to know of the manufacturers who have been haunting the Cabinet during the last few weeks.

Mr. BARTON.—I knew that before I finished my speech, my right honorable and learned friend would indulge in his usual habit of manufacturing interjections.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable and learned gentleman kept the Ministerial members very quiet?

Mr. BARTON.—Yes, I did. I kept my party quiet because I thought the leader of the Opposition would like to be treated with a little respect, and because whether he deserved it or not it was our duty to respect him. It seems, however, that I am not to be allowed to bring forward any obvious facts without encountering a running fire of interjections which seem to be based on the notion that my tongue can be stopped. I come now to the Canadian Tariff. Without going through it, I ask honorable members to compare the highest rate in the Federal Tariff with the highest rate in the Canadian Tariff. The highest *ad valorem* duty in the Federal Tariff is 25 per cent., whilst in the Canadian it is 50 per cent. The number of such duties in the case of the Federal Tariff is 47, and in the case of the

Canadian Tariff 212, or more than four times as many.

Mr. REID.—What does that prove?

Mr. BARTON.—It proves that there is in existence, under the guise of free-trade in a sister Federation, a Tariff which, when compared with those of any of the Australian States, or with the one under discussion, is a perfectly mountainous Tariff. Nevertheless the newspaper upon which the right honorable and learned member depends for support in Victoria has pronounced an eulogium upon that Tariff, either knowing or not knowing the facts, but in either case its action was reprehensible.

Mr. GLYNN.—It did not do that.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable and learned member for South Australia will find food for thought in the article referred to, which will make him talk less. These are instances and incidents which give food for thought in regard to the effrontery of the claim that when one takes into consideration the task which was imposed upon the Government, this is an extravagant or an improper Tariff. Let us look at it in another way. This Tariff is defensible by an Australian, whether he be a freetrader or not, upon the ground that the average incidence per head is less than it has been hitherto. If we take the figures which have been laid upon the table of the House we find that the average contribution per head under the proposed Tariff in a normal year is £2 7s. 5½d., or practically £2 7s. 6d., whilst the average per head actually paid throughout Australia in 1899-1900 was £2 8s. 5d., or 1s. more.

Mr. REID.—Six different States?

Mr. BARTON.—It is the six different States, and that is where the trouble of the right honorable and learned member comes in. He talks about six different States, but he cannot realize that they are one indissoluble nation. If he would only look at this matter from the standpoint of an Australian, instead of supposing that the Tariff in one State can rule the Tariffs in the other five States, if he would realize that not only has revenue to be obtained, but that we must not allow industries which support our people to be so impoverished as to make our people poor, he would not always be harping upon New South Wales. That State is quite as dear to me as it is to the right honorable and learned member. It is a country of which I am as proud as he is,

and to which, I believe, in regard to this question of federation, I have rendered as much service as any other man. One cannot harp either upon Victoria or upon New South Wales. There are people all over Australia who are wondering when federal legislators and public men are going to discontinue talking about the relative positions of New South Wales and Victoria, and commence to talk instead about Australian interests. That is the talk that we want to hear. Upon that Australian basis, which is a fair basis to take, the average taxation per head for 1899-1900 was £2 8s. 5d., whilst the average proposed under this Tariff is, roughly speaking, 1s. per head less. This average, as compared with that paid by the various States last year, is, of course, vastly different. We get, I admit it, an increase of £1 0s. 6d. per head, according to the statistician's computation in New South Wales; but I have still to add to that, as I mentioned many times before the referendum, that it is a fallacious statement to say that taxation is so much per head without having regard to the fact of who pays the taxation. In this case, where the abandonment of the taxation would mean destruction, we should have to console the working men by telling them that they would have to get things very much cheaper out of nothing. Apart from that, take the *ad valorem* basis of taxation in this Tariff, and what do we find? If a man wants a £2 dress piece for his wife, and the rate of taxation upon that is 10 per cent., he pays 4s., and the man who wants a £15 dress piece for his wife pays 30s., because he buys a superior material? Do we require to be told at this time of the day that, whatever objections are held against it, taxation by *ad valorem* duties—to be avoided in some cases, I admit—is nevertheless, where it does exist, a taxation according to means? Taking into consideration facts of that kind, let us look at this list. The proposed Tariff for all the States is £2 7s. 6d. per head. In New South Wales the former Tariff was £1 7s. per head, in Victoria £1 19s. 10d., in Queensland £3 4s. 2d., in South Australia £1 16s., in Tasmania £2 17s. 10½d., and in Western Australia £5 5s. 7½d. New South Wales has to pay £1 0s. 6d. per head more per year, taking the taxation at per head; Victoria, 7s. 8d. more; Queensland, 16s. 8d. less; South Australia, 9s. 6d. more;

Mr. Barton.

Tasmania, 10s. 4½d. less; and Western Australia, £2 18s. 1½d. less.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—What has that got to do with the mode of levying? That is only the amount required.

Mr. BARTON.—Perhaps the honorable member will allow me to finish my argument. I do not see that that interjection is at all relevant.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is exactly relevant.

Mr. BARTON.—No, that is because the honorable member does not understand. The cry is about the burden of the taxation, and the cry as regards New South Wales is about the burden of taxation, and not the incidence and mode of levying. These figures are relevant to this fact: that the taxpayer, in order to be levelled up, has to pay more in three of the States, and less in the other three, and that then the Treasurer, in order that we may approximate to a level as the years go on, is worse off in the three States where the taxpayer will be best off, and best off in the three States where the taxpayer will be worst off. Where we have to strike a line is this: We are liable to fall into serious danger and to cause injury to the whole of the Commonwealth unless some middle line is drawn which, without making the burden of taxation too high upon the people, nevertheless takes care and secures that not one of the States shall be landed in any helpless condition.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—How does that affect the equality of incidence?

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable member, if I may say so politely, can talk about the equality of incidence until he is black in the face, but I am working up to another point, and if the honorable gentleman does not see it I cannot help him. What I am driving at is this: If the people of Australia were taxed as high per head as they were formerly, the Federal Tariff would yield £9,126,541 in a normal year. That is, if the people were taxed at the average of £2 8s. 5d. per head; the average being, as proposed by this Tariff, £2 7s. 6d., accounts for the difference between £9,126,541 and £8,942,000. That is the difference under this Tariff if we take Australia as a whole. Hence the result of it is—what many would like to conceal—that the people of Australia get Inter-State free-trade at the price of the saving of 1s. per head all round.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The only thing is that the wrong fellow pays.

Mr. BARTON.—If honorable members opposite had any confidence in their own case they would be content with addressing themselves to it according to parliamentary order and regulations. These attempts to interrupt and prevent a reasonable, friendly discussion of the matter are typical of the sense they have of the exposure of the fallacy of their arguments. Let me contrast this condition, with regard to the burden per head, with the only Tariff of a considerable revenue character which New South Wales ever had—the Dibbs Tariff, which was brought in at the end of 1891. It took effect just about the end of that year, and a normal year of that Tariff was 1892, because, so far as regards its operation in 1893 and 1894, those were panic years, as we all know. The operation of the Dibbs Tariff in 1892 was that the average burden of taxation on the people was £2 8s. 11d. per head.

Mr. WILKS.—And it operated only for two years.

Mr. BARTON.—It operated for three years certain and for part of a fourth, but I am not taking in any more than the year which supplies a fair comparison, because the others were panic years. In that year 1892 the Dibbs Tariff yielded £2 8s. 11d. per head. The result, therefore, is that, as regards New South Wales and the rest of Australia, the average payment per head under this Tariff being £2 7s. 6d., the burden upon the people is 1s. 5d. per head less under this Tariff in a normal year than it was in New South Wales under the Dibbs Tariff in the normal year of 1892.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The Dibbs Tariff did the whole of that at 10 per cent.

Mr. BARTON.—The Dibbs Tariff did not do it at 10 per cent. It was 10 per cent. and 15 per cent., and my honorable friend will recollect that there was a large number of fixed duties, and, in addition to that, the Dibbs Tariff covered a very large range of the field of taxation. It is only fair that a revenue tariffist should be allowed to make an uninterrupted speech.

Mr. REID.—That was not to help me.

Mr. BARTON.—Nothing will ever help the right honorable gentlemen. A man who stands in my position should not be subject to constant attempts to prevent him from saying what he has to say. If that is fair then I congratulate those on the other side, I congratulate them upon their tactics

which ought to appeal to every quarter of the House.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Surely the right honorable gentleman does not object to a friendly interjection?

Mr. BARTON.—I object to a friend being so friendly in his interjections as to try to make my speech instead of leaving me to make it myself, and that is what the honorable member is doing. Of course, I am accustomed to this sort of thing, and one always knows from it the state of feeling in the quarter from which it comes. It is a barometer. The leader of the Opposition had something to say about wages. Since the right honorable member spoke I have had a comparison made of the wages in Victoria and in New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—Ananias?

Mr. BARTON.—I do not know whether we can call Coghlan Ananias; most of the figures are his.

Mr. REID.—No; I stand by him.

Mr. BARTON.—The remainder are taken from the reports of the Victorian wages boards, and I do not know that we should call any one of them Ananias.

Mr. REID.—I do not know them.

Mr. BARTON.—But this is what comes out of that little comparison. I do not say it with pleasure, because I would rather that it was more in favour of the worker in New South Wales. This is the comparison for good and all, and my right honorable friend can ransack the official sources, and see whether it is not true. I shall take some of those employed in the principal industries. In bread-making in Victoria the minimum wage is 50s. for 48 hours. In New South Wales the minimum paid is 27s. 6d., and the average 43s. 6d. for an unlimited number of hours. In the boot and shoe trade in Victoria the general average for males is 44s. 9d. for 48 hours; in New South Wales the average for males is from 35s. 6d. to 36s. 6d. In Victoria, in the same trade, the minimum for females is 20s., and the average 22s. In New South Wales the average for females is 16s.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Why, it is a sweater's paradise.

Mr. CONROY.—Living is cheaper over there.

Mr. BARTON.—If you sell enough land, and borrow enough money, and at the same time give a good time to the importer, there is nothing that you cannot do. In the clothing trade in Victoria the minimum

for females is 20s. or 30s., and the average 22s. In New South Wales for females the minimum is from 8s. to 10s., and the average from 11s. 9d. to 16s.

Mr. WILKS.—One schedule includes improvers.

Mr. BARTON.—In the coopering trade in Victoria the minimum for adult males is 56s. for 48 hours. In New South Wales the minimum for adult males is 20s., and the average 37s. 3d. In the bedding trade in Victoria the minimum for adult males is 46s., and for females with four years' experience 20s. In New South Wales the minimum for males is 30s., as against 46s., and the average 45s. 9d., which is pretty close. The minimum for females is 16s. 6d., and the average 21s. 3d., which in this case is actually higher than it is in Victoria. For cabinetmakers, &c., in Victoria the minimum is 48s., and the average 50s. In New South Wales the minimum is from 25s. to 35s., and the average from 40s. to 48s. In the jam trade in Victoria for adult males the minimum is 30s., and for females over eighteen 17s. In New South Wales the minimum for males is from 15s. to 17s. 6d., and the average from 23s. 9d. to 31s. 9d. For females the minimum is 7s. 6d., and the average 8s. We can understand why there are not so many women employed in certain trades in New South Wales as there are in Victoria.

Mr. WILKS.—Because they are better employed.

Mr. REID.—You call all girls of 10 women.

Mr. BARTON.—In the shirt-making trade—the Song of the Shirt!—in Victoria the minimum for females is 16s., and in New South Wales from 9s. to 10s. In Victoria the average is 20s., and in New South Wales from 12s. 9d. to 13s. 3d. And yet this question of the Song of the Shirt belongs wholly to protectionist places.

Mr. REID.—Wonderful! Try that in the Town Hall.

Mr. BARTON.—In the tanning trade the minimum for fleshers is 45s. in Victoria, and 36s. in New South Wales; for general hands, 34s. in Victoria, and 20s. in New South Wales—the averages being 42s. 6d. and 32s.

Mr. REID.—It is a wonder they do not rush over here.

Mr. BARTON.—As my right honorable friend spread himself out so much in

trying to draw a distinction about occupations and wages in the States, it is just as well to bring him face to face with the Australian view of things. If he will pick out one State, he must expect to be confronted with another, and until he abandons his idea of trying to decide everything by selected instances with regard to one State, he will never get that Australian view which he has been striving in vain to add to his vision. I do not want to take up much more time on this matter. There is much more material in these printed papers, and there is a deal of what my right honorable friend said I might follow him in, if he had not made, as I ventured to say, a committee speech, instead of discussing the principle of the matter. I want to add that he did not forget the sugar. There is in this Tariff a proposal that there shall be charged on sugar an import duty of £6 per ton, an excise of £3 a ton, but a rebate of £2 a ton in favour of white-grown cane sugar, so that the white-grown cane sugar stands in relation to the imported article as one to six, paying in the result a balance of £1 excise duty, while the imported sugar pays £6 a ton. My right honorable friend said that he was prepared to adopt these rates. I do not doubt him, but what became of the rest of his speech once he was prepared to adopt that difference? That is a scheme no doubt protective, but for the purpose of carrying out a high national object: it is for the purpose of preventing certain legislation from being felt too harshly or too injuriously, and of enabling our own people to be preferred in work on their own land. That is the object of it, and it cannot be disguised either by my right honorable friend or by me. But if he wants to be chosen as a free-trader, and says I am to be rejected as a protectionist, where is the difference between us according to his own showing?

Mr. REID.—Only the difference of the kanaka.

Mr. BARTON.—My right honorable friend will have a reply which may possibly be more effective than these interruptions. If he is prepared to make a difference of £3 a ton on sugar, no matter how grown, in favour of the local producer, and a difference of £5 on other sugar locally grown, if the producer is white, then how can he justify that except by saying that there are occasions when protection is a good thing? But we can go to history for that. When

my right honorable friend made his Tariff he dealt with the sugar duty, which was, I think, 5s. a cwt. in New South Wales, with an allowance in favour of refined sugar.

Mr. REID.—Against refined sugar.

Mr. BARTON.—With regard to the £5 a ton duty, my right honorable friend proposed to abolish it altogether, but did he do it? He was to take it off at the rate of £1 per year, but when he got through two years he knew that the industry was about to be destroyed, and therefore he stopped in the career which, if you believe him, he wants to begin here. The cry of the sugar producer touched his heart, I believe, and rightly so, but the Australian producer to-day can make no appeal to him. Is it because he does not exist in New South Wales?

Mr. REID.—I draw the line at 70 per cent.

Mr. BARTON.—Is it not as much our duty to take the course we are now doing in regard to a great Australian industry and stop its destruction—because these great and substantial industries are now the assets of the State under Inter-State free-trade—as it was the duty of the right honorable gentleman to stop the destruction of the sugar industry some years ago. He did stop it, and I say it is to his credit. He yielded to the representations that were made to him, and he showed the spirit in which we say that we are acting at the beginning of our national career. We are extending our action to cover the cases of substantial industries because they all belong to Australia; but the right honorable gentleman will not do it because his heart, although once touched, is no longer open. And it will always be so with gentlemen who are protectionists at one time and free-traders at another—not one time free-traders, who afterwards become convinced of the benefits of protection, but who talk free-trade and act as protectionists by turns, as my right honorable friend does.

Mr. REID.—I do not think I deserve this from the Prime Minister after what I did in New South Wales.

Mr. BARTON.—I think the right honorable gentleman does deserve it—he deserves that I should quote the instance I have given. He said that he put on the sugar duty for revenue purposes, but he re-introduced some of the Dibbs duties some years ago. He

said then that those duties were intended to produce revenue, but he imposed duties not on articles that would produce revenue, but on those that were being made in New South Wales—another slight aberration. If those duties were proposed for revenue purposes—if my friend's heart was touched to the point of stopping the reduction of the sugar duties after they had reached £3 per ton—why was not the ordinary free-trade complement of import duties adopted? Why was not the tax supplemented by an excise duty upon sugar? If the object was revenue, then a £1 or £2 excise upon the £3 import duty would have been all right, or even a £3 excise; because, according to the doctrine which we have by the grace of Senator Pulsford, when you put an import duty on material you can make within the State it is your bounden duty for the sake of the revenue to clap on an excise duty just as big. That was not done with the sugar duties, and what was the reason why it was not done? If the object of the duty was to obtain revenue it would and should have been done; but the object was a continuance of protection, however much my right honorable friend may try to disguise that fact. With regard to the sugar duties under this Tariff, my right honorable friend stands convicted, not of the disease, but of the crime of protection. He would give this money to the bloated sugar grower—as he would express himself if he reverted to his old style of denouncing protection—he would have the bloated sugar grower make heaps of money by the export duty and the rebate, and gobble it all up and not give anything to his white workmen.

Mr. REID.—I never said that.

Mr. BARTON.—No, my right honorable friend never said that, because he knows that the object of these proposals is to provide a fund out of which the sugar grower can pay his white workmen, and it will not suit the right honorable gentleman to say that, because if he laid too much stress upon it he would be contradicting what he said in the rest of his speech about the profits going into the pockets of the manufacturers. We hear very much talk about inconsistency, and surely I may be forgiven for drawing attention to these little aberrations of my right honorable friend, who expects a perfect Tariff, and is

ready to swallow at one gulp what, according to his theory, is the most protective item in it. The prohibitive, or almost prohibitive, duty on sugar, as it has been described by the free-trade press, which with the excise will give the grower an advantage of £5 where the sugar is produced by white labour, would, according to the right honorable gentleman all go to the bloated planter, and not one penny to the white workman. That is the free-trade theory that the right honorable gentleman preaches, but how, if he sustains it in this case, could he support a sugar duty.

MR. WILKS.—As a means of getting rid of the kanaka.

MR. BARTON.—Now I can pin my right honorable friend to that, because the sugar duty is no means of getting rid of the kanaka, if the proceeds go into the pocket of the employer, and not into the pockets of the wage-earners.

MR. REID.—The Government will have to see to that.

MR. BARTON.—We shall see, if the right honorable gentleman comes into office, whether it will suit him to abolish the duty or whether he will have his heart touched. I need not go any further into the details of this Tariff. As I have said, it is far more convenient to discuss these matters when we are in committee. I must, as my right honorable friend did, thank the House for having so patiently listened to me. Notwithstanding the interjections that have been made, I am sure that we shall all be as good friends as before. I believe that nothing I have said has gone beyond the rules of parliamentary courtesy. I think I have sustained the propositions with which I started out, first that this Tariff is an honest attempt to fulfil our election pledges, second that it deals fairly with the States, and third, that it does not impose any burden, except what was inevitable, upon the people of Australia. Those are the three points which I considered were the real substance of my argument, and I believe that I have established every one of them, and that I have established, in addition, the fact that so far from this Tariff having imposed an inordinate burden on Australia it has been exceeded by the burdens which the people have borne without any injury whatever in the State of New South Wales, from which the right honorable gentleman and I come; which State will, under the Tariff, get intercolonial free-trade and a

leading position in the union at a saving of 1s. 6d. per head of its population.

MR. WINTER COOKE (Wannon).—I feel somewhat diffident about rising to address the House immediately after the Prime Minister, but being the only Victorian—unfortunately—sitting on this side of the House, perhaps I may be excused for thus early taking part in this discussion. I do not propose to enter into the details of the Tariff at all, because I think, with the Prime Minister, that the details can much better be left to the committee stage. I do not think that the reflections the Prime Minister has passed upon the leader of the Opposition were quite just, because it was incumbent upon him to show by examples from the details of the Tariff in what respect the Government proposals do not carry out the pledge made by the Prime Minister, at Maitland. I admit at once that I did not expect anything but a protectionist Tariff, because it was clearly stated at Maitland that the policy of this Government would be protectionist, but the Prime Minister said it would be moderately protective. Now, I think the dispute really turns on what we mean by “moderate.” The opinion held by another member of the Cabinet, the Minister for Customs, is that the Tariff was a moderate Tariff and a compromise. In the word “compromise,” the Minister for Customs used the word which the Prime Minister introduced into his speech at Maitland, and which he quoted to-night, when he said that the spirit of compromise must have fair play. I think the committee the other night, and certainly some honorable members on the Government side of the House, observed with amazement, or rather with consternation, the manner in which the Minister for Customs spoke of moderate protection. One would have thought that the Minister for Customs was making a rally for the high Tariff party of Victoria. What he said was—“This is a protectionist policy, make no mistake;” and then, turning to those sitting behind him—“Do not be afraid.” I was reminded of that play which most of us have acted at school, entitled *Bombastes Furioso*. Bombastes, it will be recollected, nailed his boots on the wall, and then said—

Who dares this pair of boots displace,
Must meet Bombastes face to face.

On this occasion the Minister for Customs was Bombastes, and the Tariff policy was nailed to the wall of this chamber, not to be

touched, he making his appeal to honorable members sitting behind him. We have been told that this is a compromise Tariff, but I should have thought that when we entered the Commonwealth, and were making a compromise between the varying Tariffs of Australia, we should have looked to the highest Tariff and the lowest Tariff, and tried in a measure to bring them together if possible. If we look to the list of goods which entered New South Wales free, we find among them apparel, boots, hats, and furniture. Those articles were taxed heavily in Victoria, the duties ranging from 35 per cent. to 15 or 20 per cent. The Commonwealth proposal is that there shall be a reduction from 35 per cent. to 25 per cent. or a difference of 10 per cent., and from 20 per cent. to 15 per cent., or a difference of 5 per cent. so far as Victoria is concerned, whereas in New South Wales the duty jumps from nothing to 15, 20 and 25 per cent. What kind of compromise is that? It seems to me that if a man came to me and said I owed him 35s., and when I urged that I owed him nothing at all, he offered to arrange the matter by making the debt 25s., it would be an extraordinary kind of compromise to suggest. I cannot consider this a compromise Tariff at all, or even a moderate Tariff. I come from the pastoral and agricultural districts, and represent here the primary producers of a portion of Victoria. I do not mean to say that I represent these producers of Victoria only, because I represent producers throughout the whole of Australia, but I endeavour to look at the question from their point of view. The Prime Minister seems to have looked at the question from only the Victorian manufacturers' point of view, and has been extremely sensitive as to his treatment of them. He accuses the leader of the Opposition of not taking an Australian view, but surely when we find the Victorian Tariff reduced to the small extent I speak of, and when we see the great rise in duties in New South Wales, we can fairly retort on the Prime Minister that he is looking at the matter from the Victorian manufacturers' and not from the Australian point of view. The so-called moderate duties I shall refer to presently. I now wish to draw attention to the fact that what is called the farmer—the land-owner living in the country and getting his living out of the

land—does not wish to evade his fair share of taxation. He is prepared to pay his proper proportion like any other citizen. Under the proposals of the Government the farmer will have to pay on such things as sugar, biscuits, candles, cocoa, tea, rice, sago, starch, apparel, blankets, hats, caps, woollen goods, lamps, oils, paints, earthenware, furniture, boots and shoes, leather, and many other items, in addition to having to pay the increased duty on ale, spirits, and tobacco, which may, I suppose, be considered as luxuries. Though I admit at once that many of the farmer's tools of trade will be free from taxation as they are in Victoria at the present time, I hold that if possible all his tools of trade should come in free. As the Victorian manufacturer claims that his tools of trade should be free in the town, so in the country should the farmer's tools of trade be free. What is proposed in the Bill? It is proposed that tents, tarpaulins, galvanised iron, agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural machinery, nails, engines, boilers, bolts, nuts, barbed wire, all leather manufactures, and various other items, shall be taxed. The tendency at the present day, no matter what the fiscal policy may be, is for population to centre in the towns. That arises from a variety of reasons—the desire for a pleasanter life, the opportunity of seeing one's neighbours and friends, and of enjoying all the pleasures which town offers—and surely it should be the duty of the statesmen to aim at making country life as attractive as possible, which can only be done by making country life pay. I am not an advocate for protecting the farmer at all, but I say that we should give him all the freedom we can in the matter of earning his living, and not impose a fine on him by means of duties on the goods he has to use.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Put him in the same position in regard to all his agricultural machinery and implements, as he is in in regard to reapers and binders and cream separators.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—Protectionists are always bringing forward reapers and binders, which are like to them "King Charles' head." Have no "rings" ever been formed amongst protected manufacturers?

Mr. KENNEDY.—"Rings" are not the monopoly of protectionists.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—A ring can be formed by protected manufacturers quite as easily as by importers. The worst of these rings formed by protected manufacturers is that the people first of all call the protected industry into being by putting their hands into their pockets and enabling the industry to be established, and when they have done that the manufacturer turns round and says—"Now, then, we will make you pay what we think proper for your goods." The importer has never acted in that way, and, as a rule, it will be found that these importers' rings break down. The reaper and binder ring broke down, I believe, considerably before the introduction of the Federal Tariff.

Mr. HARPER.—Only after the exposure of its operations.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—If a man wants to make money, I do not think any exposure will stop him as long as there is nothing dishonest about what he does. There is nothing dishonest in getting the highest price possible. If we have anything to sell—cattle or sheep or anything else—we get the best price we can for it. It might just as well be said that because some people have the good fortune to have fat cattle and fat sheep in Victoria just now, and are asking high prices for them, thus causing people to pay high prices for their meat, they are doing something improper. The reaper and binder is the only instance which has been mentioned. The Minister for Trade and Customs brought it forward with a great flourish of trumpets the other night, and the Prime Minister has referred to it again to-night. In speaking for the farmer I am not advocating protection. I do not believe that protective duties on the articles produced by the farmer will be for his benefit; at all events they will be only very slightly for his benefit. It is true that for some little time, possibly, produce may come in from New Zealand, and compete with what is produced here, and tinned meat may be slightly protected; but, speaking for Australia generally, our great industries of wool, wheat, and frozen meat cannot be protected to any large extent. Some of us hope to see the day when New Zealand will come into the Federation. Certainly, none of us desire to shut out New Zealand. In that event, the Australian farmer will cease to be protected against New Zealand products. It is

impossible, except to this limited degree, and for a short time only, to protect the primary producers of Australia. Therefore, I hold that this Tariff is a wrong Tariff, because, in addition to trying to get revenue, it checks revenue, whilst at the same time it injures the primary producer. Moreover there is the point which, I think, is almost worse—my honorable friends representing labour will think it far worse—that the working classes will, under these proposals, be very severely taxed. I do not think—I never have thought—that what we call the working classes—that is the artisans—who earn the lowest wages, should be free from all taxation. They should be taxed. But the taxes should bear upon them with fairness. Any man who has a vote to return a Member to Parliament should be taxed to some extent. He should bear his fair share.

Mr. PAGE. — Would the honorable member tax him for having a vote?

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—If he did not pay any taxes at all I would not give him a vote, which comes to the same thing. The Tariff taxes arrowroot, bacon, and biscuits, which are things which the working man uses.

Mr. CROUCH.—Biscuits are taxed in New South Wales.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—I am not finding fault with any particular item, but with the aggregate. Other items taxed are—blue, candles, cocoa, currants, raisins, honey, matches, rice, sago, soap, starch, tea, apparel, blankets, hats, woollens, mangles, kerosene, earthenware, furniture, boots and shoes, not to mention ale, spirits, and tobacco. On each of these items separately the amount of taxation will undoubtedly be small.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is £9 6s. 8d. a ton on some of these articles.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—The aggregate of the taxation on the working man is, it seems to me, enormous. Take a man earning wages from £2 to £3 per week. Suppose he is married and has a family to keep. In that case the aggregate amount of taxation is simply enormous, as compared with what will be paid by those who are fairly well off in the community. I say that if possible wherever the duties on these goods are for protective purposes they should be considerably lower. We have heard much of the Victorian industries. I believe there are some such industries in the other States

though Victoria seems to be always mentioned. It is said that, having built up those manufactures, having capital invested and labour employed in them, they must be dealt with very gently indeed. I admit at once that if a case could be shown of undue harshness to any industry, I should say—"Do not touch it at present; let it have the same duty for some years, but gradually reduce it." I would gradually reduce the duty to the revenue-producing stage and ultimately wipe it out altogether. I did not expect that the Government would propose a Tariff of that kind, because they said they wanted a protectionist policy. But now we are at the beginning of our Australian life, and we are starting the Commonwealth with practically Victorian Customs duties.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Nothing like it; I wish it were so.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—Well, the duties are very high even as compared with the Victorian duties.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Oh!

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—At any rate, they are sufficiently high to keep those industries in existence.

Mr. DEAKIN.—That is not correct.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am afraid it is not so.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—The Prime Minister says so. The right honorable and learned gentleman has stated in this House to-night that this Tariff is not going to kill any industry, but that if any lower duties were imposed some of the industries would suffer and possibly die.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—Very well. We have had these duties in Victoria for I do not know how many years. Fresh industries will grow up under this Tariff in the other States.

Mr. DEAKIN.—They are there already.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—Under this particular Tariff they will grow up.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The South Australian Tariff is higher than this.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—So much the worse for South Australia.

Mr. POYNTON.—But the incidence of it is not as bad.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—All I contend is that by keeping up this protective Tariff we shall bring into existence or keep in existence throughout Australia a number

of vested interests. As population increases these industries will become stronger and stronger, and when Parliament endeavours to touch any one of them we shall have, as I said in my speech on the Address in Reply, those interested in the industries coming and interviewing Members of Parliament. We shall actually create for the new capital of Australia the very evil which has grown up at Washington—a profession of lobbyists, men whose time is spent simply in interviewing Members of Parliament, and influencing them when a Tariff is proposed to be touched. As Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, has told us, that is the state of things that exists at Washington. I do not say that we shall have here a wholesale corruption of the Legislature, but I am convinced that if we carry out proposals of this nature, for the protection of industries throughout Australia, we shall have the same corruption when questions affecting the Tariff arise, as they have had in the great United States of America. This question of the Tariff is the only question upon which I really feel strongly. I believe it is of far more importance than anything else which we are likely to have before us in this Commonwealth Parliament. As the Attorney-General told us, it was the one question which the people of Australia had to decide at the ballot-box. I have taken the greatest interest in it, and I deplore the fact that the Government have not seen their way clear to come down to the House, not with a farewell to protection, but with a statement showing what industries no longer require protection. We know that boots and starch and candles of local manufacture, which have been protected in Victoria, are selling in New South Wales in the open market, and the protection on such articles should be lessened or removed altogether. I have not very much more to say, but shortly stated, I object to the Tariff proposals of the Government for these reasons: First of all, they are not a compromise. Surely it is not fair that we Victorians should seek to raise so largely the Customs duties of New South Wales, while we reduce very slightly those which have ruled in Victoria? That cannot be called a compromise. Then I say the Tariff proposals are not moderate. The leader of the Opposition has shown pretty clearly to-night that, in addition to the ordinary *ad valorem* duties, there are some which run up to a very high percentage indeed. They bear

with undue harshness on the farmer, inasmuch as, while he pays his fair share of taxation, under the long list of articles which I have read, he has also to pay more for his tools of trade. Then they bear with undue harshness on the working classes. I have put before the House a long list of items the duties on which, while they may press lightly on individual lines, must be enormous in the aggregate. Lastly, to repeat what I have said already, the Government are proposing to saddle Australia with a protectionist policy, which it will be very difficult for us to remove, and which I am firmly convinced will lead to the corruption of the future legislators of this country.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I rise at this early period of the debate because I find that there is a conspiracy of silence on the other side of the House.

Mr. REID. — Plunderers should keep silence.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—There is a conspiracy of silence on the other side to prevent the possibility of this question being debated, and I have risen, therefore, unprepared as I am to speak to-night, although I had intended to devote a considerable amount of attention to this question, which is of more importance, particularly to the people of the State that I have the honour to represent, than any other matter that is likely to claim the attention of the Federal Parliament for very many years to come. To a certain extent I feel some pity for some of the honorable members opposite. I pity them because of the educational process that has been going on in Victoria for so many years, and which has induced them to adopt a system of protection in preference to that system which has made New South Wales as powerful as it is to-day.

Mr. HARPER.—On borrowed money.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member has done well; he has thrived under the protectionist policy of Victoria at the expense of the great mass of the workers of this State. The honorable member has accumulated wealth, in the firm which he represents, by extorting higher rates under this iniquitous system of protection than he had any right to expect from consumers.

Mr. DEAKIN.—What about land sales in New South Wales?

Mr. SAWERS.—Where would New South Wales be without her land revenue?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The manufacturers of New South Wales will stand on their own feet without the aid of that system which has caused so much misery to the people of Victoria.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Where?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think that fact has been pretty clearly demonstrated. I am speaking to-night at a great disadvantage because I understood that some other honorable member on the Government side of the House would have taken up the debate.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They have nothing to answer.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In the interests of Australia, I am not going to allow this question to go without full and proper ventilation. I have risen at this stage because certain honorable members on this side of the House desire to put off their remarks until to-morrow night, and think it would be inconvenient for them to speak at this juncture. The Government have arranged, as far as they can, to prevent honorable members on their side of the House from continuing the debate. The Government are afraid to have the light of day thrown on their policy, and some honorable members behind them are in the same position. They thought that by some subterfuge they would be able to close this debate at once. The Prime Minister told his constituents that he was going in for a revenue Tariff, and even with all his deception he only obtained a majority of about 100 votes after weeks and weeks of canvassing against a gentleman who had been in the field only a few days. If the Prime Minister had been honest to the people of Australia and told them exactly what he was going to propose would he have been on the Treasury benches to-day?

Mr. REID.—He would have been branded as a Victorian.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—When in Victoria he spoke with one voice, whilst he spoke with another in New South Wales. The right honorable and learned gentleman has often said that he is misrepresented in the press. I do not think that any man in politics has to thank the press so much for his position as he has. There are honorable members in this House who heard him make the distinct statement to the people of New South Wales that a Tariff capable of raising

£5,000,000 would provide the Commonwealth with all the money necessary to get over the Braddon blot trouble. That was a deliberate statement made by the Prime Minister, who was then leader of the Federal party in New South Wales. That statement was reported in no less than four different journals; not by free-trade or by protectionist journals alone, but by journals representing different shades of public opinion in New South Wales. The right honorable gentleman never contradicted it. He allowed it to go forth that a £5,000,000 Tariff would give all the revenue necessary and would enable the Government to have £1,000,000 more than was necessary to get over the Braddon blot.

Mr. HARPER.—Where was that statement made?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The statement was made in the Town-hall, Sydney, and at several meetings held elsewhere. It was fully reported in the *Sydney Evening News*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, and by his own journal, the *Australian Star*. The right honorable and learned gentleman intended at first to stand for the constituency which I have the honour to represent. He was invited to a banquet there, and accepted the invitation no doubt in the full belief that he would be asked by the free-traders of Macquarie, combined with the protectionists, to stand for that electorate. When he found that he could not get the free-traders to support him, as they had supported him on a former occasion, he elected quietly to go for another constituency. He represents to-day one of the strongest free-trade constituencies in New South Wales. I claim to know as much about this matter as does any honorable member of this House. The chairman of his committee, Mr. Thompson, asked the Prime Minister to contest the seat, because he believed Mr. Barton was going in for a revenue Tariff, and not for protection. What do we find Mr. Thompson saying now? He says that the Prime Minister has not been true to his hustings pledges! In point of fact, he declares that if he had known that the Mr. Barton, who was standing for election at that time, was the same Mr. Barton who is the present leader of a protectionist Government, he would not have supported him.

Mr. SAWERS.—When did he say that?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Mr. Thompson admits that the Tariff is opposed to what

the Prime Minister promised the people when he was seeking election.

Mr. SAWERS.—Quote his words.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I should have been able to do so, but, unfortunately, I have not the advantage of having my notes with me to-night. I am here, free and untrammelled, to vote as I think best in the interests of Australia. I am not like some honorable members, who speak one way and vote another. We pity some of our friends in Victoria, and entertain no feeling against them. We are all one people, anxious to do the best we can to advance the interests of Australia.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But to do it in the honorable member's own way.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We are anxious to do it in what we think is a fair and honorable way. We do not wish to resort to dishonest practices in order to secure the votes of any body of electors. We are anxious that the people should be given full information regarding the questions to be dealt with by this Parliament. I think it will be admitted that a certain journal here exercises such a powerful influence over honorable members opposite that they dare not vote other than in the way dictated by the leading columns of that journal. That was proved in connexion with the Immigration Restriction Bill.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Is it the *Argus* to which the honorable member refers?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No, it is not the *Argus*. I was very much struck the other day upon reading an article in a journal which is supposed to educate many of my honorable friends opposite.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is a good thing that we have such a journal.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is a bad thing for the great bulk of the workers of Victoria that we have such a journal. I will show presently that this newspaper will not tell the truth. It hardly ever states the truth. It recently published an article which was nothing but a tissue of misrepresentations. In its endeavour to show the great advantage of this Tariff as it affects the farmers, that journal referred to the enormous quantity of farm produce imported into New South Wales. I will show honorable members opposite how they are misled by these statistics. The writer of the article in question pointed out that during 1899—he

was careful to take that year, although the statistics for 1900 were available—New South Wales imported 3,437,000 lbs. of butter, which was valued at £136,805. The great bulk of this produce, he asserted, came from places beyond the Commonwealth. What are the facts of the case? The total value of the butter imported into New South Wales was £136,000, but the actual value of the imports from places outside of the Commonwealth was only £31,390. It is true that this newspaper took its figures from “*Coghlan*.” But the writer had evidently taken the whole of the imports, irrespective of the places from which they came, and had calmly stated that the great bulk of this produce came from places beyond the Commonwealth.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Does that represent the imports into New South Wales for its own consumption, or also imports for re-exportation?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Nothing was said about re-exportation. The writer further pointed out that New South Wales imported wheat to the value of £151,000, instead of which it imported from outside of the Commonwealth only £30,218 worth. The same article affirmed that that State imported bran and pollard to the value of £58,253, whereas it imported from beyond the Commonwealth only £30,200 worth. The writer also declared that New South Wales imported flour to the value of £335,000, whereas the actual amount represented by imports from places beyond the Commonwealth was £119,000. It was further stated that New South Wales had imported 6,800,000 lbs. of preserved beef, whereas, in point of fact, she had only imported 564,000 lbs. Can any one wonder at the ignorance of the people of Victoria, when such misrepresentations appear in the newspapers?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Is that the *War Cry*?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is enough to make the workers of Victoria cry, to have statements of that kind published, and then to find that they are incorrect. Unfortunately they have great difficulty in finding that out. Now, take onions. £41,652 worth was imported, and of this amount, £19,086 worth was all that was imported from outside the Commonwealth. Strange to say no reference was made in this article to hay, chaff, poultry, honey, cattle, sheep, or pigs. The writer pointed out that there was a duty of 20 per cent.

on this article, and 20 per cent. on the other, and so much a lb. on another, but he made no mention of the quantities imported. Why? We have only to look at the figures to ascertain that. What do we find? Taking straw first, it was stated that there was an import duty of 5s. per cwt. to help the poor farmers of Australia, and especially of New South Wales, and yet we find that the total value of straw imported into free-trade New South Wales was £126.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—No doubt New South Wales is strong in chaff.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We have something solid besides the chaff. Of hay and chaff, importations to the value of only £694 were introduced into our free-trade State of New South Wales, which has been open to the whole of the producing countries of the world. No mention was made of that, but only of the fact that there was a duty upon those products of 1s. per cwt. for the protection of the farmers of New South Wales. Again, take poultry. It was pointed out that there was a great protection and help afforded to people raising poultry, but we imported only £220 worth of poultry, and nearly all were prize poultry imported from the old country in order to improve our breeds. Then take honey. It was said with great glee, “Look what the Government propose to do. They propose to place a duty of 2d. per lb. on all honey imported. See what a great thriving industry that will become.” Yet free-trade New South Wales imported only £8 worth of honey.

Mr. MAUGER.—How many eggs?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I know my honorable friend is familiar with eggs. I believe he visited one of the States and came into contact with a good many of them. We imported into free-trade New South Wales 32,000 dozen of eggs, and there is to be a duty of 6d. per dozen on eggs in order to help the people of New South Wales. Is it not a farcical thing to talk about helping the farmers with protection of this kind.

Mr. SAWERS.—Take oats.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I shall let my honorable friend make his own speech. Take cattle; they were introduced into New South Wales to the value of £1,264. There is a duty upon cattle of 20 per cent. Sheep were imported to the value of £6,500, but they were all sheep introduced to

improve the flocks in New South Wales. Then if we take pigs, I believe the Government are going to help the farmers in that line also, and I find that we imported only £30 worth. To sum up this article what do we find? It said that the total imports into New South Wales of butter, cheese, eggs, wheat, bran, pollard, flour, bacon, ham, extract of meat, preserved meat, onions, potatoes, and straw for 1899 amounted to £1,236,000, and that the great bulk of those importations were from places beyond the Commonwealth. No mention was made of hay, chaff, poultry, honey, cattle, sheep, or pigs for 1899 for the reason I have already mentioned. The writer also omitted to make any reference whatever to the re-export of goods imported into New South Wales. The re-exportation of goods imported into New South Wales amounted to £221,000 in value. Taking the figures given, £1,236,000, without any reference to the matters to which I have referred, we find that according to Coghlan—and the writer quoted Coghlan in the first article, but did not quote him correctly, because it would not do to let the people of Victoria know the truth of this matter—

Mr. MAUGER.—Does the honorable member really think the people of Victoria are so easily led astray as that?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am sorry to think that they have been led astray by men like my honorable friend and others in the past, but I am glad to think that there is a better time coming for Victoria. Coghlan points out that instead of £1,236,000, as quoted by the *Age*, the imports into New South Wales, from places beyond the Commonwealth, for 1899, were only £369,126.

Mr. REID.—Out of how much?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Out of £1,236,000.

Mr. REID.—This is what was called the "great bulk."

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes; it was said that the great bulk of it came from places beyond the Commonwealth, whereas, in point of fact, imports only to the value of £369,126 came from places beyond the Commonwealth. Of hay, chaff, poultry, honey, sheep, pigs, and cattle, the total imports from beyond the Commonwealth amounted to £377,842, or about £900,000 less than the *Age* tried to make the people of Victoria believe was the case. But if the writer had gone to the year 1900, as

he should have done, because he had the statistics for that year before him, what would he have found? He would have found that the imports of the farm produce mentioned had been reduced from £377,842 to £182,962, or by one-half the figures for 1899. It did not suit the *Age* to refer to that. The exports of the same goods to places beyond the Commonwealth amounted to £1,023,817, so that the exports of farm produce mentioned (a) and (b) were in excess of the imports to the extent of £840,000. And that was under free-trade. Could any one ever believe that any reasonable journal would endeavour to deceive the electors of Victoria in the way the *Age* has done in this matter? Of course, the farmers in New South Wales, I am glad to say, have realized the hollowness of the whole system of protection. They realize that Australia is going to be an export country so far as farm produce is concerned, and that if we were only to have our own markets open to us, we could not utilize all the produce that would be grown here. In wheat we have a surplus, and we must find a market for it outside Australia. The protection we give will not therefore help the wheat growers. The only way in which we can help them is by assisting them to get markets abroad. The same with our flour, preserved meats, and butter. Instead of importing, as the *Age* wants to make out, what do we find? In New South Wales, under our free-trade Tariff, we exported last year over 10,300,000 lbs. of butter, or about 10,000,000 lbs. more than we imported. In other words, the value of our exports over imports was as follows:—Butter, £426,000; wheat, £139,000; flour, £69,000; preserved meats, £219,000; and cattle, £24,000. On the principal lines of farm produce our exports over imports amounted to £840,000. I believe the farmers in Victoria are just as intelligent as ours, and we have had evidence of that from the fact that a large number have gone over and settled there, and I am happy to say adopted free-trade. I may add that a number of them voted for me on the last occasion.

Mr. REID.—They are a good lot when you get them under a fair system.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They are all right, but they were gulled by reading articles in the newspapers here, day after day, until at last they began to believe that there was something in the contentions.

They are coming now to realize that it was all moonshine, and that the farmers of New South Wales are go-ahead people. The dairying industry, the wheat industry, and the meat industry—all those great industries which help to build up a country—have got to that stage when they are exporting more than they import. And what they look forward to getting is a market for their surplus produce. We cannot help the farmer by any system of protection, because we cannot raise the price of his article in view of the fact that he is in a position to export his produce. Can we help him by putting a heavy duty on his agricultural machinery, his clothing, his kerosene oil, &c.?

Mr. KENNEDY.—How is it that the New South Wales farmer buys so much of his agricultural machinery from the Victorian manufacturers?

Mr. REID.—Because they sell it more cheaply to him than they do to the farmer here.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I expect that it is sold on the same principle as starch. They take it out of the Victorians, and sell it to us so much cheaper. Our farmers are sensible men. They buy if you send them over some goods which are, perhaps, 20 per cent. less in price than the farmers in Victoria pay. I do not know whether that is the case or not. But it is proved that they are selling starch for less in New South Wales than in Victoria.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No machine has been bought by a New South Wales man for a cent less than a Victorian farmer can get it at.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I doubt that.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We have the men who pay for them here.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Can we help the farmer by raising the cost of the necessities of life? Can we help him by putting a heavy duty on his agricultural machinery, and by that means raising the cost of production? For the more we increase the cost of living to the farmer the more we increase the cost of his machinery, and the more we render him less able to compete in the markets of the world with his surplus produce. It is all humbug to talk to the farmers in that way. And when my honorable friends go into any farming constituencies, they will find that the farmers are not to be gulled into that belief.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No, they are an intelligent section of the community.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am glad to say they are; and I have had as much to do with them as most men.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; and done more good for them than most men.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—For seven years, as Minister for Agriculture, I had a lot to do with the farmers of New South Wales. Therefore I ought to know a little about them.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Buying stud stock with borrowed money?

Mr. REID.—It was much better than buying your magazine rifles with borrowed money.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friends have been endeavouring to make the farmers believe that they will benefit by a system of protection. And the Attorney-General has thought fit to take exception to the action of the Government of which I was a member in purchasing stock, with a view of helping the producers of New South Wales.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I did not take exception to it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—But the honorable and learned gentleman took exception to our buying the stock with loan money.

Mr. REID.—The most reproductive work in which my honorable friend was ever engaged.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is what I thought.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member think that this has anything to do with the question before the House?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I was drawn off the track by an interjection, but it has to do with the question, in that it involves an expenditure of money, and there may be an endeavour on the part of the Government to undertake the same kind of work. In such a case they would have my hearty support. I believe magazine rifles were bought out of loan money, and I am not quite sure but that ammunition was also purchased in the same way. At any rate, as far as the matter to which honorable members have referred is concerned, before a penny of that money was expended the whole question was submitted to the Auditor-General, who signed the necessary authority, because he thought the expenditure was a very proper one. I think I have shown pretty clearly that, as far as

the farmers are concerned. they are not going to benefit by this system of protection. We cannot increase the prices of the articles grown by them, because they have surpluses of dairy produce, wheat, and meat, which have to be exported, and we cannot help them by increasing the cost of living and of the machinery, twine, &c., which they have to use. Every increase in the cost of production renders them the less able to compete in the markets of the world. Some honorable members seem to think that this Tariff is going to benefit the miners. I have read some excellent speeches, delivered by several honorable members of this House, notably by the Attorney-General, and the honorable and learned member for Indi, on this question of the protection of the miner. These honorable members have pointed out, and very properly so, too, that no system of protection could be devised which would help the mining interests of the country. We cannot increase the value of the gold or silver, or copper by any system of protection; and we are certainly not going to help the miners by putting taxes on all the necessaries of life, and upon machinery. A telegram received from Western Australia during the last two days points out that some of the mine-owners who contemplated erecting extensive and modern machinery in order to cope with the difficulties in that far western country have had to cancel orders for machinery that would have cost a quarter of a million of money simply owing to these iniquitous duties. This will have the effect of throwing out of work hundreds of miners, and of seriously hampering the mining industry of Western Australia, and the duties will also operate prejudicially to mining enterprise in all the other States. I should like to know how honorable members are going to account to their mining constituents for this iniquitous Tariff. Those who are interested in mines not only have to undertake the importation of expensive machinery; but, in many cases, machinery has to be conveyed for long distances by railway or other means of transit, and the cost thus involved is such as to heavily handicap the industry. Now we are adding to all these drawbacks by imposing an iniquitous duty.

Mr. REID.—The miners will have to pay taxes on other things afterwards.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes, of course, and I do not see how anything can be put forward to show how this Tariff is going to

benefit the miner. The Government have tried to catch the farmer's vote by the scheme which I have just revealed, but they cannot show any reason why the Tariff should have the support of the miners. When the miners have an opportunity of speaking they will make their feelings known most decisively, I have no doubt.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—They have spoken once or twice already.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—When the Prime Minister went to Maitland and to Bathurst and to other places in the State of New South Wales, he told the people that both free-traders and protectionists could come on to his platform, because his Tariff would be a moderate revenue Tariff. He was not going to have every protective duty in his Tariff, or, as he used to call it at one time, a Chinese system of protection.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The honorable member was a member of the Government which gave us the finest protection we had in New South Wales.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We gave you the freest Tariff to be found in any part of the world. We carried out the free-trade system there because we were prepared to do what other Governments had advocated, but had been afraid to undertake, namely, to impose direct taxation which would relieve the people of taxation on the necessities of life through the Customs.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—But the honorable member was in a Government before that.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I was, but I will defy any honorable members to point to any speech or vote of mine which had any semblance of protection in it. I have always been a free-trader because I believed in it. I was consistent in my belief in free-trade. When I went up for election whilst I was a member of the Reid Government the honorable member for Eden-Monaro was one of those who told me that I was committing political suicide by going against the Federal Bill; but the correctness of my attitude has been proved since. I believed that unless the Bill were altered in the way I advocated there would be a danger of the people I represented being misled, and that has been shown to be correct. That was only because I wanted certain amendments in order to safeguard our State and the Commonwealth. I was not against federation, because I can claim what very few federalists can claim, namely, that I was a member of the Parkes Government

when the first practical step was taken towards the consummation of federation in Australia. I supported Sir Henry Parkes in his desire to bring about federation, but because of that it is not to be supposed I was in favour of every line in the Bill. I wanted a Bill that was fair and just, and I took my part in voting and speaking against the measure which was presented to the people. Of course, when the people accepted the Bill, I was one who loyally abided by that vote, as I believe every honorable member should. I feel sure, however, that if the people had had an idea that they were being deceived, a very different result would have followed the elections. The Prime Minister, no doubt, succeeded in obtaining a seat for a free-trade constituency, and in securing supporters in other places by the misrepresentations made while the election was going on. I have no hesitation in saying that if the Tariff, as now proposed, had been submitted to the people of Australia at that time, there would have been no Barton Government to-day; and, further, if the people had an opportunity of deciding now, we should soon see a different state of affairs. The people have been deceived, and none more than those the Prime Minister represents. But the Prime Minister did not deceive me, because I had had experience of him before in connexion with this very question. I was a member of the Parkes Government when the right honorable gentleman moved the adjournment of the debate and brought about the defeat of that Administration. The right honorable gentleman was then pledged not to alter the Tariff—and he has made some reference to that matter to-night—and said that he would have nothing to do with the Dibbs party. But within ten days of our defeat he joined the Dibbs Government, and a few days afterwards brought forward his protectionist policy. I believe that a result will follow the debate to-night, similar to that which followed the debate to which reference has been made by the Prime Minister. The fangs of protection were fastened on the State of New South Wales by misrepresentation, which misled the people, and when the Government went to the country with their protectionist proposals, the Barton Government became a thing of the past.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Nonsense!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No protectionist Government has ever appealed to the

people of New South Wales on the fiscal issue and won at the polls.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—What about the last election?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The last election was the only election for twenty years in which I was not an active member of the election committee, and it was the only election during that time which was not fought on the fiscal issue. I may be wrong, and I know I differed from many members of my party, but my own opinion is that the election ought to have been fought on that issue. Unfortunately, we had difficulty in making a number of free-traders believe that there was any danger of a system of protection being proposed. They took the word of the Prime Minister, and I am sorry to say they have been deceived. I am sorry for the people of Australia, because I believe this Tariff is an endeavour made by the Government to fasten on the community a policy which the people do not believe in and do not want. I am sorry that I did not hear the whole of the Prime Minister's speech to-night, but in the short time I was in the Chamber, I heard him refer to the benefits of protection. As to that, I have heard the right honorable gentleman make strong speeches on the benefits of free-trade. I have heard the right honorable gentleman time after time tell the electors of East Sydney, one of the strongest free-trade constituencies in the State of New South Wales, what a great thing free-trade is. I have heard the Prime Minister refer to a Chinese system of protection. Would he apply that term to the proposals before us to-night?

Mr. CHAPMAN.—It is a long time since the Prime Minister advocated free-trade.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not want to say anything personal, but it is difficult to find out what the Prime Minister does advocate. It must be admitted, however, that he has been free-trader, protectionist, and free-trader again; now he has come back from free-trade to protection again.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—That is not true.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member knows very well that what I say is correct.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The honorable member knows that when the Prime Minister joined the Dibbs Government, he joined on the stipulation that he was to have a free hand in regard to federation.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—And for two years the Prime Minister did nothing, though Sir George Dibbs did give him a free hand.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—And the honorable member moved a vote of censure every week.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member for Macquarie to confine himself to the motion before the House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am endeavouring to do that, if honorable members will allow me. What I am saying, however, is important, because we are called upon to trust the affairs of this Commonwealth, and the policy of a free-trade Tariff, in the hands of the Prime Minister; and I think I am justified in pointing out reasons why it is undesirable for Parliament to trust the Tariff in such hands. I have heard honorable members opposite, time after time, twit the leader of the Opposition with something he said or did five years ago.

Mr. REID.—That was done to-night.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not wish to transgress the rules of Parliament, but I think, Mr. Speaker, you will admit it is only fair that the House should know the man who is now claiming the support of honorable members in order to fasten the fangs of protection on the Commonwealth.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The motion relates to the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government, and anything dealing with these proposals will be in order. But reference to the conduct of some member of the Government, or some honorable member of the House, in connexion with some State Ministry six years ago, is not, I think, in order.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Is it not in order for me to show, as has been done over and over again, the opinions of different public men on the fiscal issue? This is an important question, and we have to base our arguments to a large extent on the experience of other places, and, in some cases, on the opinions of honorable members who represent those places.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I did not call the honorable member to order so long as he was following that course. The honorable member has a perfect right to quote the opinions of an honorable member at any time in reference to free-trade or protection, but the matter with which he was dealing,

when I called him to order, was the conduct of the Prime Minister some years ago as to federation in connexion with the Dibbs Government.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That, I submit, is intimately connected with the question before the House, seeing that the Prime Minister was a member of that Government, though at one time he advocated free-trade. In fact, he was a supporter of the Government of which I was a member, but afterwards went over to the other side, because there was a portfolio available for him. I have heard the Prime Minister to-night urge the advantages of protection, but I have seen no evidence of such advantages so far as New South Wales is concerned. The leader of the Opposition clearly showed to-night that three of the largest manufacturers of boots in our State are strongly against any system of protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—They are large importers also.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They are large manufacturers. They employ over 1,000 men, so that they must not only import, but also manufacture.

Mr. TUDOR.—It is not stated that they employ 1,000 men; the term "hands" is used.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member cannot point to Victoria in regard to the employment of men. The manufacturers here are increasing the number of women they employ, and that is what has caused the trouble in Victoria. They are not increasing the number of male hands in their factories. A good many of the males employed in the Victorian factories are boys. They have had protection for about 30 years, and, speaking from memory, I believe there are fewer males by a good many employed in the factories to-day than there were many years ago. There is a far larger proportion of men employed in the Sydney factories. I do not know to what extent these Sydney manufacturers import, but I know that they have the most modern machinery, and employ about 1,000 hands. They do not require any protection. It is only the boot manufacturers of Victoria, who have had protection for 30 years, who require to be protected now. They are crying out against the competition from free-trade New South Wales, and asking for some alterations. I join with them in desiring to bring about an alteration, but not in the way they want.

Mr. ISAACS.—They are not crying out against New South Wales.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—But they make out that after 30 years they still require this protection to continue. They admit, in point of fact, that they have not succeeded under the protection system, notwithstanding the high rate of duty that has been imposed.

Mr. ISAACS.—What about the Prime Minister's point as to the wages paid?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable and learned friend must admit that the employés in New South Wales have shown that they are able to look after themselves, and to insist upon proper wages being paid to them. In some instances the wages are higher than those paid in Victoria. What a different picture we have between the position of the manufacturers of boots and shoes in Victoria and in New South Wales. The four largest manufacturers in New South Wales—

Mr. CLARKE.—And importers.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I dare say they are importers; but they are also the largest manufacturers in our State, and have the best machinery. They employ 1,000 hands, and have no protection at all. They say that they are prepared to live on without any protection, whereas the manufacturers of Victoria say that they will die without protection.

Mr. CROUCH.—Is it in one factory that they employ 1,000 men?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No; three boot manufacturers and a slipper maker employ 1,000 between them. The three are McMurtrie and Company, Taylor and Company, and John Hunter and Sons.

Mr. CROUCH.—Are not the Hunters retailers also?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I suppose so.

Mr. CROUCH.—Does the number of employés include their salesmen?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No; only the men employed in factories. That is what they say in their letter. In Victoria the manufacturers have been protected against imports, the unfortunate consumers have had to pay a higher price for their boots, and the cost of living has been increased to that extent, whilst in some cases the little ones have had no boots to their feet in consequence of the high price charged for boots. The Victorian manufacturers have had the advantage of our free market, whilst their local

market has been conserved for their benefit; whereas we in New South Wales are thriving without any such restrictions, and do not want any protection for our industries at all. Wherever one looks in New South Wales one finds prosperity attending our industries. We employ men in our factories. Take the male hands in Victoria by way of comparison. I have pointed out that there is no increase in male hands.

Mr. REID.—2000 as against 10,000.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—And there are about 8,000 or 9,000 females employed in New South Wales, and double that number of females employed here.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—What about the female employment in free-trade England?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I will come to that presently. Honorable members talk of England. I am sure they are very proud to live under the British Crown. They are glad to look to the old country for help and assistance, and proud to enjoy a measure of freedom which does not exist in any other country. If we compare the United Kingdom with any of the great countries of Europe, it will be found that the agricultural and manufacturing industries, per head of population and per square mile of territory, are wonderful. I take the area as well as the population, because my honorable friends opposite are fond of comparing the area of Victoria and New South Wales in this respect.

Mr. ISAACS.—As long as the honorable member admits that, it is all right.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not admit it; I am saying that, compare the condition of England as honorable members like—per head of the population or per square mile of country—her success will be proved. It will be found on these comparisons that England can hold her own against any of the other countries.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—In agriculture?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In agriculture and manufactures. We know that some parts of England are more suitable for manufactures than for agriculture, and capitalists go in for what suits them best.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—England stands third-rate in comparison with the States of Europe so far as agriculture is concerned.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I had some very interesting calculations prepared, showing the difference in all the main lines—in agriculture, manufacturing, wealth, and commerce.

Mr. RONALD.—It has all been worked out, and to the disadvantage of England.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend may have got the *Age* to work it out in their usual way; but I cannot accept the *Age* statistics in this matter.

Mr. RONALD.—I do not go to the *Age* for my statistics. I have not seen the *Age* for months.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—All honour to my honorable friend for showing that he is able to stand against the *Age*! If my honorable friend will compare the progress made in other countries, he will find that there is no country so prosperous as England, considering her area and the population that she has to maintain per square mile. We must remember that, compared with the other great powers, England has to maintain a very large population per square mile.

Mr. REID.—Forty millions in a place not much bigger than Victoria.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who is making this speech?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That fact is admitted. We have read the opinions of great men and of what took place under a system of protection in England in the forties. We have only to look back to those dark days—for they were dark days—and to compare the conditions of the people then with those of the people at the present time—

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend says “hear, hear.” If he would only take away his attention from the *Age* statistics, and give heed to reliable figures, there would be some chance of his being educated in the right direction. So long as he continues taking his education from statistics as prepared by that journal, I have no hope for him. As the right honorable the leader of the Opposition has said, the only hope for him is that he will go over to New South Wales and take a little fresh air for a time. Then there will be a difference in his views.

Mr. MAUGER.—I will give the honorable member some English statistics to-morrow.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member may do so, but he will not be able to tell me much about England that I do not know already. I look upon this question as the most important that is

likely to be dealt with by the Federal Parliament, and therefore I think it behoves every honorable member to prepare all the information he can secure to support his opinions. We do not object to other honorable members putting forward their view of the question. We would have the public decide between us; but we have a right to expect what we do not get in Victoria, and that is a fair chance of placing our views before the Victorian people through the medium of one of its leading journals. We do not object to criticism. I do not care how the newspapers criticise me. All I desire is that statistics and reports of speeches should be prepared, and published in a fair, straightforward, and honorable manner. I would leave the public to judge of those statistics for themselves, and permit them to be criticised in the leading columns in any way that is thought desirable. That is the rule which ought to be followed. It is common talk that neither the leader of the Opposition nor any other honorable member on this side of the House has had a possible chance of obtaining a fair report of our proceedings as they affect the State to which we belong.

Mr. MAUGER.—The *Argus* devotes columns to honorable members on the opposition side.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am talking about the honorable member's newspaper. We know very well that the honorable member must be guided by the statistics and the advice given by that journal. He admits that.

Mr. PAGE.—To what journal does the honorable member refer?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—To the *Age*. When my honorable friend the member for Melbourne Ports gives us the marvellous statistics about Great Britain that he has indicated, we shall find probably that they have been quoted in the *Age* at some time or other, and if we look at *Mulhall* for confirmation we shall find, probably, that the same misrepresentation has taken place as that which, as I have pointed out, has occurred in regard to New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—Is it true that Sydney newspapers will not report a protectionist speech?

Mr. REID.—No.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—So far as I am concerned, I do not think such a practice would be fair journalism. Honorable members on the Government side of the House

might as well say—"We shall not let any one on the opposition side speak, because they are all free-traders over there." We do not want any favoritism.

Mr. RONALD.—We want a new newspaper.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No, we only ask for fair play.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member wants an *Age* in New South Wales.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We do not care a snap of the finger for the *Age*, but we do object to the people of Victoria being misled by a system of misrepresentation which brings discredit on the State.

Mr. BAMFORD.—What about the little duty on printing paper?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think the proposed duty on paper has had a cooling effect upon the *Age*. Lately that journal has been finding something wrong with the Tariff. It is said that the Government ought to have done this thing or that, but that we are not likely to get anything better from "that fellow Reid."

Mr. MAUGER.—That is because revenue duties are proposed, and the *Age* desires protective duties.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The *Age* does not know what it wants, save that it does not want that duty on paper. It is a pity that the people of Victoria do not get a fair opportunity of having the facts placed before them. The honorable member for Southern Melbourne had to bear a good deal of the *Age* criticism and to submit to a good deal of misrepresentation. Notwithstanding that I do not agree with my honorable friend on the question of free-trade or protection, I was very glad to see that when he got an opportunity of going before the people he was able to convince them that the *Age* statistics were incorrect.

Mr. RONALD.—I got it from both of the morning newspapers.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Then the honorable member's return was all the more creditable to him.

Mr. CROUCH.—The *Age* seems to be a sort of nightmare to the honorable member.

Mr. McDONALD.—Some honorable members cannot speak without the *Age*.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The right honorable the leader of the Opposition has moved a motion which should commend itself to honorable members. It is a motion which I feel sure will receive the indorsement of the great bulk of the people of the

Commonwealth when they have an opportunity of speaking upon this question.

Mr. WILLIS.—They have spoken out pretty well already.

Mr. PAGE.—What about reapers and binders?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have heard that matter discussed in Victoria for the last twelve or thirteen years. It seems to furnish a stock argument.

Mr. MAUGER.—A good argument, too.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think we shall hear something about that matter before the Tariff goes through. At all events the farmers will not be gulled by the talk in regard to the reaper and binder business, although they were gulled once. That question has been brought up at every election, and they are beginning to see that it is a little stock argument.

Mr. PAGE.—Is the statement true which has been made in regard to it by the Minister for Trade and Customs?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The right honorable and learned gentleman says that it is.

Mr. PAGE.—But the honorable member was Minister for Agriculture in New South Wales. Is the statement true?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Honorable members on the Government side of the House have referred to some late quotation for reapers and binders, showing a great drop in prices.

Mr. RONALD.—Yes; from £55 to £32.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I feel sure that the people of the Commonwealth will favour the proposition submitted by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, whatever may be the decision arrived at by honorable members of this House. There is no doubt that—as is pointed out in this resolution—the Tariff will press heavily upon the producing interests of this country. After all, the prosperity of the people of the Commonwealth largely depends upon these great industries. We cannot help the miners or the agriculturists by any system of protection. If we increase the cost of mining machinery, the employment of which is necessary to enable men to properly develop the mineral resources of Australia, we shall add to the price of living without giving any compensating advantage in the shape of higher wages. No system of protection will help our agricultural or mining interests.

Mr. RONALD.—We will try it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend will admit that when the farmer has reached that stage at which he is able to produce all that he requires for his own consumption and to have a surplus for export, no system of protection will help him to secure an enhanced price for his produce. I regret that the Government have brought down, contrary to the implied intention of the Prime Minister, a policy which does not meet with the approval of the State which I have the honour to represent. I feel sure that it does not meet with the approval of Western Australia or Queensland, or of a majority of the people in Tasmania and South Australia. The only State in which the Government can hope to secure the support of a majority of honorable members upon this iniquitous Tariff is that of Victoria.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then honorable members on that side ought to win upon this motion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am talking about the opinions of the people, and not of the opinions of individual members of the House, because, with all due respect to my honorable and learned friend, I repeat that the Prime Minister secured his seat for one of the strongest free-trade constituencies in New South Wales by misleading the electors, and by making them believe that he would not submit a protective Tariff to this Parliament.

Mr. PAGE.—The people who go down always think that they have been misled. Australia's noblest son!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That was all very well before the Prime Minister had to express his opinion, and to prepare a policy for submission to the people of Australia.

Mr. PAGE.—Did he not do that at Maitland?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He submitted one policy, and is endeavouring to carry out another.

Mr. PAGE.—He has not carried it out yet.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member may be sure that if I can prevent it, the Prime Minister will not carry out his policy. I shall do all I can to prevent many of the gross acts of injustice that would be perpetrated to the discredit of the Commonwealth Parliament if this Tariff were carried through in its present form.

My justification for taking this course is that all that could be done by the Government has been done to conceal the real reason which has prompted the introduction of this protective Tariff. As I shall take some considerable time to complete the remarks which I have to make, I ask that leave be granted to me to continue my speech to-morrow.

Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 10.31 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 16 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 15th October) on motion by **Mr. REID**—

(1) That this House cannot accept the Financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

- (a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.
- (b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.
- (c) And because they would, in their operation, destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I thank honorable members for the courtesy extended to me last evening, when, by consenting to the adjournment of the debate, they permitted me to avail myself of this occasion to address to the House a few remarks upon what I think is the most important question that is likely to claim the attention of the Federal Parliament for some time to come. I was very much struck

by the remarks of the Prime Minister in reference to the attitude of the leader of the Opposition upon the question of free-trade and protection when appealing to his constituents in New South Wales, and in the interests of the people of the Commonwealth, and so that honorable members may be aware of the exact position of affairs, and may know to what extent they can place any trust, in a political sense, in the expressions or the policy of the Prime Minister, I shall go back to the time when the right honorable gentleman represented one of the strongest free-trade constituencies in New South Wales—I refer to East Sydney. I remember a very strong speech which he made then in favour of free-trade—and which we all applauded because we believed he was sincere in his advocacy of that policy—on the 10th October, 1885. He then stated—

As regarded the great question of free-trade and protection, he could conceive of nothing more calculated to bring about the ruin of the colony than a Chinese system of protection. Our trade should be as free as air. . . . No rigid, wretched Chinese system of *ad valorem* duties should be imposed here.

I like a consistent man—not one who, for political purposes, takes one view one day and another view the next day.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Then the honorable member does not like his own leader?

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The honorable member's remarks are a strong accusation against the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The leader of the Opposition has always advocated free-trade. In 1891, the Prime Minister was again returned by a strong free-trade constituency, upon the understanding that he would do nothing to interfere with the fiscal policy of the country. He then made a strong speech to the electors of East Sydney, in which he told them that they could trust him, and that, although perhaps he had gone wrong once before, he was going in then pledged to support federation above all things, and to sink the fiscal issue. Afterwards, when a dispute arose in the Assembly over the eight hours provision which I had introduced in the Coal Mines Regulation Bill, the right honorable member, who was in the counsels of and a friend and strong supporter of the Government, moved the adjournment of the debate in order to give me an opportunity to reply to the criticism which had been launched

against what was termed my strong democratic action. The motion for the adjournment was, however, negatived, and the Ministry, in which I had the honorable and learned member for Parkes as a colleague, and the late Sir Henry Parkes as leader, resigned office. Well do I remember the remarks of the right honorable member when he referred to Sir George Dibbs, who was at the time leader of the Opposition, and said that he could be no party to the formation of a Government constituted and headed by an enemy of federation. He did not believe in raising the fiscal barriers; he believed in doing everything he could to bring about federation without raising the fiscal barriers. But what occurred within ten days of the defeat of the Parkes Administration? The right honorable gentleman went over and joined Sir George Dibbs as his Attorney-General, and within a few weeks that Government came down with a policy of protection, imposing duties of from 10 to 15 per cent. This occurred notwithstanding the fact that the right honorable gentleman was pledged to the electors of East Sydney not to raise the fiscal issue, because it was alleged that such action would interfere with the consummation of federation. In view of the opinions expressed by certain gentlemen in Sydney during the last few days upon the proposed Tariff, which includes duties ranging up to 150 per cent., it is amusing to read what was said at the time the Dibbs-Barton Government brought forward their proposals—

The honorable and learned member for East Sydney, Mr. Barton, has had two opportunities of making his choice, and on each occasion he has deceived those who trusted him. I tell him now that upon the great question of the union of the colonies his chance of leadership has gone by for ever. . . . The man who will not be a leader on that question or upon any other great question requiring the confidence of the people is the man who has betrayed that confidence twice. The man who has changed his convictions without having the courage to explain the reason for it in the House, but who has still the courage to inform the Assembly that, in spite of his change, in spite of the contradiction which his conduct now gives to his former opinion, he still aspires to be the leader in this great cause.

That was a speech delivered by Mr. B. R. Wise, the present Attorney-General of New South Wales, on the right honorable gentleman's attitude in favouring 10 or 15 per centum duties.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It shows that Mr. Wise was a false prophet.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It shows that Mr. Wise thought with me at the time that the right honorable gentleman's action should be condemned. Through the deceit and duplicity of members who, like the right honorable gentleman, were returned to sink the fiscal issue until the electors had had an opportunity of speaking on the question—by the aid of two or three members representing free-trade constituencies—traitors, such as the right honorable gentleman and those who supported him on that occasion, they were enabled to accomplish their purpose. I do not blame any protectionist, who comes out openly and boldly fights for his opinion; I honour him, for he has just much right to his opinion as I have to mine; but I do object to any man taking office for the sake of the position of Attorney-General, giving up his opinions, and deceiving the electors who sent him in to represent them. It is history now that the Government of which the right honorable gentleman was Attorney-General was defeated because of his action in accepting a brief against the Crown.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What has this to do with the question?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I think the honorable member is departing from the question. I ask him to confine his speech, not to the history of what this, that, or the other politician has done in the past, but to the motion before the House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not wish to transgress the rules of the House, sir; but I desire some information from you. This is a very big question we are asked to decide. We are called upon to give over to the Government the control of £9,000,000 of revenue, and I think it is only right that I should have an opportunity of showing honorable members and the country that we should not trust the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth to the hands of a man who has deceived the people as the right honorable gentleman has done.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. The motion distinctly is in reference to the financial and Tariff proposals of the Government, and not in reference to any past action of theirs in any State, or in relation to any other matter. I ask the honorable member to confine his speech to the motion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Shall I be at liberty, sir, in support of my arguments, to refer to opinions expressed by different members in favour of one policy or the

other? It is an important matter, and one which I am anxious to discuss; but if we are to be prevented from referring to the opinions of honorable members it is of no use to refer to anything which has occurred previous to to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I told the honorable member last night that while following that line of debate he would be in order. He has been following that line this afternoon, and I have not stopped him. But the last statement he made before I called his attention to the question before the Chair was in reference to some Government of New South Wales having been turned out because its Attorney-General had accepted some brief, and I did not gather that it had any reference to the finances or the Tariff. Therefore I asked him to address his remarks to the question.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Government was not turned out on the occasion to which the honorable member refers.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Well, the Attorney-General resigned from the Government because of his action in that matter.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member interjected, and I wanted to put the matter right. I have said all I required to say in regard to that matter. I shall pass over a period of three years, and come to the year 1898, when one of the movers in federation, the Prime Minister—

Mr. CONROY.—Not one of the movers, one of the backsliders.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am not going to say anything about that. I am dealing with the right honorable gentleman in his public capacity, and I do not wish to say anything offensive. I may say hard things, but it is done only in a political sense.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No one takes any notice of them.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend has had to take notice of them many a time, and he may have to take more notice of them by-and-by. It is immaterial to me whether he takes notice of them or not. I know that the people of the country will take notice of what we say on this question.

Mr. KINGSTON.—We shall accept the honorable member's assurance that he does not mean it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I mean what I say in a political sense. I am not going to deal in personalities. When the Prime

Minister was before the electors, he spoke in the Town Hall, Sydney, with a view to show that there was no danger to be apprehended from any system of finance proposed by the Federal Government. At that time he had the support of a large number of free-traders for the Commonwealth Bill. It is well known that the federal issue was no party question. All sides agreed to fight; some for and others against the Bill. Some of the strongest free-traders were for the Bill, and some of the strongest free-traders against it. At various meetings the right honorable gentleman pointed out what would be the effect on the fiscal policy of Australia if the provisions in the Braddon blot were carried into law. Speaking in the Town Hall, Sydney, as honorable members will find on reference to the reports in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Evening News*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Australian Star*, the right honorable and learned gentleman pointed out that the Customs revenue for the five colonies—taking an average of the three previous years—amounted to about £5,115,000; or, as he said, £1,000,000 more than would be required to get over the Braddon blot trouble. Does it not appear to honorable members that that statement was made with the view of showing the free-traders of New South Wales that there was no necessity to raise a large revenue, as was predicted by many free-traders; that a Tariff similar to that existing in the five colonies—because at that time Queensland was not included in the estimate—would yield £5,115,000, or £1,000,000 more than was required to get over the Braddon blot trouble? I am sorry to say that many of the electors were deceived by that statement. Many of our free-traders joined together in support of the Bill, as many of them did to support the Commonwealth Government—to their sorrow, during the last contest. On that occasion—and I shall have something to say about farming matters presently—the Prime Minister made this statement, which goes to show that he was afraid that the farmers were going over to free-trade under federation—

It must not be forgotten that the farmers of the country might say—“Oh, we have got inter-colonial free-trade, and we do not care for an outside Tariff. They might thus swell the ranks of the free-traders.”

Mr. Sydney Smith.

Mr. WILKS.—How long ago did he say that?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In 1898.

Mr. WILKS.—Only three years ago!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That shows that the Prime Minister evidently contemplated—as will be the case, I am sure—that a large body of farmers would go over to swell the ranks of the free-traders. I have a copy of the manifesto issued by the right honorable gentleman, in which he says:—

The necessity of raising a large revenue makes free-trade impossible, and for the same reason a prohibitive Tariff is out of the question. Therefore, there is nothing to prevent both free-traders and protectionists from joining the ranks of the association.

Any one who remembers the history of that loyal and righteous movement in which the colonies took part, in sending troops away to assist in defending the Empire, must know very well that anything that could be said at that time in favour of the mother land would be acceptable to the great body of the electors. No one knew that better than the Prime Minister, and what did he say:—

The events of late years have drawn closer together the component elements of the Empire, and if some feasible scheme of preferential duties can be arrived at, it will still more closely knit us together in an indissoluble union.

I do not see any evidence—now that the election is over, and the right honorable gentleman has been able to secure a large number of votes—of any intention on the part of the Government to give any preference to British goods. No doubt the statement was made for a purpose. Later on, the Prime Minister was elected to represent the Hunter district.

Mr. CHANTER.—Who was his opponent?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He had no opponent, and I will tell the honorable member why.

Mr. MAUGER.—Did the free-trade party agree to let him have a walk over?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—If I had had my way I should have had an opponent out against him, but, unfortunately, a number of us were busy electioneering, and through an oversight, which I regret, no opponent was put forward to contest the seat.

Mr. MAUGER.—Was it an oversight, or did the party think there was no chance?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—A man was selected to oppose the Prime Minister, and left Sydney, as the members of the Free-trade Council know, to enter upon the

contest ; but he retired at the last moment, and we had no time to get any one else in his place. The Prime Minister went to the Hunter and induced a large number of free-traders to support him. Amongst others there was Mr. Thompson, who for a number of years represented the constituency of West Maitland as a free-trader. Mr. Thompson was led to believe that the Barton Government would propose a revenue Tariff, and he supported the Prime Minister and became the chairman of his committee. But what does Mr. Thompson say now ? He states that in his opinion "the implied promises of Mr. Barton in his Maitland address were not carried out." There is no doubt that they were not carried out.

Mr. MAUSER.—To whom did he say that ?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The statement was made in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and in nearly all the papers, and it has never been contradicted. After thus expressing Mr. Thompson's view, the newspaper statement continues—

Other leading members of Mr. Barton's election committee indorse the sentiments expressed by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Waller."

Those statements show the feeling of the electors in a free-trade constituency. No one will deny that it is a free-trade constituency, because for many years the electors returned free-traders to Parliament, and they were led to return the Prime Minister because they thought he would bring down a revenue Tariff. Instead of that we have a Tariff with duties ranging as high as 160 per cent. I am not going into the various items of the Tariff, because the leader of the Opposition dealt fully with that question, and showed the high duties which are to be levied on the necessities of life and the comparatively low duties to be levied upon luxuries. Very heavy taxes are sought to be imposed upon the people of this country, which, in my opinion, will seriously hamper our great producing interests. As I pointed out last night, the farmers of the Commonwealth cannot possibly obtain any benefit from this iniquitous system of protection. They are called upon to pay increased prices for the necessities of life, and for nearly everything else they require. There is a very heavy duty placed upon kerosene, which the farmers must use, because they cannot afford

the luxury of the electric light or gas. For years kerosene has been admitted into Victoria free, because it was realized that a duty upon it would involve a very heavy tax upon the people of the interior.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Does the honorable member's side promise us free kerosene ?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am not laying down a policy for the Commonwealth, but I am criticising that which has been brought down by the Government, and showing how harshly it will bear upon the people. My own opinion is that there is no necessity for these high duties at all, but it would take me too long to particularize what duties I would propose and those which I would strike off.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Look at the good the honorable member might do ; he might bring some of us over to his side of the House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member will have an opportunity of saying whether he believes in having a high duty on kerosene. He knows that in Victoria and in New South Wales we have let kerosene come in free because we have realized that the men who are pioneers and who are suffering all the disadvantages and hardships connected with the work of settling the country are entitled to have their burdens lightened as much as possible. We shall not be doing this by putting a heavy duty on kerosene or the other articles I have mentioned. Honorable members know what occurred in Victoria when the protective system was first started. They commenced in a very moderate way in 1867, with 10 per cent. duties, in 1871 those duties were increased to 20 per cent., and in 1879 they went on to 25 per cent. After that the party persevered until they got the duties up to 35 per cent., and in 1892 to 45 per cent. In 1895 the duties went down again to 35 per cent., and I shall be able to read some of the speeches delivered by honorable members now supporting the Government, in regard to the duties then imposed. The Prime Minister last night referred to reapers and binders, and pointed out that in England there was a "ring" of manufacturers who, as soon as they heard of the proposed Tariff on agricultural machinery, rushed down prices all over the Commonwealth.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That was in anticipation of the Tariff.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I understood the Prime Minister to say that in anticipation of

the duty the "ring" reconsidered their position, with a view to under-selling any machinery manufactured in the various States. But what are the facts in connexion with reapers and binders? There was a duty of 20 per cent. before July, 1879, but on the 20th of that month the duty was abolished. Before the last-mentioned date the price of reapers and binders was £90, and it was reduced to £75 the day after the duty was abolished. Since then the price has been reduced by £5, and similar amounts from time to time, until to-day reapers and binders are sold at £35 to £40.

Mr. KINGSTON.—When the price of reapers and binders was £90, can the honorable member tell us what the price was in the country of production?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am not in a position to say what the price was in the country of production, but if the right honorable gentleman's reasoning is right, and a heavy duty will lower the price of the article, how is it that a duty of 15 per cent. has been left on strippers? The same argument will apply to strippers as to reapers and binders.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Strippers are produced here, are they not?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—A great many are imported as well, but I am now talking of the time when the duty was taken off reapers and binders. I have here a circular issued by Carolin and Co. Limited, of 191 Collins-street, Melbourne, in regard to the price which, I believe, has prevailed for the last two years, of what is known as the "Bonnie" reaper and binder. I am not here as an advertising agent. I am simply endeavouring to reply to the arguments which have been advanced in regard to reapers and binders, and to show that it is competition which has brought down the price. When this new reaper and binder came out two years ago, the price, as set forth, was £30, and when the other manufacturers saw a new article coming into the market they, as other business men would do, endeavoured to prevent this new implement from taking the place of others, and reduced the prices of their productions.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Was any standard make of machine sold at £30 two years ago, in any of the States?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I hold in my hand a price list, and also an advertisement which appeared in one of the newspapers

on the 30th July, 1901, giving the price of this article for the last two years as £30.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is some machine the manufacturers want farmers to experiment with. A standard machine is not sold at that price.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member will have an opportunity of inquiring into the truth of what I have stated.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The honorable member for Moira knows what he is talking about.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—And so do I. If honorable members think there is anything wrong about the circular I have mentioned, they will have an opportunity of disproving its accuracy. Last night we were told something about starch. I do not deal with this matter because any honorable member happens to be interested in the industry.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Then why mention it?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Because starch has been prominently brought forward, and it has been stated over and over again that the price of starch is the same in Victoria as in New South Wales. Messrs. Lewis and Whitty have issued two price lists, one for Victoria and one for New South Wales; and, according to their circular, the Melbourne price of starch is 3½d. per lb., while the Sydney price is about 2½d. Harper's box starch is sold at about 33s. 11d. per cwt. in Victoria, whereas it is sold in New South Wales at about 27s., a difference of 6s. per cwt., or close on ¾d. per lb. I have also a sale list of Messrs. Foy and Gibson, of Melbourne, who sell a box of starch at 4½d. per lb. in this city. I understand that Messrs. Harper and Co., owing to some arrangement of trade which is not clear to me, do not issue price-lists. I find that Hordern, of Sydney, sells "Silver Star" starch at 3½d. per lb., as against the 4½d. per lb. charged in Melbourne. It is only fair to say, though this does not make very much difference in the price, that an ounce more is given to the lb. in Melbourne than is given in Sydney. I think that 15 ozs. to the lb. are given in Sydney.

Mr. MAUGER.—So that the honorable member is not comparing like with like.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am showing that there is a difference of 1d. per lb. in the price, and that the difference in weight does not amount to more than three-sixteenths of a penny. It will be seen that there is virtually a difference of about

3d. per lb. in the price of starch, as between free-trade New South Wales and protectionist Victoria. That bears out what the leader of the Opposition said the other night, namely, that different prices are quoted for Melbourne and Sydney, and this difference the manufacturers in Victoria are able to put into their own pockets. These, and not the purchasing public of Victoria, are the men who have made money out of the duties. If they can sell for a certain price in Sydney, they ought to be able to sell for the same price in Melbourne; but because of the fiscal barrier, they prevent the people of Victoria from obtaining the benefit of the lower price.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—That barrier is knocked down.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am glad to say it is; and I am only sorry that the splendid principle of free-trade has not been carried one step further. The Government and their supporters spoke in favour of taking down the barriers between the States, and of the great advantages of free-trade amongst members of the same community. During the elections they led the people to believe that there would be some preferential duties in favour of Great Britain, but we hear nothing of that proposal now. Last night reference was made by the Prime Minister to the rate of wages paid in the various factories. It is a strange thing that the Prime Minister should have made no reference whatever, so far as I could gather, to any industry in which there were no wages boards in existence. He dealt only with industries in connexion with which there are wages boards. If honorable members will look at a report which has been issued by the Chief Inspector of Factories in Victoria, they will find that a very different state of affairs exists from what the Prime Minister wanted to make us believe. According to the right honorable gentleman the wages of male hands employed in the boot factories in Victoria amount to 44s. 9d. per week on an average, whereas the Chief Inspector of Factories says that the average is 34s. 5d.

Mr. MAUGER.—What report is that?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am quoting from Appendix B of a special report issued by the Victorian Chief Inspector of Factories. It relates to the special boards. If my honorable friend will take the trouble to look at it, he will see that my statement is correct.

Mr. MAUGER.—For what year is the report?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is for the year 1900, and it shows the average weekly wage, for 48 hours work, for the trades for which special boards have been appointed. The figures are supplied by the manufacturers, but the report says that in a few instances returns were not received. As I have said, the Chief Inspector of Factories shows that 34s. 5d. is the total average wage received by these workers, whereas the Prime Minister last night told us that the average rate of wage for males was 44s. 9d. That is not the way to put forward statements. We want the truth.

Mr. MAUGER.—Let the honorable member give the House the New South Wales average.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I will give the honorable member quite enough information before I sit down. The Premier said last night that the average wage for females employed in the boot factories was, as I understood, 22s. The chief inspector says the average is 14s. 7d.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the honorable member quoting from now?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am still quoting from Appendix B. In respect to cabinetmakers, the average wage for males, as stated by the Prime Minister, was 50s. 1d., whereas according to the inspector's report it is 42s. 4d. For shirtmakers the average for females was stated at 21s.; according to the inspector's report it is 14s. 8d.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is taking the average received by workers under 21 years of age.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend will have an opportunity of replying to me later on. I could also quote other instances to show the way in which the right honorable gentleman misquoted these returns. He has not been fair to his own State in the way he mixed up the figures. The Prime Minister said that he had returns from Mr. Coghlan showing the wages paid in the various industries of New South Wales. I have not been able to discover a return in Mr. Coghlan's book in that respect. I cannot find any return which gives me the information which the Prime Minister ventured to quote to honorable members last night. I could, if time permitted, refer to other instances which

the Chief Inspector of Factories in Victoria gives, to show the sad condition in which some of the workers in this State have been reduced under the system of protection which has prevailed here. I am glad to say that in New South Wales the workers have been strong enough to obtain an increase of wages without the aid of special boards. They have done it by their own strength, because they were able to accumulate from the wages which they received a little surplus, by means of which, in many instances, they could fight their battles with a good bank balance behind them.

Mr. TUDOR.—One of the workers of New South Wales did not say that at Lithgow on Monday.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am not responsible for the opinion of any individual man.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I have read the parliamentary debates, and from them I have come to a different conclusion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have also read the debates. I have some interesting information here with regard to the wages paid in the different industries, and the condition of workers in Victoria, but I am not going to deal with that question now. I dare say that other honorable members will find an opportunity to deal with it. But I can show clearly that our employes in New South Wales are far better off in every way in which a test can be applied to them than are the employes of Victoria. The Federal Government, nevertheless, are endeavouring to hamper them, and lessen their purchasing power by putting high taxes upon the necessities of life. These duties will increase the cost of their clothing, their boots and shoes, their hats, and the various necessities which they have to purchase. It is not fair that our workers should be hampered in this way. For 30 years a protective policy has been in force in Victoria. The raising of the price of imported articles does not represent the actual cost to the consumers. It must be recollected that by putting these duties on, as has been done, for instance, in the case of starch—and the same remark applies to other industries—Victoria has enabled the manufacturers to increase the cost of living to the consumers, whilst, as the Attorney-General has said in regard to the woollen industry, the manufacturers have not paid to the men wages in accordance with the

amount of protection their industries received. That was a notable speech made by the honorable and learned gentleman. It was one of the best and most reliable statements ever made by him. I know he will not deny the admission I have attributed to him, because it appears in *Hansard*. I do not mean by that to suggest that he would, because although we differ in our political views I believe him to be a truthful man. The honorable and learned gentleman made a strong indictment against the manufacturers of Victoria, as strong an indictment as a man could make, when he said they were being protected to the extent of from 30 to 35 per cent., but that he saw no evidence of increased wages being paid to factory employes here. Protection gave no increased wages to the workers, and it was found necessary to create wages boards to force manufacturers to make their employes a fair return for their work.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What is the object of the New South Wales Conciliation Act?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I will deal with that matter presently. I had to get up at a moment's notice last night owing to the disinclination of honorable members to speak on this question at that stage. I cannot blame them, because this is an important question, and I realize that honorable members ought to be prepared before they address themselves to it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is the matter with honorable members on the other side? Are they dumb?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have no complaint to make against honorable members sitting behind the Government. If they are not in a position to reply to the arguments of the free-trade members then it is all the better for the State of Victoria.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It would be better for the honorable member to give us some arguments calling for a reply.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend is like all protectionists. He has his prejudices, just as the protectionists say that free-traders are prejudiced. I will show presently that many protectionists in the old country have been forced to alter their policy just as protectionists in this country will be forced to alter theirs. When I made a statement last night in regard to the number of employes in the factories of New South Wales and Victoria I was contradicted. But what are the facts? In 1889 there

were 41,299 males employed in the factories of New South Wales. In 1899—ten years later—there were 47,063, or an increase of 5,764. Now, let us see what occurred in Victoria. In 1889, Victoria, under its protectionist system, had 49,105 male employes in its factories. Ten years later, protection, instead of swelling their ranks, had led to a decrease, the number of employes in Victorian factories in 1899 being only 44,041, or a reduction of 5,064. Is that any evidence that the system of protection has given an advantage to the male workers of this State? I admit that the number of females employed in Victorian factories has increased. In 1899 there were 8,583 females employed in New South Wales' factories, while in Victoria there were 16,029. Over 5,000 of the male workers were driven out of the factories of Victoria between 1889 and 1899, because the manufacturers would not pay them sufficient to keep body and soul together, and girls were employed in their place. Instead of the man being the breadwinner of the family, as he should be, the Victorian manufacturers compel women to do work which should fall to the lot of males. I will defy the honorable member for Melbourne Ports to deny the fact that the number of male employes in Victorian factories decreased by 5,064 during the period I have named, while the number of female employes increased by 7,702. Do these facts bear any evidence of the benefits of protection to Victoria? I think not. The value of production in New South Wales was £38,579,000, while in Victoria it was £30,870,000 odd, or nearly £8,000,000 less than that of the free-trade State of New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—How much of the New South Wales returns relates to wool and minerals?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am taking all the industries. Some parts of a State are suitable for one kind of industry and some for another kind. One part may be suitable for manufacturing purposes, another for farming, and still another for pastoral pursuits. I am taking, therefore, the whole of the industries. I will now take the population figures. According to a newspaper article which I read the other day, we have to gauge the attractiveness of a country by its population. In 1871, the population of Victoria was 221,000 in excess of that of New South Wales. In

1899, New South Wales had not only caught up to Victoria, but had a population exceeding that of this State by 193,000. In ten years New South Wales gained 235,000 people, while Victoria gained 10,000. Is that any evidence of the advantages of protection? During that period, the increase in the population of little Tasmania was 37,000 greater than that of Victoria.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — Tasmania had the most protective Tariff of all the States.

Mr. CAMERON.—No; a revenue Tariff.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Now I take the departures. There have been a great many from Victoria during recent years. She has lost some of the best of her population. Not being able to get a living here, many of her men had to seek employment elsewhere. A number of them came to New South Wales, and we gladly welcomed them, because they made good citizens. We have nothing to say against Victorians. As citizens they are quite as good as are the people of New South Wales, but, unfortunately, they have not been blessed with the advantages of a free and independent organ of public opinion. At least, they have had one, but the other, which has exercised a great deal more influence in the past, has not been fair to the workers; it has not given them reliable information. I shall show that as the result of the educational process which is in force in Victoria, the honorable and learned member for Indi—a former Attorney-General for Victoria—is 30 or 40 years out in regard to some of the historical events of the old country to which he has referred us. In view of that fact, we cannot be surprised that the honorable and learned gentleman is a protectionist. If I thought that such a thing could have occurred under free-trade as the honorable and learned member said had taken place, I should begin to feel that the question whether protection was not a right principle required serious consideration. But I will refer to that presently. As was pointed out by the leader of the Opposition last evening, New South Wales has been most kind and considerate to Victoria and the other States. She practically said to them—"We will allow your produce to come in free. We want to put no tax upon it. We will allow you to compete with our farmers. They are not afraid, neither are our people. They believe in the stability of the policy under which we are working and therefore we welcome open competition."

What has happened in regard to agriculture? In 1891 the area under cultivation was 846,000 acres, whilst in 1899 it had increased to 2,440,000 acres. Do these figures supply any evidence of decay with a free port? I can also show that the amount of the New South Wales imports has been incorrectly put before the people of Victoria in order to deceive them as to the condition of the farmers in the former State.

MR. EWING.—How many acres are there under cultivation in Victoria?

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend can supply that information.

MR. EWING.—Just so. It does not suit the honorable member to give it.

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—Last night the leader of the Opposition read an article from the organ which, I believe, rules the opinions of a great many Victorian constituencies.

MR. MAUGER.—What organ is that?

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—The leader of the Opposition read an article to show that the newspaper in question was not satisfied with the condition of agriculture in Victoria. It pointed out that there was something wrong with that industry.

MR. MAUGER.—What organ is that?

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend knows, because he dare not move without first obtaining its opinion. We have it upon record that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, in giving evidence before a court, stated that a certain gentleman is usually consulted as to what candidate shall be selected to contest any particular constituency. Then we witnessed the spectacle of the honorable member, in accordance with the convictions to which he gave strong expression during the federal election campaign, making a vigorous speech in this House in favour of the workers of the Commonwealth. But an article appeared in the newspaper to which I am referring, and as a result the honorable member voted in opposition to his previously expressed convictions. The people of New South Wales merely ask for fair treatment. They neither seek for nor expect any favour. But they have at least a right to expect that honest and fair statements will be made in regard to the condition of affairs in the various States, so that honorable members may have an opportunity of accurately judging of the merits or demerits of the various policies which they have

hitherto adopted. I ask honorable members who have read some of the protectionist literature which has been published in the newspapers and by circular during the past few days, to note the fact that this newspaper purports to quote from *Coghlan's Statistical Register*. But in quoting the New South Wales imports, in order to show the Victorian farmers that they should adhere to a policy of protection because of the failure which has resulted from a system of free-trade in New South Wales, it puts down as the value of imports, in butter, cheese, eggs, wheat, bran and pollard, flour, bacon, hams, extract of meat, preserved meat, onions, potatoes, and straw, during the year 1899, an amount of £1,236,000. It is strange that the writer did not take the imports for 1900, because the statistics were available. The great bulk of the goods represented by this £1,236,000, according to the journal in question, came from places outside of the Commonwealth.

MR. KENNEDY.—Is it not extraordinary that they should have to import at all?

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable friend can deal with that question. I am dealing with the other side of it. I shall presently show the small amount represented by New South Wales imports as compared with the progress which that State is making. The enterprising journal referred to does not give any figures regarding the importations of hay, chaff, honey, cattle, sheep, and pigs for the year 1899, and the reason why it omits to do so I shall presently explain.

MR. KINGSTON.—The honorable member told us this last night.

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—A good thing cannot be told too often. This newspaper takes no account of the re-exports of most of the articles which I have mentioned, although they represented a value of £221,000. What are the actual facts of the case? Instead of New South Wales importing £1,236,000 worth of farm produce from outside of the Commonwealth, she actually imported, for 1899, only £377,000 worth. If this newspaper had taken the returns for 1900, it would have found a still further reduction in the value represented by the importation of these articles. In that year the imports amounted to only £182,967.

MR. POYNTON.—The newspaper wanted to throw dust in the eyes of the farmers.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH. — Evidently that was the intention. I wish to take a little of the dust out of their eyes. The exports of the same produce from New South Wales during the period referred to represented a value of £1,023,000 or a surplus of exports over imports of no less than £840,000. I ask honorable members if that is straight journalism?

Mr. POYNTON.—Are those the *Age* figures?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The amount of £1,236,000 to which I have referred is supplied by the *Age*, but the other figures are *Coghlan's*, although the *Age* purports to quote from *Coghlan* in both cases. That newspaper has industriously taken from *Coghlan* the whole of the New South Wales imports without going to the trouble of deducting the Inter-State trade.

Mr. POYNTON.—It was trying to prove that the farmers were benefiting by protection.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH. — The reason why it did not mention hay, chaff, honey, sheep, and cattle, was that the imports of hay and chaff, poultry and honey, from places outside of the Commonwealth amounted only to £922. It was further stated that the farmers would be benefited to the extent of 2d. per lb. on honey. But the total quantity of honey imported into New South Wales represented only a value of £8. Yet a duty of 2d. per lb. is put upon that article in an endeavour to deceive the people. I had a nice little cartoon which I was going to exhibit to honorable members. It was one issued at a time when the workers of New South Wales were striving for an increase in wages, and for a fair instalment of the profits obtained by the owners of mines and by other people. A strike took place, and owing to the unfortunate condition of many of the workers of Victoria, who were forced to consider their families before the workers of New South Wales, a number of them were brought over to New South Wales to take the place of the men who were fighting for increased wages in that State. It is well known that that occurred on several occasions, and it occurred because of the unfortunate condition of the workers in Victoria. They could not obtain employment here, they were driven out of the factories in which the women were placed as bread-winners instead of themselves, and at a time of labour trouble with men in New South

Wales, most of those who took the places of the strikers were men from Victoria.

Mr. TUDOR.—They fought lately in New South Wales to get wages raised to the Victorian standard.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member knows that my statement is correct.

Mr. TUDOR.—I know that they fought at Balmain to get the 7s. per day which was paid here.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The men fought their own battle without any wages board behind them. Here they cannot fight their own battles, and have to get the assistance of wages boards. Another matter to which I shall refer is that when stock were being imported into Victoria under a stock tax of 30s. per head, a number of stock were brought in under bond to some of the Melbourne abattoirs, and the carcasses were exported; and the *Argus* reports that—

At the South Melbourne abattoirs during last month—

That was four or five months ago—

the heads and plucks of between 1,300 and 1,400 sheep and those of 150 bullocks were saturated with kerosene and burnt in the desiccating works to prevent the workers or anybody else in this State using them.

Did ever any one hear of such a barbarous condition of affairs as that? I believe that they were at first offered free to anybody, but a complaint was made that it would interfere with the trade of certain people in Melbourne. They had a Customs officer there I believe, and in order to prevent the possibility of any of the heads or plucks being given away they were saturated with kerosene and destroyed.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Were they free from lumpy jaw?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member's interjection does not apply at all. The honorable member is trying to draw a red herring across the trail. The reason for the action taken was not that the animals had been killed and slaughtered because of any disease, but because a number of people complained that to give the heads and plucks away free would be to enter into unfair competition with persons engaged in trade.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—They would not use duty-paid kerosene for the purpose now.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They had to import the kerosene which was used to destroy this food. I again refer to what has been said by the honorable and learned member for Indi on this question, because

I remember reading his speech with a good deal of interest. Speaking from the miners' point of view the honorable and learned member said—

And the miner, how is he on a level with the worker in town? He has a weight round his neck. We are told that the miners patriotically stood by protection in the past. Are we to whip the willing horse to death? Is protection to go on for ever to an unlimited extent, right on as we are told, to prohibition? Are we never to stop taxing the miner? He is the man who goes through the most arduous labour—the most dangerous pursuits to win the wealth of the country. And what does he get in return for it? A promise that more burdens shall be laid upon him. His pick is weighted with taxation, every article he wears is weighted with taxation, and when he goes home every article in his house, even his knife and fork, is taxed.

That is the opinion of Mr. Isaacs, at present the honorable and learned member for Indi in this House, and an ex-Attorney-General of Victoria. The honorable and learned member, in splendid sentences which ought to be published and distributed throughout the States, pointed out that the miners could not obtain any benefit from protection; and I ask honorable members how they are to obtain any benefit under this Tariff? Can any honorable member on the other side show me one case in which the miner will be benefited under this Tariff? Are we going to increase the price of his gold, or to increase the price of his wages, by putting a duty upon his candles, clothing, kerosene, machinery, and everything he requires? Is that the way we are to help the miner? I defy any honorable member opposite to point out a single instance in which assistance will be given to the miners under this system of protection. We notice from the papers in Western Australia, that men connected with mining companies there, men who have been struggling in some cases under great difficulties, who have to pay heavy freight for the carriage of machinery, and high prices for it, in order to develop the mineral resources of the State, are now taxed to such an extent that I believe in several cases where it was intended to import machinery to the extent of £250,000, they have cancelled the orders. Members from that State will be able to speak upon that matter in detail.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the honorable member say that in several cases they intended to get machinery to the value of £250,000?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I believe that that has occurred in several cases. The

honorable member for Kalgoorlie assured me last night that the total amount of machinery about to be imported in order to develop the mineral resources of Western Australia amounted to about £250,000; and that under this Tariff many who were proposing to introduce machinery would be forced to cancel their orders, and by that means hundreds of miners would be thrown out of employment.

Mr. POYNTON.—Some orders have been cancelled.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am informed that some orders have been cancelled.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The whole of that machinery could be got in Australia at the same price.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That, I know, is the stock argument of the honorable and learned member, but the men engaged in these industries are the best judges as to where they can buy their machinery at the cheapest price. They are not going to import their machinery from England or elsewhere if they can obtain it as good and as cheaply here. I have taken up a good deal of time—

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I offer no excuse or apology for doing so, because this is one of the most important questions that can claim the attention of the Federal Parliament, and but for the question of free-trade and protection arising, and the fact that I, as a free-trader, strong in that belief, desire to have a free-trade policy adopted by the people of Australia, I would not be a member of this House to-day, because I should not have bothered about standing for a constituency. I went because I believe that free-trade is inseparable from the prosperity of the Commonwealth, and as a native of Australia I felt it my duty—a feeling which I am sure that other honorable members share—to do the best I could to further the interests of the Commonwealth. I, therefore, fought one of the hardest battles that was fought in any of the States. I did not engage in any light fight; I did not go to a constituency which was known to be a strong free-trade constituency. I was asked to contest several easy constituencies, but I preferred to go to a constituency which was virtually in the hands of the protectionists, and which is represented in the State Parliament to-day by the Treasurer, the Minister

for Lands, and two other honorable members, all four of whom are strong protectionists. They did all they could to assist the candidate who was opposing me, but I am glad to say that I was able to defeat them, and that the constituencies which they represent, instead of returning a majority of 700 or 800 votes in favour of protection, as had previously been the case, gave me a majority of about 600, showing the remarkable change that was taking place. I admit that in New South Wales the majority has always been in favour of free-trade. We have never had protection there by the will of the people. It is true that we have had two doses of it, but that is because of the treachery of their representatives. Whenever the people have had an opportunity of speaking through the ballot-boxes they have punished those who were traitors to the country, and in most cases relegated them to private life. I understand that before this debate is concluded the House will be given a little information as to the results of free-trade and protection in other countries. One honorable member said last night that he would give us some statistics, but I shall anticipate him by giving him a few to which he will have an opportunity to reply. I have taken occasion to refer with sorrow to the unfortunate condition of the workers of Victoria. That condition has been brought about by the failure of many of their public men, and of a certain journal in this city, to put full and correct information in regard to the results of the fiscal policy in other countries before them. I cannot wonder at them being misled, under such circumstances. An honorable and learned member, for whom I have the greatest respect, who occupies a high position in this House, and has been Attorney-General to the State of Victoria—a man who has given considerable attention to political questions—interjected the other evening, when the leader of the Opposition was speaking—“What about the ‘Song of the Shirt’?” The honorable and learned member seemed to believe that that poem was written at a time when England had free-trade; but it is well-known that it was written by Hood in 1844, when the people had been suffering from protection for many years. I will read these lines.

Mr. WATKINS.—Will the honorable member also read “The white slaves of England?”

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Before reading Hood's poem, which caused such a stir in England at the time it was first published, I will read an extract from a description of the condition of the workers of England in 1844, written by Engels:—

Women and men enfeebled, children deformed, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, affected with disease and infirmity, purely to fill the purses of the manufacturers. Children seized naked in bed by the overlookers, and driven with blows and kicks to the factory, their clothing over their arms; how their sleepiness is driven off with blows; how they fall asleep over their work; children too tired to go home hide away in the wool in the drying-room to sleep there, and could only be driven out of the factory with straps; how many hundreds came home so tired every night that they could eat no supper for sleepiness and want of appetite, and their parents found them kneeling by the bedside, where they had fallen asleep during their prayers; how the mother goes to the mill shortly after five in the morning, and comes home at eight at night, and is obliged to give drugs to the small children to keep them still till she returns. How the tender frame of a child is least able to withstand the unfavorable influences of an inferior lot in life. The neglect to which they are subjected when both parents work, or one is dead, avenges itself promptly, and no one need wonder that in Manchester, according to the report last quoted, more than 57 per cent. of the children—boys and girls—of the working classes perish before the fifth year.”

That was the condition of the workers of England when the “Song of the Shirt” was published.

Mr. RONALD.—And to-day

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I shall come to that presently. The lines which I wish to quote are these:—

Oh men! with sisters dear!
O men with mothers and wives!
It is not linen you're wearing out,
But human creatures' lives.
Stitch—stitch—stitch,
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt.

But why do I talk of death?
That phantom of grisly bone,
I hardly fear his terrible shape,
It seems so like my own—
It seems so like my own,
Because of the fasts I keep.
Oh! God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!

Work—work—work,
My labour never flags;
And what are its wages? A bed of straw,
A crust of bread—and rags.
That shatter'd roof—and this naked floor—
A table—a broken chair—
And a wall so blank, my shadow I thank
For sometimes falling there!

I shall read another quotation, and I am glad that the honorable and learned member for Indi is present, because he interjected last night that that song applied to free-trade England.

Mr. ISAACS.—I did not say that.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable and learned friend interjected "The Song of the Shirt," and the only inference I could draw was that it applied to the condition of England under free-trade.

Mr. ISAACS.—I said last night that the workers there are getting less now than they got then.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I did not hear my honorable and learned friend say that.

Mr. CONROY.—For one thing, provisions are cheaper now than they were then.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Here is another article, written on the theory and facts—

It is, however, impossible to convey by mere statistics of our exports any adequate picture of the condition of the nation when Sir Robert Peel took office in 1841. Every interest in the country was alike depressed. In the manufacturing districts mills and workshops were closed, and property daily depreciated in value. In the seaports, shipping was laid up useless in the harbour. Agricultural labourers were eking out a miserable existence upon starvation wages and parochial relief.

I find, by a strange coincidence, an article written by Mr. Peck, in the *New York Commissioner* on the condition of the labouring classes in America. When one reads his article, and reflects, one finds a strong resemblance between the condition of the American under protection to-day and the condition of the workers under protection in England. What does Mr. Peck say?

Mr. EWING.—In what year?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In 1885.

Mr. MAUGER.—That was the year of the Cleveland Tariff.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am going to quote from the report of, not an advocate of free-trade or protection, but a man whose duty it was to collect statistics to show the exact condition of the working classes in America. I think it is a very fair argument to use.

Mr. MAUGER.—Why not come up to date?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Unfortunately they have not any statistics in the Library here bearing upon these matters. I could only get the report which was given to me by the late Sir Henry Parkes. Speaking of

the female occupants of the tenement houses, the New York Commissioner says—

No words of mine can convey to the public any adequate conception of the truly awful condition of thousands of these suffering people.

He went on to say—

In a word, the European workman is a mechanic still, whilst the American workman has ceased to be a mechanic and has become a machine.

The report of the committee of the United States Senate on education and labour, the chairman being a protectionist, shows that they had to listen to tales of misery and distress amongst the American labourers as revolting in pathos as any which have been told of the pauper labourers of Europe. And what do we find further? We find by a telegram from New York—this is up to date—that 150,000 men and women received less than 2s. 6d. in New York, that the women work about sixteen hours a day, and that 82,000 persons were forcibly ejected, not being able to pay rent.

Mr. ISAACS.—At what work are they earning 2s. 6d. a day?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—At different kinds of work.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are they protected industries or what are they?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am quoting a telegram which was sent out here showing the result.

Mr. MAUGER.—To whom?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Not to the *Age*, because it will not publish anything which is against its views.

Mr. ISAACS.—It might have some importance if the honorable member could tell us what industries were concerned.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Protected industries employ foreign labour in some cases in the proportion of seventeen foreigners to four Americans. We have another evidence of that in an interview with Mr. Hoskins—a protectionist I think—who lately visited the old country and America. He pointed out that in many of the industries in America there was almost a complete absence of their own American workmen; that large bodies of Russians were employed because they accepted lower wages, and their own workmen thrown out of employment. We all know of the wealth accumulated by some people in America, and the fights which the labourers have had, not being always successful—not nearly so successful as workmen have been in our State, or in Great

Britain. The workers are not so strong in America as they are in Great Britain.

Mr. RONALD.—Oh!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They are not.

Mr. RONALD.—That settles it.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Not even in Cleveland's time.

Mr. McCOLL.—The best paid body in the world are the American workmen.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The labour leaders in England do not say so.

Mr. McCOLL.—The mechanics are paid the best wages in the world.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The statistics of wages and prices show that it is not so. I shall quote now from a very good work, written by C. Armitage Smith. Speaking of the condition of the workers in England he points out that statistics, wages and prices show that with easier work and shorter hours the labourer now gets about 65 per cent., the factory operative 75 per cent., and the skilled mechanic 90 per cent. more of the necessities of life than he did 50 years ago. Sir R. Giffen has stated that nearly the whole of the economic advantage of the last 50 years has gone to the working classes—that is, their position has not only changed absolutely as regards the comforts of life, but relatively to classes in their share of the general prosperity.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is said that that happens only in free-trade countries.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have shown pretty conclusively what were the effects of protection in England. I have shown that it did not conduce to the happiness of the people, and no honorable member can boast that it benefited the working classes.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—She had 300 years of it, anyway.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—She had 300 years of dark days, and she was never in such a strong position as she is to-day. Take for instance the increases of wages that have taken place. The *Daily Press* of October last year, gives the increases of wages of British workmen. It is stated that, in 1897, the wages paid to workmen showed an increase of over £45,000 per week. In 1898, they showed an increase of £95,000 per week, and in 1899 an increase of £114,000 per week, or a little under £6,000,000 a year increase of wages, brought about by the greater strength and prosperity of the nation. These statistics were published by the Board of Trade, whose figures also show that, during the

eight months of 1900, the increase of wages per week amounted to £150,000. It is also pointed out that the coal-miners in England, according to the Board of Trade reports, received 40s. per week, whilst those in the United States were paid only 21s., in Germany 21s., in France 21s., and in Austria 16s. per week. All this shows that the condition of the workers in England has improved, and honorable members, applying whatever test they like, will find that the increase of wages has been immense in the last 50 years, and that the prosperity of England to-day is marvellous.

Mr. TUDOR.—The conditions are pretty bad to-day.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The workers themselves do not say so. Thomas Burt, a well known advocate of the cause of the working man, speaks of the soundness of trade, and of the generally prosperous condition of the workers under free-trade as compared with their condition under protection, and Mr. Davies, the secretary of the National Society of Brassworkers, also gives similar testimony. The honorable and learned member for Indi has spoken strongly to his constituents as to the disadvantages of protection from the point of view of the miners. I remember that honorable and learned member told his constituents that New South Wales had increased in population and in production over and above the extent to which Victoria had progressed.

Mr. ISAACS.—I showed that Victoria had made greater strides than New South Wales.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I read the report of the honorable member's speech from the *Age*, and he will have an opportunity of correcting it if it was wrong. I remember the honorable and learned member quoting figures given by the free-traders of New South Wales, which showed an increase in the number of male employes in the factories and in the total production over and above the figures that were quoted for Victoria.

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable member should not trust to his memory.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I know my memory is reliable in the matter.

Mr. ISAACS.—I assure the honorable member that he is not correct.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—At all events I remember reading the honorable and learned member's speech, in which he pointed out

that the free-traders of New South Wales forgot to tell the people that all this increased production was brought about under a system of protection which prevailed there until 1896 or 1897. Does the honorable and learned member deny that he told the electors of his constituency that New South Wales had a protectionist policy up to a certain time?

Mr. ISAACS.—I will tell the honorable member what I said.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable and learned member was reported in the newspapers as having pointed out that New South Wales was under a protectionist policy for some time, but it is well known that we never had protection in that State except through the treachery of politicians at the head of affairs, who, when the electors had an opportunity of speaking, were hurled out of office. I have here a report issued by a commission in England showing the awful condition of the workers there under the system of protection that prevailed in 1840. The commissioners point out—

It will be seen in evidence that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water, that their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather, that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury.

Who brought about a change in the policy of England in 1840? Was it not one of the strongest protectionists in England? And why did he bring about an alteration? He did so because of the awful condition of the workers in that country at that time. Sir Robert Peel gave an instalment of free-trade; and, notwithstanding that reduction, the increase in the exports of produce and manufactures from 1842 to 1844, inclusive, amounted to £11,000,000. The increase brought about by the instalment of free-trade so satisfied Sir Robert Peel of the wisdom of the course he had taken that he went a step further and abolished the Corn Laws. At the time he predicted that he would, in consequence, have to relinquish power, and pointed out that he was dividing himself from his strongest supporters, who had fought by his side for years as protectionists—men to whom he owed every position he had held in political life. But, in response to the appeal of the workers of England, whose condition was truly awful, and at the risk of losing office and the good-will of men with whom he had been associated for so many years, he felt compelled to bring about an alteration of

the policy of Great Britain. His prediction was verified, because on the day on which effect was given to the Act for the abolition of the Corn Laws he was ousted from power. On that occasion Sir Robert Peel said—

In relinquishing power I shall leave a name severely censured, I fear, by many who, on public grounds, deeply regret the severance of party ties—deeply regret that severance not from interested or personal motives, but from the firm conviction that fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—constitutes a powerful instrument of government. I shall surrender power severely censured also by others who from no interested motive adhere to the principle of protection, considering the maintenance of it to be essential to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who from less honorable motives clamours for protection because it conduces to his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice.

The Prime Minister and his Government will never be able to give expression to such splendid words as those. They will never be able to say they have taken burdens off the backs of the people. No; they are putting burdens on the people, because they are not strong enough to fight against the great body of protectionists who represent Victorian constituencies.

Mr. McCOLL.—Bunkum!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is the reason the Government are afraid. Had it not been for the large number of protectionists returned in Victoria to support the Government, the Prime Minister would have been true to his hustings pledges, and would not have introduced this iniquitous system of protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—I can assure the honorable member that the Prime Minister has not satisfied Victorian protectionists.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—If Victorian protectionists are not satisfied with duties amounting in some instances to 100 per cent., I do not know what will satisfy them.

Mr. MAUGER.—Where are there such duties?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—There are any number of duties averaging 20 per cent., 50 per cent., and 60 per cent., and glass-ware and crockery of all kinds, which are

used by the poor, are taxed up to the hilt. There are many other lines on which similar heavy duties are imposed, but the leader of the Opposition referred to them last night, and I shall not further deal with the point. It is admitted that Victoria has not gone ahead like New South Wales, but protectionists urge that this is because New South Wales has a larger area. They have not the fairness to point out at the same time that this large extent of country involves extremely heavy administrative expenses; they simply argue that if New South Wales is prosperous she ought to be so, because of her larger territory. It was pointed out last night, I believe by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, that England had not been prosperous. I have taken the trouble to compare the wealth per square mile of the United Kingdom with that of the United States, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. We find that the wealth of the United Kingdom per square mile is £97,570; that of France, £47,500; Germany, £38,530; Russia, £760; Italy, £28,500; Austria-Hungary, £18,700; and the United States, £4,560; and that the trade of the United Kingdom per square mile is £5,640.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Is that how the honorable member compares New South Wales and Victoria—per square mile?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I point out in fairness that we cannot always apply this test. But an endeavour has been made to show that New South Wales has built up her prosperity because of her large area, and I am only showing that if the test of area be applied it will be found that England has improved under free-trade. I am giving not only the area per square mile, but also the population. As compared with America, honorable members will find that the result is as I have stated it.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The territory of England would be sufficient for a fair-sized zoo in America!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We know, of course, that the area of America is very great. The trade of England is £5,640 per square mile; of France, £1,410; of Germany, £1,990; of Russia, £15; of Italy, £800; of Austria-Hungary, £510; of the United States, £100.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is the trade of Turkey?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have quoted the figures with regard to the seven great powers of the world. It would take too long to go into the affairs of all countries. My honorable and learned friend will be able to give us the figures with regard to Turkey, if he is so fond of that country. The earnings of the people per square mile are—in the United Kingdom, £11,740; France, £5,900; Germany, £6,150; Russia, £120; Italy, £3,920; Austria-Hungary, £2,930; United States, £890. As to population, England maintains per square mile 330 people; France, 192; Germany, 247; Russia, 47; Italy, 274; Austria-Hungary, 162; United States, 23.

Mr. ISAACS.—Will the honorable member give the House the statistics of population for Belgium?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—England comes on top of the whole of the great powers. Then take the wealth per inhabitant. The figures are—for the United Kingdom, £302; France, £252; Germany, £156; Russia, £61; Italy, £101; Austria-Hungary, £104; United States, £234. The value of trade per head of population is, for the United Kingdom, £17; France, £7—

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Is that external trade?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We have to judge a country by its trade all round. I am giving the figures with regard to exports and imports. What nonsense it is to pick out statistics! That is what has been done in Victoria for so long. Statistics have been picked out to suit the case presented and to back up the arguments, and when exception has been taken to this practice and any one has endeavoured to supply the correct figures, the press has refused to print this information for the benefit of the public—except in the case of the *Argus*.

Mr. RONALD.—Then are we to suppose that there is no difference between exports and imports?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not say so. The remainder of the figures for the great powers, in regard to value of trade per head of the population, are—for Germany, £8; Russia, £1; Italy, £3; Austria-Hungary, £3; United States, £5. The value of manufactures per head of the population in the United Kingdom amounts to £22; in France, £15; Germany, £13; Russia, £4; Italy, £6; Austria-Hungary, £7; United States, £27.

Mr. ISAACS.—Where do those figures come from?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am quoting from a document upon the correctness of which I will stake my existence.

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable member might let the House into the secret.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have had these figures checked by one of the best authorities who could check them, and I will vouch for the accuracy of them.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What about the case of Western Australia?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My right honorable friend will be able to give the facts so far as they concern Western Australia, but he will have to answer to his people in that State for proposing to tax them as he does under this Tariff. Now I will compare the earnings per head of the population. They are in the United Kingdom, £36; in France, £31; Germany, £24; Russia, £9; Italy, £13; Austria Hungary, £16; United States, £44.

Mr. RONALD.—Hear! hear!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I admit that the United States is a large country, and possesses fair advantages. I do not want merely to give one side of the case, but both sides. I want to be absolutely fair. I do not want to make any misquotations. I have now given statistics concerning the wealth, the trade, the value of manufactures, the earnings, and the production per square mile, and also per head of the population, and I have shown that England comes out on top in the result, although she is under a free-trade policy. Now I will compare the whole of the seven great powers showing how the United Kingdom stands in comparison with the other six powers taken as a whole. The wealth of the United Kingdom per square mile is £97,570. The total wealth of France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Austria, Hungary and United States put together, amounts to £3,770 per square mile. The trade of the United Kingdom is £5,640 per square mile, whilst of the other six great powers it amounts to £108 per square mile. The value of the food produced in the United Kingdom per square mile is £959, and of the other six great powers £96 per square mile. The value of manufactures produced in the United Kingdom is £7,240 per square mile, and the value of manufactures produced in the six other great powers lumped

together amounts to £325. The earnings of the people of the United Kingdom per square mile of the country amount to £11,740, whilst the earnings of the people of the other six great powers per square mile amount to £610. The agricultural capital per head of the people of the United Kingdom is £53, and the other great powers £50. The average value of manufactured produce in the United Kingdom is per square mile £8,199 as against £422 in the other six great countries. The population per square mile of country is 330 in the United Kingdom as against 29 in the other great powers. Take the figures per inhabitant or per square mile—let honorable members apply the test how they will—and it will be found that England comes out on top. The wealth per head of the United Kingdom is £302 as compared with £131 on the average per head of the other six great powers. The trade of England is £17 per head as against £4 in the case of the six other great powers. The value of food produced for human use is £3 per head of the population in the United Kingdom, and £3 per head of the population in the other six great powers. The value of manufactures in the United Kingdom is £22 per head, and £11 per head in France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and the United States.

Mr. ISAACS.—For what year are these figures?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—For the year before last. They are up to date. I have procured the latest figures available, and will vouch for their correctness. These are the latest statistics which can be secured. Honorable members can apply this test in any way they like, and it will be shown that the condition of England under free-trade has been progressive. Her population has increased by 51 per cent. during 50 years of free-trade; her commerce by 337 per cent.; her shipping by 736 per cent.; her mining has increased by 386 per cent.; her hardware industry has increased by 98 per cent.; her textile manufactures by 162 per cent.; her revenue by 108 per cent.; her wealth by 139 per cent.; her banking by 315 per cent., and the number of her school children by 255 per cent. On the other hand, the death rate of England has decreased by 4 per 1,000, owing to the improved condition of the people of the United Kingdom. They have better house accommodation, better living, better clothes, more fresh air, and

higher wages. All these things have tended to the improved condition of the workers and the people of England, with the result that the death rate under free-trade has gone down to the extent I have stated. That is the best argument that can be urged against the condition of affairs which prevailed in England in 1844, when young children were left at home and given spirits in order to keep them asleep while their mothers and fathers worked for their support. All that has passed away.

Mr. RONALD.—Is that so?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Well, to a very large extent that condition of affairs has passed away. I am putting some of the conditions of England under free-trade. Can my honorable friend deny that the people of England are not only better clothed and fed than they were in those days, but that their conditions of work are improved? Do they not work fewer hours per day, and receive higher rates of wages? Are not the women of England in a better condition under free-trade than they were in those times? Now we come to the consumption of food. The increase in the consumption of meat per inhabitant is 34 lbs.; sugar 50 lbs.; wheat 96 lbs.; and tea 51 ozs. Under free-trade the paupers of England have been reduced 8 per 1,000; whilst the deposits of the working classes, including those lodged with building societies, amount to £322,000,000. England's position to-day is such that, if we take her assets and liabilities, we shall find that she could pay off the national debt of every country on the face of the earth twice over, and still have a good surplus. Yet my honorable friends want to make out that England is going back. England to-day has the control of a quarter of the surface of the earth, and she has under her jurisdiction a fourth of the population of the world. A policy that has enabled England to build up such a prosperous condition of affairs, which has increased her wealth, improved the condition of her working classes, and enabled her manufacturers to give higher rates of wages, should, in my opinion, be good enough for Australia. I have heard honorable members, when endeavouring to capture the votes of different electorates in our State, declaring that we should give a preference to British imports. When the Prime Minister was considering the advisableness of giving a preference to British imports, he declared in

favour of this preference, if at all possible. He was desirous of taking advantage of the feeling of loyalty to the mother country which exists throughout Australia.

Mr. McCAY.—Did the honorable member agree to follow the British policy in regard to coloured aliens?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable and learned friend should not say anything about coloured aliens, because he belongs to the whitey-brown party.

Mr. WILKS.—The streaky party.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes, the streaky party. The honorable and learned member was in favour of bringing these coloured aliens into the country; we want to send them out.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Honorable members on the opposition side belong to the piebald party.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member is another member of the whitey-brown party. This is one of the most important questions that could engage the attention of honorable members, and I feel that I have been called upon to speak at considerable length, not for my own pleasure—

Mr. HIGGINS.—Nor for ours.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Possibly not for the pleasure of the honorable and learned member. That interjection shows, at all events, that I must have been giving statistics which honorable members on the Government side of the House will find it difficult to answer. I know they do not like to hear the truth. Honorable members from Victoria have not been used to hearing the truth. Unfortunately, the people of Victoria—and I pity them—have been educated in the wrong way; they have not been allowed to get at the true facts. The honorable and learned member for Corinella went before his constituents, and said that in the interests of Australia a stop must be put to the immigration of coloured aliens. He said—"I have no sympathy with those who do not put out the fire when it is commencing to blaze. I believe in putting it out at once." Yet we find the honorable and learned member voting in a different direction.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! That has nothing to do with the question before the Chair.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am only referring to the matter in order to show how difficult it is to convince honorable members

who are not acting in accordance with statements made by them when before their constituents; who speak in one way when before their constituents, but take a different course when they come here. One has a difficulty in dealing with a man who acts in that way. While I feel impelled to speak with no uncertain voice so far as my opinions on this question are concerned, I have no desire to make personal reflections upon any honorable member. I refer to these matters only in a political sense. It is to be regretted that the Government have thought fit to hamper the great industries of the Commonwealth by seeking to fasten upon the people the fangs of a protectionist policy. We have enough to contend against in the Commonwealth already. I am glad to say, however, that we have arrived at that stage when instead of being dependent upon other countries, we are able not only to supply our own wants so far as most lines of agricultural produce are concerned, but to export largely wheat, butter, dairy produce, &c. The Government should have endeavoured to give greater help to our producers by assisting to find markets for their surplus produce; by making the cost of production as small as possible, and by imposing no heavy taxes upon machinery and upon the necessities of life. All such taxes tend to hamper the great producing interests of the country—the interests which we are endeavouring to assist. I would ask my honorable friends opposite, who have been crying out since their election that we should endeavour to protect ourselves against the pauper-made goods of other countries, where those pauper-made goods come from? They all come from protectionist countries! If protection is such a good thing—if it is the panacea for all the evils experienced by the producers—how is it that it has brought about such an army of paupers, and why do the protectionists fear open competition with the markets of the world? All these things go to show the rottenness of the policy which has been submitted by the Federal Government. I regret that the Ministry have thought fit to deceive the people upon this matter in the way they have done. I would not care if the Government had expressed their views with no uncertain voice. I speak for the good of the whole of the States when I say that it is to their advantage that we should have a free-trade policy. Our desire should be to do everything

Mr. Sydney Smith.

we possibly can to advance the general interests of the electors of the various States. What I regret more than anything else is that the Prime Minister, when addressing the electors of New South Wales, led them to believe that he did not intend to foist a high protective Tariff upon the Commonwealth, but that free-traders and protectionists could join hands in assisting his Government. How they have been deceived I will allow them to say when they get the opportunity of so doing. If any honorable member takes the trouble to visit New South Wales he will find that the people of that State from one end of it to the other declare that the Prime Minister and his Government have been untrue to their pledges—that they have had no mandate from the people of the Commonwealth to fasten these highly protective duties upon them. It behoves every man who believes—as I do—in a policy which will benefit all classes of the community, to do his best to follow in the footsteps of the great reformers of the old country, and to endeavour to build up a nation such as they have built up in the United Kingdom—a nation to which we are all proud to belong, and one which stands to-day stronger than any other nation under the sun. It is a nation which is respected by everybody, and whose workers occupy a better position than do those of any other country in the world. Surely a policy which has made England so great and powerful, should be good enough for United Australia.

Mr. A. McLEAN (Gippsland).—I shall not endeavour to follow my honorable friend who has preceded me through the long and intricate maze of his discourse, which lasted something like four hours. I listened to him very carefully from beginning to end, and I also listened to the leader of the Opposition, who preceded him with a three hours' speech, and for the life of me I cannot find any tangible argument that I am called upon to answer. It is quite true that the honorable member for Macquarie has quoted a mass of statistics, but they were quoted in such a way that I venture to say he did not find them in any book, but must have worked them out for his own purposes. I do not mean to say that the statistics quoted are not correct, but they are not correctly applied. Has my honorable friend ever heard of commerce and manufacture and all that kind of thing being measured

by the square mile? I have read a great many statistics, but this is the first occasion upon which I ever heard of statistics of that kind being compared by the square mile. When we come to deal with the States where the area has almost everything to do with the number of population which the State is capable of supporting, the square-mile argument is conveniently dropped, although it is used in regard to such items as commerce, manufactures, and others, which have not the slightest reference or relevance to the area of the country in which they are carried on.

Mr. CONROY.—What other test can be applied?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The plain and honest test of the rate of progress made by each nation as it stands, without that test being clouded with this issue of square miles. I shall endeavour to show the honorable member for Macquarie that there are honest and reliable statistics which give a true indication of the progress made by the various nations which we have heard quoted, from the time that England adopted the policy of free-trade down to the present. Concerning the Tariff, I think it right to say that it is not my intention to deal at this stage with its details. I think that the proper place for details to be dealt with is in committee. When we get into committee, my desire will be to so adjust the burdens of the people, that taxation will fall lightest upon those who receive the least benefit from the nature of the Tariff. Those who receive the greater part of the benefit should pay the greater part of the taxes, so far as that object can be accomplished, having due regard to the admitted difficulty of the question, and to the necessities of the revenue of the Commonwealth. But the whole of the present discussion, as I understand it, is centred round the one question of whether this Tariff should be framed on an absolutely free-trade basis with revenue duties, or whether it should be a Tariff of revenue duties and as far as possible protective in its incidence. If I understood the honorable member for Macquarie, he endeavoured to show that the Prime Minister has not kept faith with the people of the Commonwealth and that he has not brought down such a Tariff as he promised when upon the hustings. I carefully followed the speech of the Prime Minister at Maitland, and also

his subsequent deliveries, and I must confess that I was never for one moment misled as to the nature of the Tariff which he intended to submit. The proof that honorable members opposite were not misled, is supplied by the fact that the moment the House met they took their seats upon the opposition benches. The protectionists of the House ranged themselves upon the side of the Government and the free-traders upon the other side, thus clearly showing that the latter were not misled. Is it fair then to tell honorable members at this late stage that the Government have not kept faith with the people, and that they led the Commonwealth to believe that they intended to bring down a free-trade Tariff, whereas they have brought down a Tariff which is protective in its incidence? I say that it is not fair. The newspapers throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth indicated the nature of the Tariff which was to be introduced. I think that as nearly as possible the Tariff follows upon the lines of the speeches delivered by the Prime Minister, of the interpretation which was placed upon those speeches by the various candidates who offered themselves for election, and by the public press throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth. I venture to say that if the Government had brought down a Tariff at variance with promises made at the hustings the protectionists on this side would not follow them another hour. I feel perfectly sure of that, and the fact that we have not heard of the least defection from the Government following, since the Tariff was introduced, is the best proof we can possibly have that the Tariff follows the lines of the announcement that was made to the people of the Commonwealth by the head of the Government.

Mr. CONROY.—Is the honorable member satisfied with it?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I do not think any person would be absolutely satisfied with any Tariff as first submitted, because the matter is surrounded with so many difficulties that it is only by the most careful application of the energies of the members of the House to the Tariff, as proposed by the Government, that we can hope to produce any thing like a perfect Tariff. It would be unreasonable to expect that it should be perfect in all its incidence when first submitted. But I am satisfied of this:

That the Government have kept faith with the people of the Commonwealth in the general nature of the Tariff they have submitted for our consideration. That is enough for my purpose at present. We heard a great deal last night, and a great deal to-day, about the respective merits of free-trade and protection. We have heard a great deal of spurious sympathy evinced for the people of Victoria in their wretched condition, and in the miserable state to which protection has reduced them. Before I sit down, I shall show honorable members who used these arguments that, if they have any sympathy to spare, they will find better material to lavish it upon in their own State than they will find in the State of Victoria. I shall prove that by their own trusted statist, Mr. Coghlan. I shall prove the same thing by comparing Great Britain under a free-trade Tariff with the leading protectionist nations of the world.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Hear, hear. Four millions of paupers.

Mr. CONROY.—I thought the honorable member said that commerce had nothing to do with this question.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I said it had nothing to do with square miles of territory, but it has everything to do with the arguments, if the figures are submitted in a form in which we can compare them in a fair and rational manner. I have said we ought not to measure commerce by square miles of territory. To do that is to do what is simply absurd. We ought not to measure manufactures by square miles of territory. With a few exceptions, the whole of the manufactures of Victoria are congregated within a few miles of the Melbourne Post-office.

Mr. CONROY.—Hear, hear; at the port.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Would it be fair to measure the whole of the output by the number of square miles which they occupy? It would be most unfair, and I shall not attempt to mislead honorable members by submitting any such figures for their consideration. I desire in the first place to give some little attention to the position of Great Britain under a free-trade policy. I shall endeavour to show that free-trade has been tried in Great Britain under the most favorable conditions that have existed in any part of the habitable globe, and that even, with all the advantages which England undoubtedly possessed for giving that policy the fairest possible trial,

it has not enabled the nation to keep pace with the great protectionist nations of the earth. I shall not refer to the speeches or writings of any irresponsible persons or of any commissioner. I shall take the trusted statist of the nation. I shall not quote from any statist except Britain's own statist—*Mulhall*. I think we all trust him, and admit that his figures are as accurate as it is possible to make them, that he has spared no pains in their compilation, and that he does not compare the condition of England with the condition of other countries for the purpose of elaborating either the policy of free-trade or that of protection. He merely records facts as he finds them, after the most diligent and searching investigation. To take the position of England before she adopted her free-trade policy—I may say that I have not been able to find the statistics up to the very year in which she made the change. The latest year up to which I can get reliable statistics in the various branches of trade and production is 1840. That is sufficiently near for my purpose. Prior to 1840 we know that England had something like an unbroken record of three centuries of protection. What was the condition of England then as compared with the condition of the rest of the world at that period? Honorable members prove nothing when they say that England is more prosperous to-day than she was when she adopted free-trade. We all admit that. It would be unreasonable to expect that whilst the whole world was progressing rapidly, England alone should stand still like Joshua's sun and make no progress whatever. That would not be reasonable. We know that England has made progress. But what I do assert, and what I shall prove is that England did not progress at the same rate as have the great protectionist nations of the world since that period. In the year 1840 England had all the raw material that was necessary to carry on manufactures under the most favorable conditions possible at that time. For instance, take her supplies of coal and iron, which are the main factors in manufactures. In 1840 England had an output of 1,390,000 tons of iron; whilst France, Germany, and the United States, together, had an output of only 810,000 tons. So that England's output of iron was more than 50 per cent. greater than the total output of the other three great nations. Then we come to her coal supply, and

we find that from 1821 to 1840—that is the period selected by *Mulhall* and not by me, and it is the latest date up to which I can get an account of her output for a number of years prior to her adoption of free-trade—from 1821 to 1840 the output of coal in Great Britain was 390,000,000 tons, whilst the output of coal for the other three nations, France, Germany, and the United States was only 102,000,000 tons, or very little more than one-fourth of the output of Great Britain alone. Then, in addition to that, Great Britain possessed this very great advantage over the other nations of the earth: She had the command of the greatest portion of the shipping of the world. She had a practical monopoly of the carrying trade of the other nations of the earth. So that she had not only the raw material at her own doors for manufactures, but she had also the shipping to carry those manufactures to other parts of the world, and to bring back their products at the least possible cost. At that time, in addition to those great advantages over other nations, she had completely outstripped them in the output of manufactures. In 1840, her manufactures were valued at £387,000,000, and the only nation that approached within measurable distance of her was France, whose total output for that year was £123,000,000 less than that of Great Britain. Germany and the United States were hopelessly behind.

Mr. CONROY.—There was no Germany at that time.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—*Mulhall* takes the various States that make up the present German Empire. His comparisons are absolutely fair. The total manufacturing output of the United States in 1840 was valued at £96,000,000, or about one-fourth of the value of that of Great Britain. Great Britain adopted free-trade for the express purpose of becoming the great workshop of the world. That was the very laudable ambition of British statesmen, and I regret that it has not been realized, and that their dream has been doomed to disappointment. In 1896, Great Britain had increased her manufacturing output to a value of £876,000,000, which was about two and a quarter times as great as that of 1840. France in the same period made the least progress among the protectionist nations of the world, but she increased her manufacturing output two and a third times,

which was a little more than the rate of increase in Great Britain, though her population had not increased at anything like the same rate. It must be remembered, too, that France gave her attention largely to agriculture, the greatest industry of the human race, whilst Great Britain completely neglected agriculture, and concentrated the whole of her energies in promoting her manufactures. Germany more than doubled the rate of increase of Great Britain, however, her production in 1896 being four and two-thirds as much as that of 1840, while the production of the United States in 1896 was twenty and three-fourths as much as their production in 1840.

Mr. CAMERON.—But the honorable member omits to tell us how greatly the population of the United States increased by immigration during that period.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—What caused her population to increase? It was the great attractions which she offered to population.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Hear, hear. Her virgin country and resources!

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The United States made nine times as much progress in manufacturing as was made by Great Britain in the period to which I have referred, although for the greater part of that period they had been the most highly protected country under the sun.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The honorable member would not expect a grown man to advance at the same rate as a boy.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I hope the honorable member will bear that in mind when we compare Victoria with New South Wales. I have shown that the great nations of the earth—France, Germany, and the United States—all increased their production at a greater rate than did Great Britain during the period to which I referred, although Great Britain concentrated all her energies upon manufacturing.

Mr. DEAKIN.—And Great Britain had no such wars as the Franco-German war or the American civil war.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Yes. At the same time she completely neglected her great agricultural resources, although the other nations devoted their attention to that branch of industry even more than to manufacturing. In this connexion it may be well to say that production—that is, primary production and agriculture—has been admitted by all the leading peoples of the earth to be the greatest industry of the

human race. It has done more for the advancement of the race, and added more to the wealth of the world, than any other industry. Production, though it covers the whole range of human industry, may fairly be classed under two heads, primary production and manufacture. To show the amount of attention that is given to agriculture throughout the world, I may say that, leaving out of account China, India, Japan, and the other Eastern nations, that industry employs 80,000,000 peasants, and its annual output is represented by a total value of £4,000,000,000. That industry, however, Great Britain has been neglecting ever since she adopted free-trade. Before pursuing comparisons any further, I should like to point out that the moment England adopted free-trade the rate of increase of her population diminished to an alarming extent.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—What was the condition of her people in 1840?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—From 1810 to 1840, in the three decades preceding the advent of free-trade, the population of England increased at the rate of 434 per 1,000, whilst from 1840 to 1870, in the next three decades, the increase fell to 169 per 1,000. Ireland in 1840 was a great agricultural country, with a population little short of 8,250,000, while to-day her population is considerably under 4,000,000.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Because of the immigration to the United States.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That has been the result of free-trade in Ireland.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—But what about the North of Ireland?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I have shown from *Mulhall's* statistics, without distorting them, or altering them in any instance, but producing them just as he produces them, that England has been hopelessly outstripped by other nations in the rate of increase of manufacturing output. I shall now draw attention to her agricultural industry.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Give us the cause of that.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The principal cause, in my opinion, is that she has adopted a mistaken fiscal policy.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It is her technical education.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I shall show the honorable member that the same cause operates in precisely the same way in his own State as compared with Victoria,

which has been the subject of so much pity at the hands of honorable members on that side. In 1840 the United Kingdom had 22,000,000 acres under cultivation. According to the last statistics which I have read in the pages of *Mulhall*, it has fallen to 20,000,000 acres, but the figures I have taken are for the year 1888. At that time her agriculture had fallen off from 22,000,000 acres to 21,000,000 acres. In France the area was increased from 55,000,000 acres to 61,000,000 acres during the same period. Germany increased hers by 14,000,000 acres in the same time, and the United States hers by 151,000,000 acres. Yet we hear the progress of Great Britain compared with that of the United States. It is an insult to history, and to the intelligence of the people, to compare the progress of the two nations since Great Britain adopted the policy of free-trade. What is the reason why she could not keep up with other nations in the output of her manufactures or in her agricultural pursuits? We can assume only one of two causes—either that she had adopted a mistaken policy, which had the effect of retarding production, or that her people were not so intelligent or so industrious as the people of protectionist nations. I refuse to believe the latter, because she proved, while working under the same policy as other nations, that she had completely outstripped them in the rate of progress. But we see that after her adoption of free-trade, stagnation commenced for the first time to set in, and that she fell hopelessly behind other nations in production.

Mr. CONROY.—Does the honorable member really believe that?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—What does the honorable member mean? I am not taking an American statistic, or a French statistic, or a German statistic—I am giving the English statistic's figures for all the countries whose progress I have cited. I am perfectly sure that no intelligent person in England will deny their approximate accuracy.

Mr. CONROY.—Not of the figures.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Of course statistics cannot be absolutely accurate in every particular, but they are sufficiently accurate for our purpose.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—But they prove our case!

Mr. A. McLEAN.—If my honorable friend's case rests on the stagnation of production then I am quite willing to give him

his case ; but I contend that it is by production, and by production alone, that nations are made great and prosperous. I contend that the nation which contents itself with trade—that is, with the distribution of wealth—without doing anything to increase or add to the mass of the wealth of the world, is a mere parasite on the industry of the others, because it lives by reason of the black-mail which it can levy on products in course of transit between the producer and the consumer. Trade adds nothing to the wealth of the world, although it may enrich those merchants who are engaged in it. There is no doubt that in external trade England has outstripped all the other nations, and I regret to say that it has been anything but a profitable one, as I shall endeavour to show. The last speaker seemed to me to fall into a very serious error of judgment when he boasted of the total commerce of Great Britain being so much larger than that of other nations. He did not seem to notice that the figures he quoted had reference to only the external commerce of the nation. Every economist whose opinion is worth having in these latter and more enlightened days admits that internal commerce is infinitely more profitable than external commerce.

Mr. CONROY.—Then trade between two Presbyterians is better than trade between a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian ?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I would be very sorry to contradict anything which my good-natured friend asserts ; but he will see, if he gives the matter consideration, that trade should, and generally does, benefit both parties to the transaction. Internal trade has two parties to the transaction, therefore both are benefited. One-half of external trade belongs to the nation under review, and the other to some other nation. Therefore external trade is by no means as profitable as internal trade, and if you desire to get at the real condition of trade in any country, it is necessary to ascertain the amount of internal exchange between producer and consumer in that country.

Mr. BARRON.—Does it pay to “go halves” ?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That is what my honorable friends opposite contend—that half a loaf is better than a whole loaf. I have heard it said that half a loaf is better than no bread, but it has been reserved for my free-trade friends to assert that half a loaf is better than a whole loaf.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It depends upon whose hands it is in !

Mr. A. McLEAN.—If my honorable friends will endeavour to restrict their interjections to about three at a time, I shall endeavour to follow them.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is impossible for the speaker to proceed with his speech, and it is equally impossible for the official reporters to take down a report of the proceedings, unless interjections are restrained.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—This question of external trade is a very important one, and there is one thing which I have heard advocated by free-traders and free-trade journals that I hope there are not many free-traders in this House to subscribe to, and that is that the country which imports more than it exports is a gainer to the extent of the difference between the imports and exports.

Mr. CAMERON.—Quite correct.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Does my honorable friend agree with that ?

Mr. CAMERON.—I do certainly.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Does the honorable gentleman apply that to his own private finances ?

Mr. CAMERON.—Yes.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—If my honorable friend earned £500 a year, and spent £600 a year, how long would it take him to make a fortune ? Is it not a fair thing to say that a nation's exports represents a nation's sales, and that her imports represent her purchases ? Surely that will not be disputed.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—She pays for her imports with her exports.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—But the exports and imports do not balance each other in any one country in the world. There is always a balance either in favour of the exports or imports in every case, and the leader of the Opposition last night emphasized that point when he was quoting from some newspaper to show that every nation paid for its imports with its exports. That is only true to the extent of its exports. The country that imports more than it exports, has to adjust the balance by remitting gold to make up the difference.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Which gold is included in her exports ?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—No ; it is nothing of the kind. If my honorable friend will read Mulhall or the statistician of his own State he will find that the gold is not included in

the exports, and that is what makes the whole difference. My honorable friend will see that if the gold were included in the exports, then the imports and exports would in all cases balance each other, because we all admit that, in these enlightened days, nations pay their debts.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Will the honorable member pardon me for reminding him that there may be a balance of indebtedness?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—There may be, but a nation which increases its indebtedness is, if anything, in a worse position than the nation which sends away its gold to pay its debts promptly.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—We cannot argue the question out on the basis of income and expenditure.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It is nothing else. What is the nation made up of—it is an aggregation of individuals. If the majority of these individuals spend more than they earn in the year, they are losing money, and are on the downward grade, and if the aggregation of individuals who make up the nation do the same thing, and spend more than they earn in the year, that nation must also be on the downward grade. The nation which imports more than it exports, is the loser on her external trade to the extent of the difference between the two, because it must either send away gold that would represent the difference, or add to its previous indebtedness.

Mr. CONROY.—What about the case of Great Britain. Surely she is the gainer.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I am going to show how that argument affects Great Britain. *Mulhall* gives very significant figures on that head. From 1861 to 1886, that is 26 years, the exports of the whole world amounted to £29,419,000,000. The imports of the whole world for the same period amounted to £32,786,000,000 sterling. My honorable friend has therefore proof conclusive that gold is not counted either in the exports or imports.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—In the case of Western Australia, would not the honorable member reckon the export of £6,000,000 worth of gold per annum as amongst the exports?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Yes; that is a legitimate output of the State. Gold in that case is an article of commerce, not, as in the case of these nations, simply coin interchanged to adjust the balance of their

external trade. Whatever you take out of the earth is a product, and a nugget of gold is as much a product as a potato or anything else that is taken out of the soil.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Where is the difference if the gold is minted into coin?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Every nation has only limited requirements in the way of coin, and it keeps just such coin as is necessary, but we are not speaking of the exchange of coin that is sent to adjust balances of indebtedness but of gold as an article of commerce. In these 26 years I have quoted the total imports of the world exceeded the exports by £3,367,000,000 sterling. Now how is that amount made up? My honorable friends know that every article that figures as an import in one country must figure as an export in another country, and therefore the balance of imports over exports is represented by the cost of importing. I would advise my free-trade friends to lay this stubborn fact to heart when they speak about cheapening production and cheapening living by free-trade. How can they explain this difference of £3,367,000,000 between the value of the articles as exports and their value as imports? The difference is made up of the middleman's profit, of the cost of freight and insurance, and the general expense of distribution. Now, of that enormous balance of imports over exports, what proportion does Great Britain represent? £2,111,000,000, or nearly double as much as all the rest of the world put together. Therefore, Great Britain lost on her external trade during these 26 years nearly double as much as all the other countries of the world put together. I may be asked how it is that Great Britain can incur such a heavy loss on her external trade, and yet continue in a fairly prosperous condition? The reason is patent, but that reason would not apply to our case. In the case of Great Britain most of that money is paid into British pockets—that is to say, the commerce of the world is carried in British bottoms, and, therefore, the money expended in importing these goods from abroad is paid into the pockets of some British subjects. In addition to that, we know that Great Britain, for a very long time before she adopted free-trade, was a creditor of nations. Every year a very large amount of money was due to Great Britain in the shape of interest on her foreign loans, and she could

afford to spend the money in importing goods without becoming materially impoverished. But let Australia or any other nation without these advantages try the same experiment. Let Australia import largely in excess of her exports, and we shall see where she will be landed in a very few years.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—We have seen.

MR. A. McLEAN.—We have seen in Victoria, and I am very glad the honorable member has reminded me of that incident. From the beginning of 1883 to the end of 1892, Victoria imported £62,000,000 worth of goods more than she exported. What was the result? We know that the most serious financial crisis occurred at the end of that time that the colony of Victoria has ever experienced. That was the time when the banks were closed, and other financial institutions came crumbling down. Many people say that the terrible depression of 1892 was caused by reckless speculation during the boom period. But a little reflection will show that there is not much in that contention. Whatever money was lost—and no doubt a good deal was lost by individuals—in those reckless transactions, the money was gained by some other persons, and was not destroyed in any shape or form. This may have displaced capital greatly, and shifted its location from one person to another, but that could not in itself make the country materially poorer than it was before. But the solid fact that we bought £62,000,000 worth more goods than we were able to sell during those ten years, would account, and does account for the terrible financial crisis which followed. If the contention of my honorable friend be correct, Victoria should have been £62,000,000 richer at the end of the ten years than she was at the commencement; but, unfortunately, we found from our bitter experience, that that was not the case.

MR. CAMERON.—How much of that was borrowed money?

MR. A. McLEAN.—A great deal was borrowed money, but that does not affect the question.

MR. CAMERON.—Victoria did not borrow the goods, but she borrowed the money.

MR. A. McLEAN.—We borrowed money, and brought it out in the shape of goods;

and not only that, but we lived extravagantly. People were making money, or thought they were, and spent it freely; but they got commodities—the money was spent in imports.

MR. CAMERON.—That was not trade.

MR. A. McLEAN.—It was trade.

MR. CAMERON.—No.

MR. A. McLEAN.—Then I do not know what the honorable member calls trade. These were imports.

MR. CAMERON.—Trade is not borrowing money or goods; trade is the exchange of commodities.

MR. A. McLEAN.—The exchange of goods is trade, and borrowing money is a transaction separate and apart. But the honorable member must know that when the States borrow money they do not get that money in the shape of coin, but in goods; and Victoria did the same. During the 26 years that Great Britain lost £2,111,000,000 on her external trade, what was the condition of the trade of the United States? In that same period the United States exported £141,000,000 worth more than was imported. According to my honorable friends, the United States should be that much poorer on the transaction; but, unfortunately for that theory, the result shows that the United States is very much wealthier on account of the great excess of exports over imports. The honorable member for Macquarie, who, in quoting statistics regarding the incomes of the United Kingdom and the United States, measured them by the square mile, and so clouded the issue, may, perhaps, be interested to hear the figures as given by *Mulhall*. The total income of the United Kingdom in 1896, according to *Mulhall*, was £1,421,000,000 sterling. The total income of the United States for the same year was £3,178,000,000; or about two and one-fourth times greater than that of Great Britain, although the population of the United States, in round numbers, is only about 70 per cent. larger. It will therefore be seen, taking the total income of the two nations, that per inhabitant the income of the United States is infinitely larger than that of the United Kingdom. Revenue, I admit, is not much to be relied on as an indication of wealth. Countries collect what is necessary for their requirements, and some countries may need a great deal more than others, without being actually wealthier. But taking the figures

for what they are worth, we find that in 1889 the total revenue of the United Kingdom was £88,500,000; that of France for the same year, was £121,800,000; and of Germany, £154,700,000. Then we find that the gold reserve of England was £31,800,000; of France, £78,500,000; of Germany, £43,500,000; and of Russia, £122,200,000. It is fair to say, however, that I do not attach much importance to these latter statistics, for reasons that I have pointed out. We heard a great deal about the flourishing condition of the people of Great Britain as compared with that of people in protectionist countries. *Mulhall* gives a table showing the increase in the total expenditure of different countries from 1840 to 1888, a period of 48 years. The total expenditure of Great Britain per inhabitant during that period increased by 20 per cent. The expenditure per inhabitant of France for the same period increased at the rate of 147 per cent., that of Germany by 260 per cent., and that of the United States by 230 per cent. Why does Great Britain lag so terribly in the rear of the protectionist nations in the increase in her rate of expenditure? When honorable members speak of the present position of Great Britain, and compare it with her condition under protection, they should, as I pointed out before, compare her rate of progress. No one denies that Great Britain has made substantial progress. Long may she continue to progress! I am sure that is the earnest wish of every true subject of the Empire. But when we are dealing with an important question such as this, affecting the future policy of the Commonwealth, it is necessary that we should pull the mask off and show the results of the different fiscal systems as they have affected the other nations of the earth, in order that we may judge which is the most likely to benefit the people of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. GLYNN.—The cost of living in Paris is nearly double what it is in London.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—But is the cost of living in France equal to the cost of living in England?

Mr. GLYNN.—I can show the honorable member a French paper in which a comparison is made.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I have compared all the nations of Europe in respect of the cost of living, and, speaking from memory, I

found that the cost of living in Great Britain was something like 50 per cent. greater than the cost in the other countries of Europe. Compare that with America. I will give my honorable and learned friend the figures.

Mr. THOMSON.—Is that the cost of, or the expenditure on, living?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The expenditure on living.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—People can afford to spend more in Great Britain.

Mr. McLEAN.—I will show my right honorable friend whether they can afford to spend more, because, fortunately, I happen to have taken down the total expenditure in Great Britain, as compared with that of the United States.

Mr. CAMERON.—It is not a fair comparison.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The total expenditure in Great Britain per inhabitant—that is, for every man, woman, and child in the nation—amounts to £29 14s. 9d. per annum. The total expenditure in the United States is £32 16s. 2d.; so that there is a difference of £3 2s. for every man, woman and child, in favour of the United States, as compared with the United Kingdom.

Mr. CAMERON.—What is the expenditure in Germany and France?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Now take the case of food and beverages. In Great Britain the cost for every man, woman and child in the nation is £14 4s. 9d. In the United States it is £9 17s. 7d. So that the cost in the United Kingdom is more than 50 per cent. greater than in the United States.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—They eat more in the United States.

Mr. CAMERON.—The comparison is not fair.

The SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, and the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley, not to interject so freely as they have been doing.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Here are the words of *Mulhall*, the English statistician, on that point. He says—

The Americans are the best fed people in the world, and contribute in a great measure to the abundance and cheapness of food in other countries. . . .

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The Americans feed all the other nations.

The SPEAKER.—I called the attention of the honorable member for Tasmania just

now to the disorderly interjections which he was making. I must insist upon their ceasing.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—

The United States produce 30 per cent. of the grain and 33 per cent. of the meat of the world.

Those are *Mulhall's* words. He is not an American but an English authority. Now I come to the most painful part of these comparisons. I should very much like to pass them over if it were fair to do so. I allude to the number of destitute persons in the different countries. What do we find? I think it is fair to say that these are not the latest statistics. They are taken from *Mulhall* for the year 1891, but I can give honorable members from his latest work some figures which more than bear out the comparisons. At that time the population of the United Kingdom was 38,200,000.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Was that in 1891?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The figures are taken from *Mulhall* for 1891, but they may be for the year 1890. The number of paupers in great Britain during that year was 1,015,000. The number of paupers during the same year in France, Germany, and Russia, with a total population of 179,400,000, was only 960,000.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—How many English paupers come from Russia and Poland?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Great Britain had far more paupers than had those other nations.

Mr. CAMERON.—Many are people who go to England to get a living.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Take later figures on the same subject. I can give honorable members the figures for 1896 comparing Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain spent 6s. 1d. per head of her total population for the relief of pauperism. The United States spent 2d. per head. So that, in other words, Great Britain had to expend 36 times more in proportion to her population for the relief of pauperism than had the United States. That is certainly not a very cheering or a very encouraging testimonial for the free-trade policy of Great Britain.

Mr. CONROY.—There is no poor law in America, that is the reason.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Dealing with the question of the cost of food, so as to show honorable members how it works out, I find that in the United Kingdom the cost of

food is 42·2 per cent. of the total earnings of the people. In the United States the cost of food is only 25·3. In Great Britain it takes 127 days of the year to earn the food of the people, on an average. In the United States it takes 76 days. Yet we hear honorable members speak about the purchasing power of money being greater in Great Britain than in the United States. *Mulhall* gives the increase in wages in ten leading lines in Great Britain and the United States. The period taken is from 1861 to 1891—30 years. In the United Kingdom the increase in wages in those ten leading lines was 37 per cent. during those 30 years. In the United States the increase was 67 per cent., 30 per cent. more than in Great Britain. What becomes, then, of all the cant we hear about the working man being better off in Great Britain than in the United States, when it takes him 127 days to earn his food in the one country and only 76 days in the other?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The working man's own representatives say that he is better off in Great Britain.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—These are the most reliable figures honorable members can get. If my right honorable friend who interrupts me can show me any more reliable source of information I shall be glad to take my figures therefrom. At present I am taking the statistics of the most approved and best trusted of English statisticians.

Mr. THOMSON.—Is not the honorable member omitting a great deal, with regard to the expenditure on house rent, and so on?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—But that cuts both ways. These figures are sufficiently accurate to show the trend and extent of industries in both countries. If honorable members will study the question only for a few minutes they will see that the reason why living is dearer in England than in the other countries I have named is obvious. Free-trade discourages local production; it encourages imports. The people of England have to import their food from other countries; they have to pay the price which the people of those other countries are called upon to pay, and they have to pay, in addition, the whole of the cost of importation.

Mr. CAMERON.—With what do they pay for these imports?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I believe they pay honestly, as far as they can, in products and money combined.

Mr. CAMERON.—According to the honorable member's argument they ought to be bankrupt.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I have shown already how Great Britain has been able to bear that great strain upon her finances. But the reasons I have given in that connexion will not apply to the Commonwealth of Australia. If we adopted a policy which would send our work out of the country to be done elsewhere, and paid for that work in excess of our productions, then we should be drifting seriously along the path of national bankruptcy. We have heard a great many invidious comparisons made between New South Wales and Victoria. I should not have referred to such matters if they had not been dragged up in season and out of season by advocates of free-trade, in order to show that New South Wales is so much more prosperous than Victoria. I would ask honorable members to study carefully *Coghlan's* figures. Much has been said about people leaving Victoria more rapidly than they are coming into it, and we have heard that they are entering New South Wales very much more rapidly than they are leaving that State. In order to support that contention, a particular period is selected. Those who put forward this contention leave carefully out of review the period when immigration was pouring into Victoria at a very rapid rate. I think that the fair system to adopt in dealing with this matter is to take the whole of the figures relating to both sides, and to go back to the time when immigration to this country in any considerable numbers commenced. That took place in 1851.

Mr. THOMSON.—That was not a time of protection.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—No; but my honorable friend will see that it would not be fair to debit to protection the departures that took place from Victoria when the gold-fields became exhausted to a great extent. People came here to look for gold, and when the gold-fields were largely exhausted they returned to their own lands in accordance with their original intention. I find that the total population gained by New South Wales from 1851 to 1899 was 472,437, while Victoria's increase was 409,892, leaving an excess of 62,545 in favour of New South

Wales. That, however, does not tell the whole tale. New South Wales was assisting immigration, and paying the passages of immigrants to a much larger extent than Victoria. I find that New South Wales assisted 211,972 people to immigrate to that State, while Victoria assisted only 140,102, leaving a balance of 71,870 against New South Wales. If that 71,870 is eliminated, and it should be in order to arrive at a fair comparison, these figures will show that Victoria had 9,325 more immigrants than New South Wales during the period named. What, then, becomes of the contention that the population of Victoria is being emptied out whilst New South Wales is being filled? The excess of population in New South Wales as compared with Victoria has been credited to free-trade by some honorable members who have spoken during this debate. I find, however, that between 1881 and 1890, a period of nine years, New South Wales gained 164,205 in population—that was the balance of immigration over emigration—while from 1890 to 1899 she gained 30,255, so that during the free-trade period the increase in her population was only about one-fifth of what it was before. Surely that does not speak very eloquently for the attractions which free-trade gives to New South Wales? We have heard also a great deal upon the question of the density of population, and we may well ask what is the density of population of the two States? In New South Wales there are 4.34 inhabitants per square mile; while in Victoria there are 13.23 per square mile.

Mr. WILKS.—We are coming to the square mile now.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I allude to the population per square mile where it tells, and it tells in the case of the United States of America. If I did not allow for the excessive area of the United States of America, what sort of a comparison would the progress of Great Britain bear to the progress of that country? I admit that test in the case of the United States as compared with England, and when comparing New South Wales with Victoria, although we could afford to give in the question of area. Even then, New South Wales would have little, if anything to boast about, as I shall endeavour to show. These figures do not tell the whole truth. New South Wales has only 12 per cent. of waste land within her borders. That percentage represents

the whole of the land unoccupied and unused in the mother State; but Victoria, with its denser population, has 35 per cent. of her area unused and unpopulated, unstocked and unleased.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Due to centralization by reason of her factories and protection.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It is a very dangerous thing to interject about a matter of this kind unless one has considered it. The lands in Victoria to which I have referred are absolutely valueless, and, I presume, the same may be said of the waste lands of New South Wales, otherwise they would be occupied. More than one-third of the whole area of Victoria is actually unpopulated, and, if we compare like with like, then the density of the population of Victoria compared with that of New South Wales must be increased enormously.

Mr. POYNTON.—If we compared like with like, we should find more for New South Wales.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—These are *Coghlan's* figures. He shows the exact area alienated and leased, and also the area that is unleased and unused in both of the States. The unused lands constitute 12 per cent. of the total area in New South Wales whilst in Victoria they comprise 35 per cent.

Mr. POYNTON.—Where is all this land in Victoria?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—A great deal of it is in the mountains, and there are a few million acres of what we call "desert" land, which grows nothing but heath. That land is not leased or used in any way. We have heard a good deal about the production of New South Wales and Victoria, and the surplus production of the former State over the latter has been attributed to free-trade. What are the facts? The total annual output of New South Wales is £38,000,000, whilst that of Victoria is £30,000,000, so that the difference in favour of New South Wales is £7,709,000. Let us inquire how that surplus is made up. Under the headings of "pastoral, mining, forestry, and fishing" alone, which honorable members will admit are not affected in the slightest degree by the fiscal policy of the country, New South Wales has a surplus over Victoria representing £10,248,000.

Mr. REID.—Does the honorable member think that light customs do not encourage those industries?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I wish that the right honorable and learned member had been present when I was dealing with that question. Let us take the industries which are affected by the fiscal policy, such as agriculture, dairying, bee-farming, and manufactures. Upon those lines, Victoria beats New South Wales by £2,935,000 in spite of the fact that New South Wales, as compared with Victoria, had the same advantages as England possessed over the other nations of the earth when she adopted a free-trade policy. She had an unlimited quantity of coal at her very doors, while Victoria, in developing her manufactures, was compelled to import her coal from New South Wales. Yet in spite of that drawback Victoria beat New South Wales to the extent I have indicated.

Mr. POYNTON.—What about the Victorian gold?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That is ancient history. It is going back too many years. At the present time the mines of New South Wales are infinitely more productive than are those of Victoria. They exceed those in Victoria in production by £2,502,000 per annum. If my honorable friend refers to the mining industry the advantage is all with the mother State. The total wealth of New South Wales is estimated by *Coghlan* at £265 per inhabitant. In Victoria it is estimated at £233, so that the apparent difference is only about £32 per inhabitant. But I ask honorable members to pay special attention to the following paragraph from *Coghlan*:—

Victoria and South Australia own large interests in the other colonies, which would largely increase their amounts, and reduce the other if the amount could be ascertained.

When, in this chamber, I proposed the imposition of a stock tax, I could not go ten yards down Collins street—

Mr. REID.—Was the honorable member the author of that?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I was, and I have never denied its paternity. It was passed upon my motion, although I was not, strictly speaking, its author. At that time I could not meet half-a-dozen Victorians without discovering that two or three of them were hit. Some of them said to me—"You will enormously reduce the value of my New South Wales property, and of my Queensland property." Let me point to the nearest cases to me. Within about two yards of where I sit on the corner benches, there are

six or seven Victorians. At least three of them have very large interests in New South Wales and the other States. In the Senate there are only six Victorians, and I believe that three out of them—I am positive about two—have enormous interests in New South Wales and the other States. One of them to my knowledge has over 50,000 acres of freehold besides other very large interests. *Coghlan* points out that he can only divide the wealth of a State amongst the population residing in that State. Now, if we excise from the wealth of New South Wales the amount that is owned by Victorians, South Australians, and others, and add to the advantage of Victoria her enormous possessions in New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia, I venture to say we shall find that the figures will be very much the other way. Instead of New South Wales having a surplus about which to boast, when the leader of the Opposition extends his pity to the poor down-trodden people of Victoria, which he knows how to do in the most pathetic manner, and with bitter tears in his voice—

Mr. REID.—I do not allude to the 50,000 acre man. He does not wear 3s. 9d. boots.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Does not that estimate of *Coghlan's* include land?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It includes land, mines, and every source of wealth. Thus, although New South Wales has four times the area possessed by Victoria, and a far greater proportion than four to one of valuable land, if we could only put our hands upon the whole of the wealth owned by Victorians, I venture to say that the balance would be largely on the other side. I am sure that I am speaking a long way within the facts. All the figures bear out my statement. I ask the leader of the Opposition to follow a few of these figures. Let us take the number of people who are engaged in factories. In New South Wales there are 56,646 engaged in all kinds of factories. In Victoria, there are 60,076 hands thus employed, or an excess of 3,430 in favour of Victoria. But if honorable members desire to know the effect of a fiscal policy upon these figures they must analyse them slightly. In smelting, shipping, saw mills, tanneries, and fellmongeries, New South Wales employs 7,543 hands more than does Victoria. If we add that number to the total surplus Victoria has over New South Wales it

leaves 10,973 in favour of Victoria. That is the number engaged in Victoria more than in New South Wales in the factories which are affected by the fiscal policy.

Mr. REID.—Victoria has paid about £100,000 each for that.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I have shown that the effect of that £100,000 was to leave Victoria richer than New South Wales. But, in addition to that, protection distributes wealth. It creates employment, and it creates production, whilst free-trade only stimulates importation, and that is the reason why in Great Britain there are more destitute people than in any other three nations of the world put together.

Mr. REID.—Oh, oh!

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I can give my right honorable and learned friend the figures from *Mulhail*. And I do not think he is a better authority than that statistician. I followed the right honorable and learned gentleman last night, and I never knew a person to waltz round the real issue so cleverly as he did. He got up a great deal of enthusiasm in favour of free-trade, and when he was most enthusiastic in his praise of that fiscal policy he was most hopelessly at variance with the history and experience of the world. The right honorable and learned gentleman did not come down to solid facts. He would not venture to quote history. He would only give us his own opinions, and very wisely, because I must say he manipulated those opinions as cleverly as any person I ever listened to. I always listen to the right honorable and learned gentleman with great pleasure, even when I know that he is hopelessly at variance with the teachings of history, as he was during the whole of his speech last night.

Mr. REID.—History as taught by Mauger?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I think my right honorable and learned friend will admit that a fair indication of a people's wealth is the wealth of those who die; because people of every class die, the poor and the rich alike. I would draw attention to the probate figures for New South Wales and Victoria, taken from the New South Wales statist, and not the Victorian statist. The number of estates proved in New South Wales in the last five years was 11,246. That represents the total number of persons who died in the State during that period, and who left any money behind them.

In Victoria, the number proved during the same period was 16,174, nearly 50 per cent. more than in New South Wales, although the population of New South Wales is about one-sixth greater than that of Victoria.

Mr. CAMERON.—That proves nothing. It might be that one or two wealthy men died.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The figures I have given show the number of persons in whose estate probate was granted in the two States, and do not refer to the amounts proved. Now, let us take deposits in the Savings Banks, and again Victoria comes out better than New South Wales. The average per head in New South Wales is £7 8s. 5d., and in Victoria £7 16s. which is 7s. 7d. more for every man, woman, and child of the population.

Mr. CAMERON.—What is the average indebtedness?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The number of depositors per 1,000 of the population should be another tolerably good indication.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Is that the resident population, or the population that has gone to Western Australia?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It is the resident population. I did not count in these figures Victorians who went to claim their own in New South Wales, Queensland, or Western Australia, and who have large interests there. I am dealing only with the residents of Victoria.

Mr. REID.—The people who could not get out of it?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The number of depositors per 1,000 of the population is 19 in New South Wales and 32 in Victoria. That is a fair indication of the prosperity of the people, and there are other indications. I showed a little while ago that there are a great many more destitute people in Great Britain than in any other three nations under the sun put together. On this point let us now compare New South Wales and Victoria. New South Wales has to pay £150,273 a year for the relief of pauperism; Victoria pays £67,943, or a great deal less than half of the amount paid in New South Wales.

Mr. CAMERON.—Does that include old-age pensions?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—No; this has nothing to do with old-age pensions. The figures apply to a period before old-age pensions were established.

Mr. REID.—They are utterly incorrect.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Another indication of the prosperity of the people is the manner in which they are educated, and education in New South Wales is hopelessly below that of Victoria. In the year 1899 the number of people who were married in New South Wales, and who had to make their marks because they could not sign their names was 263, and in Victoria the number was only 128.

Mr. HUGHES.—The New South Wales figures are for Victorians who went over to claim their property.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I think honorable members will admit that the manner in which people are housed is a fair indication of prosperity.

Mr. REID.—It depends whether you live in the bush or in the town. Victoria has got a town policy.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—They have both bush and town in New South Wales, and they are very proud of both. In New South Wales there are 197,000 habitable dwellings, and in Victoria 217,000, or 20,000 more in Victoria, with its smaller population, than in New South Wales.

Mr. CAMERON.—How many are there unoccupied?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—These are occupied dwellings, and if my honorable friend had not been a countryman of mine he would never have asked that question. Now, let us take the number of persons living in tents, miserable hovels with canvas roofs, and such places. There were 18,000 living in such hovels in New South Wales, and only 5,000 in Victoria.

Mr. PAGE.—It is no disgrace to live in a tent. I lived in a tent for years.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I have lived in tents, and in what is called a "bandicoot gunyah," not for love of such habitations, but because at the time I had nothing better.

Mr. PAGE.—I have done it for love.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—In New South Wales 41,000 persons live in huts of one and two rooms, while the number of persons living in such dwellings in Victoria is only 28,000. Coming to houses of from three to ten rooms, 162,000 are living in such dwellings in New South Wales and 193,000 in Victoria. I am making these comparisons only by way of reply. An invidious comparison has been made by previous speakers between the conditions of the people in the two States, and I

contend that I have shown, by a long array of figures bearing upon every phase of social conditions, that the people of Victoria are better off than the people of New South Wales.

Mr. PAGE.—Does not the honorable member think that such arguments are too provincial? The whole Commonwealth—not merely Victoria and New South Wales—is concerned by the subject under discussion.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—As comparisons have been made between the two States, to prove that free-trade New South Wales is more prosperous than protectionist Victoria, I have quoted these figures from the New South Wales Government Statistician. They prove conclusively that destitution is more rampant in New South Wales than it is in Victoria.

Mr. REID.—We pay our unemployed 7s. a day in cash.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—In New South Wales it takes £150,000 a year to provide relief for paupers, while only £67,000 is spent in Victoria in that way. Coming to houses of eleven or more rooms, we find that there are a few more in New South Wales than in Victoria, which means that there are a few more very wealthy people in New South Wales than in Victoria; so that wealth is not distributed among the masses in New South Wales as much as it is in Victoria. The conclusive inference to be drawn from the statistics of New South Wales and of England is that free-trade, in discouraging local production, and substituting importation, deprives the people of employment by sending work to the people of other countries. I have shown that the production of New South Wales, in all the lines affected by the fiscal policy, is hopelessly below that of Victoria. I find, for instance, that in New South Wales during the years 1897–8–9 there was imported £3,340,000 worth of farm, dairy, and orchard produce more than was exported, while on the other hand Victoria exported £4,552,000 worth more than she imported.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—How did the people of New South Wales get the money to pay for what they imported?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I do not want to make out that New South Wales is bankrupt; but the figures which I have gleaned from the pages of the New South Wales Government Statistician tend to show that

there is more destitution and abject poverty in that State than in Victoria.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The people of New South Wales did not get anything from Victoria without paying hard cash for it.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The Victorians, being business men, charged their friends across the border just the bare value of the articles they sold to them. If it were not for the production of wool, and the mineral wealth of New South Wales, for the existence of which no fiscal policy is responsible, the people of that State might not be in the fortunate position of being able to pay so much for the products which they have been compelled to import.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Would my honorable friend take a man away from earning £4 a week at the mines to earn £2 a week at growing sugar?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—No, but I would take a great many of the unemployed, for whose support New South Wales is paying £150,000 a year.

Mr. REID.—That is not so.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I would try and give the destitute poor work. And the same thing applies in England.

Mr. REID.—Oh! oh!

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That was a very hollow laugh.

Mr. REID.—They get 7s. a day cash in Sydney for being unemployed. Why should they work in the mines?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Does my right honorable friend deny that it is a good thing for the people to produce as much as they can in the way of both primary production and manufacture? It is only by encouraging production that we can promote the welfare of the Commonwealth.

Mr. REID.—Take the harvest out of the soil, not out of the people.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Last night my right honorable friend laid a great deal of stress on the condition of the country producers. I assure him that in protectionist Victoria the producers are in an infinitely better position than they are in New South Wales. Not only are they able to supply their own requirements, but they have a very large balance for export, whilst the people of New South Wales have to import a very large quantity of products, notwithstanding that they have four times the territory we have. I think it is right that I should tell honorable members that I was once as

rabid a free-trader as any honorable member sitting opposite. In my youth I imbibed all the musty volumes of the old economists, who wrote, not from personal knowledge of trade and its intricacies, but from their ideal standard of what trade should be, but never will be so long as traders are human. I was taught in my youth to believe that the differing climates, soils, and conditions of life and people in various parts of the world were all suited to distinct lines of production. I was taught to believe, and did believe, that any industry which was suited to the conditions of a place would be established without the fostering influence of protection. I believed, relying on the writings of those ancient economists, that the effect of protection was to establish exotic industries which were not suited to local conditions, and which could only be supported by imposing a perpetual burden on the people.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear, and the honorable member is fighting for it still.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I believed, moreover, that the space which was necessary to separate those countries to create those different conditions of climate and of life had been bridged over by nature with a great highway, over which the products of industry could be wafted at the lowest possible price from the producer to the consumer. And I regarded it as little less than criminal for men to put any artificial barriers in the way of the free interchange of the products of industry. So strongly was I impressed with these doctrines that I actually doubted the sincerity of those who advocated protection. I believed that in doing so they allowed their better judgment to be swayed by the sordid consideration of self interest. My faith in that doctrine was not shaken by anything I had read in the columns of the press or by anything I had heard from the advocates of protection. Honorable members may think it strange to hear what first shook my faith in it. I endeavoured to find concrete cases to enable me to defend the faith that was within me, the policy that I believed in so strongly, but, search the history of the world as I chose, search the statistics of the most reliable statisticians, I could not get a single case to support the arguments. For the first time I investigated both sides of the question, and it was then I found that in spite of the

most favorable conditions that ever existed in any country Great Britain under free-trade fell behind the other nations, whilst under protection she had led the van, and had outstripped all the other nations in the progress of her manufactures. When I tell honorable members that I was elected three times to Parliament as a free-trader, and each time by a largely increasing majority, they will see that I had no interest in changing my views. When I did change my views conscientiously, I felt it would not be fair to my constituents, unless I went back and told them of that change of policy. But thanks to their generosity I am here; they returned me after I explained to them the reasons which induced me to change my views.

Mr. REID.—If the honorable member turned Mussulman they would elect him just the same—they have such a high respect for him.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I want to tell honorable members another incident in Victorian history. Twelve or thirteen years ago a country party, of which I was chairman, was formed in the Parliament here. We investigated the whole of the lines in our Tariff. At that time the manufacturers of Melbourne were protected, but the farmers were not protected, and we resolved to demand the same protection for the farmer as had been previously accorded to the manufacturer.

Mr. REID.—See how crooked they were before you got up.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—At that time we were importing wheat largely from South Australia, fruit and preserves very largely from California and other places, oats, barley, and other horse-feed from New Zealand, potatoes and other products from Tasmania, and eggs largely from China, while our own farms were lying idle. What was the result when we imposed duties? In a very few years after their imposition, we were exporting largely all those products which previously we had imported. We became large exporters of wheat, fruit, and butter.

Mr. REID.—And men.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I do not think my right honorable friend was here when I dealt with the statistics he referred to last night. He dealt with only one side of the question; but I have shown from the figures of the Government Statist that if New

South Wales had not paid the passages of a very much larger number of assisted immigrants than Victoria, she would have been 9,000 to the bad as compared with Victoria.

Mr. REID.—Oh, dear.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—When my right honorable friend does give a genuine laugh it has a thorough ring; but that was a very hollow imitation of his usual mirth.

Mr. REID.—I did not like to put it into plain English.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Before resuming my seat, I cannot help referring again to the endeavour of the honorable member for Macquarie to impress upon the House that the Prime Minister has not kept faith with his election speeches. I say it is most unfair.

Mr. CONROY.—It is quite true.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Then, if the honorable member believed that the Prime Minister was going to bring down a free-trade Tariff, how is it that he went straight into opposition?

Mr. CONROY.—He deceived me once before, and I would not let him do it again.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The honorable member says that he knew that the Prime Minister was not going to do what he had promised, but really it seems to me that the free-traders who are sitting on the opposition side of the House were a little bit premature in taking their seats where they did. As a matter of fact, the whole of Australia interpreted the Prime Minister's speeches to mean moderate protection.

Mr. REID.—If the policy of the Government had been free-trade, how could the honorable member have supported them?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The people believed that the Tariff would be framed largely in the interests of the revenue, but that it would be protective as far as possible in its incidence. I contend that that is what the Tariff is, and that therefore there was no breach of faith. I think we should be fair to one another, even if we disagree. Whenever I have any cause to find fault with the Government, I do not hesitate to speak out, and it is very likely that I shall speak out on some of the items in the Tariff; but I do say that the Government have made an honest attempt to bring down a Tariff that is in strict accordance with their pledges.

Mr. HUGHES (West Sydney).—The honorable gentleman who has just sat

down has furnished this House with an amount of information that may be regarded as useful or not, according to the point from which one views it. I should be loath to say that it was original, but certainly I never heard it before. The honorable member took exception to certain statistics that had been put forward by the right honorable gentleman who moved the motion.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The honorable member for Macquarie's statistics.

Mr. HUGHES.—It can at least be said that he seems to have gleaned his statistics impartially from all sources, but I should be very glad to learn the source from which the honorable member for Gippsland has gleaned his information.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—*Mulhall and Coghall.*

Mr. HUGHES.—Then the honorable member has, in his research, displayed an amount of discrimination which I cannot help calling wise, in view of the circumstances. It would have been better, however, to have either given up this wild attempt to prove by figures what no man breathing can prove either in that way or in any other way, than to have merely taken out items here and there and so constructed a theory as ingenious as it is useless. Before attempting to deal with the honorable member's figures I desire to say that the Government in bringing down this Tariff seem to have regarded it as a kind of last and final effort on the part of human greatness. According to the Treasurer, this Tariff has been framed without any resort to guesswork—it has been worked out line by line, and nothing has been left to chance. It would appear that there is a great deal in what the Treasurer has said, because what he could have left to chance, for an unhappy community that is to be taxed to the extent of £9,500,000, I do not know. The chance of bankruptcy certainly does appear to be not an unlikely one, but certainly there is no other chance. The Ministry seem to be intensely satisfied with this Tariff, and they have every right to be satisfied, not with the Tariff, but with the reception it has met with in the State of Victoria, and certainly with the reception it has met with hitherto at the hands of those docile and unexceptionable gentlemen who sit behind the Ministry. Until the honorable member for Gippsland broke the silence, which was rather extraordinary and

almost sepulchral, there was not one of the supporters of the Ministry who would infringe that iron rule of discipline which seems to bind them all in some unholy pact. It has been said that the party to which I belong is bound by an ironclad pledge, but, at any rate, we are never bound to sit down in mute approval of things which we have had no hand or part in drawing up. Here is a thing—the Tariff—which no man saw before it was brought forward by the Minister for Trade and Customs, and which not one honorable member sitting behind the Ministry is prepared to accept *in globo*—not even the honorable member for Gippsland, who in his youth was a free-trader, and who now is not. The honorable member has fallen away from grace, and apparently as one grows older it becomes harder and harder, because of the temptations that accrue, to stand strong in the faith, I would not say of our fathers, but which reason and intelligence dictate. Even the honorable member, however, says there are some items in the Tariff to which he will have to object. I should like to know of some items, apart from those which are of importance to people who may be interested in manufactures, to which any reasonable man cannot object. Let us have even one item. The right honorable gentleman in charge of the Bill says we must have £9,500,000 of revenue. Really it is a pity that we did not know that before, because in New South Wales we had a great struggle, as everybody knows, and one gentleman stated during the Federal campaign that the additional expense would merely involve such an amount as we should pay for an ordinary dog—something like 2s. 6d. per head. That was stated by the versatile friend of the Prime Minister, who like Biela's comet, came flashing across our vision, who came from God knows where, and disappeared, after the elections, to the same place. He said that the extra taxation would amount to 2s. 6d. per annum. He said, "Are you so wretched and down-trodden in this State, that you cannot afford to keep another dog?" The Prime Minister said we could manage with a £5,000,000 Tariff, and even those gentlemen who knew something of figures—which no one would accuse the right honorable gentleman of—never ventured beyond £7,000,000. And the Treasurer, who safe in the citadel of protection, could tell something of the truth, while having due regard for his own personal safety, did not venture beyond

£8,500,000; but now we are told that it is absolutely necessary that we should have a revenue of £9,500,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is wrong; the amount is under £9,000,000.

Mr. HUGHES.—Well, to the man who is knocked down and run over by a tram, it is small satisfaction to be told that he is not to be run over by a cab afterwards. At any rate we are told now that the revenue required is £9,000,000, and making the best of it, that is a great burden. The Ministry are supremely satisfied with the position. At this juncture there is none of that uncertainty as to their policy that has distinguished them on other occasions. There is no—to-day "we are in favour of this," and to-morrow "we are in favour of that"; to-day "we think there is a great deal in what the honorable gentleman says," and to-morrow "there is nothing at all." Now they stand firm and implacable. They do not tremble at any thunders of figures or eloquence brought against them. They are secure in the consciousness of having wrought a great work—and it is a great work—and in the fact that they have a solid majority behind them. There is a sweet consolation to be derived from a majority that none but a politician, or perhaps a general on a field of battle, can possibly know. These gentlemen know that no matter what happens, they have a majority. It does not matter what truths or awkward facts are put forward, although one honorable member has kicked over the traces. If last evening they could, by a lucky stroke, have finished the debate at one sweep of the hand, all would have been well. Why should they go to any trouble? It was not a question of wasting the time of the country, because if Fate had decreed that they should be one or two votes short, I have no doubt that every honorable member on the Government side, with a tongue to wag, would have been stimulated by gentle persuasion at the hands of the Ministry, and we should have had such a cataract of statistics as would have been overwhelming. But Fate has otherwise decided; and I only wish to say that, in my opinion, it is very unfortunate that the people of New South Wales did not understand this earlier. Had they understood it, I do not think they would have been prepared to make the sacrifice. The Protectionist Association of New South Wales—and this is

a matter worthy of honorable members' consideration—rigidly refused during the campaign to call itself a Protectionist Association. It issued a placard to all men to come in whether they were protectionists or free-traders. "Here," said the association, "is a happy place in which all men may meet in common—no free-trade and no protection; all may come in—'will you walk into my parlour said the spider to the fly.'" And New South Wales, with that impetuosity which distinguishes her more than her sense, walked in. These gentlemen have brought down a Tariff, and I have not yet heard any defence of it. I have not yet heard even an explanation, but I heard something of the Tariff. It is stated that this is a Tariff for protective purposes. Undeniably it is a Tariff for protective purposes. Undeniably the Minister avers that; yet during the recent election, as well as during the referendum campaign, at least two or three of the Ministers declared that there could be no protection, and that there could be no free-trade. The Minister for Home Affairs, when he went round the country wooing the very coy elector, what did he say? He had not the spirit of prophesy, but he had an inspiration, and a very useful one it was. He spoke of duties of from 10 per cent. to 12½ per cent. Of course, his electorate is a very large one, which runs right down to the border, and goes a long way back, and in it there are both free-traders and protectionists—there are men who know not Jacob, and men who do—and as will be understood, the Tariff, as placed before the electors by the Minister for Home Affairs, varied from a light and airy 10 per cent. to a solid, substantial, and business-like 15 per cent., though he never ventured beyond the latter. Now, however, the honorable gentleman sits in company with the Ministry, with beams of modest satisfaction on his face, having taken part in imposing a Tariff which, in some cases, runs up to 35 per cent. and 40 per cent. I should like to know what explanation the honorable gentleman proposes to offer for such conduct as that, because an explanation is very necessary. We come now to consider a few of the statements that have been put forward in reference to this Tariff and the prosperity of protectionist countries. First, I should like to ask the Treasurer or the Minister for Trade and Customs whether he really thinks this is the only

Tariff that will bring in the necessary revenue. If that be so, I do not hesitate to say that it is time an agitation was set on foot to amend the Constitution in regard to the financial sections, so that a smaller Tariff may bring in what we require. But I deny altogether that this is the only possible Tariff. I do not think that the right honorable gentlemen who are mainly responsible, will say for a moment that this is the only possible Tariff, or that a Tariff lighter in its incidence, and equally revenue producing, would not effect the purpose in a better manner. I understand that this is not a Tariff in which guess-work, or even intuition, has had any part, but that it is the result of laborious effort—that experts, starting from different stand-points, have arrived approximately at the same goal, proving conclusively that the Government are right. But where did the experts start from and where were they trying to go? It appears to me that, whatever place they may have started from, they were securely fastened by an iron ring and chain to their legs, and could not get any further than a very little way, at any rate, from the Victorian Tariff. They were told they could wander about, round and round like a bull in a paddock securely tethered by the nose, amusing themselves with the idea that they were free. They were, however, always pulled up when they endeavoured to strike out upon some new and acceptable path by the fact that nothing must be done to disturb the Victorian manufacturers. Now it appears that the right honorable gentlemen do not altogether agree that this is a Victorian Tariff. Everybody knows that it would never do to come down here with the Victorian Tariff, plain and simple, and lay it on the table of the House. The Government are supported by gentlemen, many of whom do not represent Victoria at all, and, therefore, some regard must be paid to their little feelings; and besides more revenue was wanted. But I ask any fair-minded man whether, on looking at the Tariff, he will not say it is based on the Tariff of Victoria? How can any man say so, and tell the people of New South Wales that they have not to make sacrifices? The people of New South Wales make all the sacrifices. Why was the Tariff framed with more regard to Victoria's position than to the position of New South Wales? Do honorable members not

recognise that the industries under free-trade in New South Wales will be utterly ruined by the Tariff? Do honorable members not realize that there has been developed a condition of things in New South Wales which enables the manufacturers there to buy their raw material, without let or hindrance or duty? Yet it is proposed to impose such a Tariff as will crush those industries or place them at a disadvantage as compared with the industries which have developed under different conditions in Victoria. It is said that this is the best Tariff that can be framed. But have we not a right to consider these things *de novo*? The honorable member for Gippsland has tried to belittle the industries of New South Wales by saying that they consist of fellmongery, smelting, and wool-washing; just as if a man who works in a smelting mill or at washing wool is not equal to a man who works at making hats or boots. Is he not a human being? "If you prick us do we not bleed?" Are they not entitled to some consideration? It would appear as though there were a halo round a certain number of industries which no person must touch, because, in some mysterious way, the mere fact of there being a hat or boot factory in a country is at once a criterion and a cause of prosperity. We shall see in a moment how this prosperous and happy paradise has existed during the past few years.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—New South Wales and Victoria—parochialism and provincialism!

Mr. HUGHES.—This Tariff is, of course, an acceptable one to Victorian manufacturers. I have not heard any one else express approval of it. The Home Secretary, who was absolutely the most fervid man on the question of the Tariff in New South Wales during the election, has not ventured to say a word about it. Oftentimes he was ready enough to give the press of Australia the benefit of his wide experience on all matters, but now he is absolutely quiet. He has not even endeavoured to explain why it was that he was wrong when he said he was in favour of a 10 per cent. Tariff. If an explanation could be afforded to this unfortunate country of how it was that the honorable gentleman came to be wrong in such a way and at such a time, I am sure great satisfaction would be given to those people who have to pay so much through his mistake. Had the Home

Secretary said at the time of the election that the Tariff was going to be one of duties of 35 or 40 per cent., and never less than 15 per cent. I am thoroughly persuaded that he would have had a great deal of difficulty to get in. When I remember that even with this graduated Tariff of his—only working between 10 and 15 per cent.—he had a most miraculous escape from defeat, I shudder to think what would have happened to him if he had ventured towards the free-trade end of his electorate with another 5 per cent. Now, the people of New South Wales are subject to the effects of this Tariff, and obviously—we do not hear any one deny it—will cause commodities in that State to increase in price. I do not think any one can deny that. We have heard it said formerly that the foreigner pays the duty. We have heard it argued that protection reduces the price of commodities. It will, perhaps, be interesting if either the Treasurer or the Minister for Trade and Customs will explain how it is that if the foreigner pays the duty and protection reduces prices, the Government are going to get the revenue that they expect through the Custom-house. Obviously, however, it is only a joke about the foreigner paying the duty, to be used on the hustings. The foreigner is not such an idiot. According to some statements that have been made during this debate, we ought to follow the example of the foreigner. The foreigner everywhere is the person to whom we should look. He has the approval of protectionists. They point to the foreigner's country as an example. The foreigner is an exceedingly smart person. Is it likely, under these circumstances, that he would pay the duty. Why should he? There is no earthly reason why he should. There is every reason why he should not. And the facts are, of course, that he does not. Now, in New South Wales the price of commodities will rise. Who is going to pay the increase? How are the people who do not benefit from this Tariff—and I shall inquire in a moment who will benefit from it—going to pay these increases? Very likely the right honorable the Minister for Trade and Customs will tell us. Possibly we shall be told that they will share in the general prosperity. There are some shibboleths which have been in general use for many years amongst protectionists in Australia and in all protectionist countries. One is that a protectionist Tariff will

result in increased wages and decreased prices, and that while all men cannot be employed in manufactures they will all share in the general prosperity. I do not even try to offer honorable members an illustration; but if it were possible to imagine that we here, in this Chamber, were the whole of Australia, and were agreed that ten of us were to be regarded as specially favoured, and we were to pay those ten half-a-crown each for their own benefit, I ask how in the name of Heaven those who paid the half-crown would share in the general prosperity? Perhaps some of those gentlemen might ask us to "come upstairs and have a drink;" or perhaps if we had an office they would give us an order, or if we had a store they might buy something. But, after all, they would buy something out of the money we gave them, and there would be no such thing as sharing in the general prosperity. How are these unfortunate men who live in the district represented by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports—the wharf labourers—going to share in the general prosperity? What general prosperity can they share in? If we cut off the shipping, if we stop a vessel from coming here—and surely it is not alleged that we encourage shipping by such a Tariff—how will they share in the general prosperity? My honorable friend the member for Gippsland says that the fact that a person is employed in ship-building makes him, so to speak, a burden on the whole country. The ship-building trade of America has fallen off to a minimum. They do not build ships there now. Their trade is carried largely in British or foreign bottoms. What is going to be done, then, if these poor people are going to pay a lot more, even in Victoria, for the necessities of life? The ideal of my honorable friend opposite is a free breakfast table—that those things that can be made in the country shall be taxed, and those things that cannot be so made shall come in free. Yet, with all the calmness and confidence in the world, he votes for a Tariff which taxes everything that any man can eat, or drink or wear. Is that a scientific protectionist Tariff? Is there any vestige of science or anything save class interest in it? Is there any vestige of anything in it than playing into the hands of the Victorian manufacturer? Not the Victorian worker, because there is no room for him under this Tariff. My honorable friend the member for

Mr. Hughes.

Mernda smiles. He may well smile. I am given to understand that a quotation was submitted to a Sydney firm to-day showing that starch and oatmeal and cornflour had already had the added price caused by the increased duties placed upon them. No wonder the honorable member can smile! Amusing? If I could not do anything but smile under those circumstances, I would hang myself as high as Haman! I should laugh outright! Therefore, I forgive the honorable member for his smile. How, I ask again, are these men who are not engaged in protected industries to get any benefit from this Tariff? Is it proposed to raise their wages? In Victoria it has been necessary to bolster up this protective system by wages boards and by Factories and Shops Acts. In fact, Victoria has had to resort to those methods which political economists and social reformers hold that every nation is compelled to resort to. In France and Germany, in England and New South Wales—everywhere—we have had to resort to legislation which has had the effect of artificially restricting the power of the capitalist to do as he pleases. I am saying nothing against honorable members who represent Victoria on that score. I know very well that they thoroughly agree with such legislation; but I am pointing out that under no circumstances can anything be done under this Tariff for these unfortunate people who do not work in the protected industries. The Tariff increases their cost of living, but does not provide them increased wages. What do honorable members propose to do for them? There cannot be wages boards for every business, and in any case there is no power in this Bill to do anything of the sort. What is going to be done for the people of New South Wales? Is it proposed in some way to provide them with employment or to increase their wages? If so, are honorable members going to provide the employers with any means of increasing their wages? Obviously not! The honorable member for Gippsland has put forward a number of statements in regard to the comparative prosperity of New South Wales and Victoria. Those comparisons, to a certain extent, I despair of being able to follow. On one or two points I shall be glad to do what I can. But first of all, I should like to say that if any honorable member can explain the principle upon which protection

rests and at the same time find any relation between it and the exclusion of coloured labour from this country, I should be glad to hear that explanation. An honorable member interjected this afternoon that free-traders supported the exclusion of coloured labour from Australia, and yet were in favour of allowing articles manufactured by coloured labour to come in. Such an interjection as that exposes at once a person's complete ignorance of the very basis upon which the interchange of commodities rests. It is very obvious that when I buy something I want to get as much as I can for my money. The idea at the basis of the free-trade and protectionist argument is simply this: That man, in his primitive state, applied himself to making everything he wanted, and supplying all his needs. He made his boots and hats; he went out and caught his dinner, and he came home and cooked it. By-and-by a differentiation of trade arose, and one person perhaps made the weapons with which the other went out and caught the dinner. In these days we specialize industries still more. It is a fact that to-day every man buys as cheaply as he can, and puts his labour into the most productive channels. By that means he is able to get more for his labour than in any other way. To-day the cry in Victoria is that we want a protective Tariff against the outside world. A little while back, however, that was not the demand. The people of this State now want a Tariff to keep out the products of coloured labour. A little while ago they wanted to keep out the products of the people of New South Wales, their brothers, their long lost and very much valued brothers—especially at a juncture like this—their brothers who are going to foot the bill. There are very few brothers in real life who will do anything like that. When honorable members speak about keeping out the products of coloured labour, what do they mean by excluding the products of the United States of America, which, according to their own statements, are products made by higher-priced labour than our own? Obviously this talk about excluding the products of coloured labour is only hustings clap-trap. Everybody who knows anything at all, knows that the person who is to be dreaded in this matter is the high-priced and not the low-priced labourer. The cheapest labourer is the higher priced, as every one knows. The shearer here

gets £1 a 100 for shearing sheep, and he can compete with the shearer of the Argentine Republic or anywhere else—who does not get half as much—because he can earn more in a day. Does not every one know that a bricklayer, either in New South Wales or Victoria, will do more in his day of eight hours than a bricklayer in England will do in his 9½ hours per day? Do not honorable members realize that the stress is greater, and that when the stress is greater the rate is greater, and the productivity is increased? In a country where high-priced labour is in vogue, there must be the very latest machinery employed. In Victoria they have far from the latest machinery in use, and some honorable members are going to make the people in this country pay because of that!

Mr. MAUGER.—In what line?

Mr. HUGHES.—There is machinery employed in crushing quartz at Ballarat that does not crush one-fifth of the quantity that machines for a like purpose are doing in Western Australia or Johannesburg. The proof of the thing lies, of course, in the facts. In New South Wales we have the boot industry, established without protection, and the largest boot factories there do not want it.

Mr. MAUGER.—I will tell the honorable member all about that directly.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member may say what he likes, but it will not alter the facts. Certain honorable members seem to have an idea, judging from what my honorable friend from Gippsland says, that the mere standing up and making statements will alter something. In New South Wales, under free-trade, the boot manufacturers have been able to develop the industry, and to pay decent wages without a wages board; and they do not want protection. I have a list here, which I may as well read now, showing how the Tariff bears upon the boot industry. Men's boots at 6s. per pair, invoice cost, work out at 8s. 8d. with the *ad valorem* and specific duties. That is a Tariff equal to 44½ per cent., and I find the Tariff on boots ranges from 44½ per cent. to 66½ per cent. I have here a direct statement, similar to that read last night by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, setting forth that the boot manufacturers of New South Wales do not want protection, and that, as a matter of fact, what protection will do will be to stimulate

the manufacture of shoddy articles. People will not have enough money; their general expenditure will be reduced owing to the increased cost of commodities, and, therefore, they will not be able to buy as much as they did before. But people must have something to eat. Even under a protective Tariff there does not seem to be any way of doing without food. Therefore, the people will do without many other things, or else buy goods of less value. Something has been said about the effect of this Tariff on the iron industry. I should like to re-echo the sentiments of the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, and say at once that if an industry wants assistance, the best way to encourage it is to offer a bonus to stimulate production. I should like to say, also, so far as taxing every user of iron in this country for the purpose of stimulating the manufacture of iron is concerned, that one decent-sized mill working here would be sufficient to supply the whole requirements of Australia. An honorable member spoke about the necessity for this Tariff, or one like it, to stimulate the production of coal. There is one mine in New South Wales, which, working ordinary shifts, is capable of supplying the whole of the factories of Australia. It is perfectly absurd to speak about the encouragement of industries in these circumstances. It is just as well to face the matter, and say that for the purpose of stimulating one industry—the iron industry—and giving employment to 500 or 600 people, honorable members are going to penalize the whole of the persons throughout the continent who use iron, which is a very absurd, useless, and expensive way of doing things. I say nothing about the advantages of shipping, because some honorable members seem to regard it as an excellent thing when much shipping does not come here or go away from here. But if they realized that it is by trade and intercourse alone that we live—by exchange—they surely would not have this morbid objection to an interchange of commodities with other countries. Traders will not bring us goods here for nothing. We can pay them with our gold, or with our hats, or with what we will, but we must pay them somehow. Honorable members seem to have an idea that there is a magic way of doing this. The view entertained by some is that we should put our commodities upon a boat and get them out of Australia as soon as we can. They think that the more we

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get rid of, the better off we shall be. Why not build another ark, and, placing all our wealth upon it, sail out into the Empyrean, and so by one stroke we may achieve a competence and place this country beyond the necessity of having a Tariff at all? These honorable members say that the more goods we send away the better it will be for us. If we send the whole lot away, obviously we shall be made men. What has been the effect of a protectionist policy in Victoria, in America, and, indeed, everywhere that it has been tried? The honorable member for Gippsland said, among other things, that there were more houses occupied in this country than in New South Wales. He forgot to mention that he quoted the statistics for the year 1891, when there was a boom on in Victoria, and when people were trying to get houses.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—They were taken from the latest work.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member omitted to say that after the boom there were so many empty houses that it was impossible to find a street in which all the dwellings were occupied.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There are very few empty houses now in Melbourne or its suburbs.

Mr. HUGHES.—Is it not a fact that houses used to be taken on wheels and carted from suburb to suburb, thus enjoying a kind of peripatetic existence? It is not a fact, however, that there are more waste lands in Victoria than there are in New South Wales. How the honorable member for Gippsland could make such a statement, knowing the circumstances, I cannot understand. Does he not realize that the whole of the western area in New South Wales is a waste, and a source of embarrassment and expense to the Government of that State?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It is all leased except 12 per cent.

Mr. HUGHES.—But it does not return anything like the cost of its upkeep. Does not the honorable member realize that that area constitutes more than a third of the total area of New South Wales? Does he not understand that it has been drought-stricken during the past five years, and that in not one year have people had a decent season in the back country? The Minister for Home Affairs knows that to be an

absolute fact. He appointed the Western Lands Commission.

Mr. WILKS.—Only last night the New South Wales Parliament passed special legislation to deal with that country.

Mr. HUGHES.—What did that Western Lands Commission find? That body has recommended that these lands should be leased almost for nothing, so that they may be kept from going absolutely to waste. Every man knows that the greater the area as compared with the population the more expensive is it to keep up that area. Therefore, instead of the area being an advantage, it is undoubtedly a disadvantage. If one State has to build railways for 500 or 600 miles, obviously, it is at a disadvantage as compared with another State which has only to build railways for 100 or 200 miles. The honorable member for Gippsland said nothing of the fact that Victoria enjoys a regular rainfall, has an excellent soil, and the advantage of a market close at hand. I admit that this State has also had a pushing people, and that in spite of a number of disabilities they have done remarkably well. But what they have not done is to remain in this country, and after all, that is the great test. My honorable friend said that he would not deal with the last decade. Why not? He took his figures from 1851—from the period of the gold rush here—to the present time, hoping by that means not to stall off the inevitable because nothing can do that, but to lessen the result of the inevitable. The honorable member said that the position of Victoria from 1851 to the present time pans out very well. Undoubtedly it does, period an unhealthy condition of things, such as boom times and the effect of the gold fever, &c., has been an important factor in producing that result. I would also point out that the year 1851 was prior to the introduction of the policy of protection into Victoria. Therefore my honorable friend was dealing with Victoria under a *regime* of free-trade. But during the last decade, what has protection done for Victoria?

Mr. MAUGER.—It has saved us.

Mr. HUGHES.—I will tell honorable members what it has done for New South Wales. We have never had a strike in that State but what it has been defeated, when it was defeated, by imported Victorian labour. I have in my hand a most life-like and admirable view of the

Lucknow strike. It is contained in the *Bulletin* which is a protectionist organ. Even my honorable friends opposite will not deny that, and it is good to get hold of some fact that no man will deny. Here is a protectionist organ depicting the condition of things at Lucknow where men refused to submit to the intolerable indignity of being searched like felons. When they stood up for their rights, and when no men in New South Wales could be found base enough to take their places, the mine owners sent to Victoria. Here is a picture of a Victorian contingent, the basest and most ignoble contingent, taking the places of the Lucknow miners. There was another occasion on which the Victorians displayed their prosperity. There was a strike of shearers in Queensland a few years ago, and no men could be found in New South Wales contemptible enough to take their places. But from Victoria, men were brought over just as Japanese are brought under contract. They were yarded like bullocks, herded together as though they were maniacs or felons, and they worked for a smaller rate than shearers were accustomed to receive. These are facts, and no amount of argument will disprove them. How can the men of Victoria be prosperous? Why should they leave Victoria? Can we imagine Adam leaving Paradise? Can we not picture the anguish with which he heard the gates of Paradise clang behind him, and saw those joys taken from him which he might never hope to gain again? Would men leave a paradise in Victoria to go to a hell in New South Wales? No, they go where they can get the most. Men have left here in such numbers, that even the *Age* has given up trying to account for it. I cannot conceive of any more lamentable or hopeless condition than that. They have gone from the place where the banks are overflowing with the deposits of the people, where the houses are palatial, where there are more dwellings than are to be found any where else, and where the land only carries four people to the square mile! Does not the honorable member for Gippsland know that there are more than 300 to the square mile in Belgium? Does he venture to call the population of Victoria dense? But, notwithstanding that the banks are overflowing, that money is falling out and waiting only to be picked up, men go away from Victoria. Idiots that they are! They do not realize until it is too late what a place they are

leaving. So they come back, do they? Not one of them; they never come back. We might say about Victoria what Dr. Johnson said about Scotland. When men were everlastingly prating about the glories of Scotland, he said,—“There is one view that strikes the Scotchman more than any other, and that is the broad high road to England.” And so it is with these gentlemen, these men who speak of the great benefits and glories of Victoria. They are everlastingly proceeding in an unending train to other countries. They volunteer for the war—any place is better than this. They go to Western Australia; at least there is a chance of their earning an honest livelihood there. They go anywhere to get out. They even escape from the gaols of this State to go to other places. My honorable friend, the member for Gippsland, said that in Great Britain under free-trade there are as many paupers as in any three other countries, and he mentioned, I think, France, Germany, and Russia. Will my honorable friend say that that is an indication of the relative prosperity of these countries? Will he say that? Will he say that, because there are as many paupers in England as in France, Germany, and Russia combined, it is a proof that the people of England are worse off than the people of those countries?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—It is a proof that there is more destitution.

Mr. HUGHES.—Is it a proof that they are worse off?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Those who are destitute are certainly worse off.

Mr. HUGHES.—It obviously is not a proof of anything of the sort; for let me say that, in England at any rate, they have the humanity to charge the maintenance of the poor to the State, while in Russia, Germany, and France, a man has freedom to die like a dog in the ditch. He has freedom; the State never bothers him; he may proceed along his course from the cradle to the grave, and, providing he does not commit a breach of the law—and to die is not to commit a breach of the law in those countries—he can go along without interference.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—England only counts her poor on one day in the year; and France reckons them throughout the whole of the year.

Mr. HUGHES.—My honorable friend is pushed so hard for an illustration that no

sooner do we corner him on one particular point than he retreats like a badger—I do not know whether a badger retreats, by the way, and I should be sorry to do the badger wrong—he retreats to his lair and takes up a fresh position. Let me tell the honorable member that in England and Wales, in 1801, under protection 12 per cent. of the total population were paupers. To-day, 2½ per cent. are paupers. That is the result of 100 years of progress in Great Britain. Let the honorable member compare the condition of things at any time in England with that existing in France, Germany, or Russia. The honorable member speaks of his experience, as if being perched on the top of the inaccessible heights of Gippsland were learning anything. A man might stop on the heights of the Matterhorn or of Kosciuszko, or of Gippsland, for ever and learn nothing beyond the fact that to-day is wet, to-morrow is windy, and the next day is fine. But does the honorable member know that there are more Russians in the East End of London than in some of the large cities of Russia? Does he not know that London teems with Germans, from the country where there are no paupers; that London teems with French, and that Soho is a den of Frenchmen? Does he not realize that people go from all quarters of the world to this despised country where all the people are paupers? The honorable member speaks of the accumulation of wealth in England, and says that there is a greater gulf between the rich and the poor in that country than anywhere else; but does he not realize that that is absolutely untrue? Does the honorable member not know that it is in America that the greatest differences between the rich and the poor are to be found? I have here statistics which show the relative position with respect to wealth. I find that in Great Britain 152,000 families, or 2 per cent. of the population, own 66½ per cent. of all the wealth, and in the United States 24,000 families, that is 0.14 per cent., own 58½ per cent. of all the wealth. But why is it necessary to quote statistics or facts known to every man? Will any man deny that there is a greater gulf between rich and poor in America than there is in any other country, or ever has been in any other country, in the world since history ever was written?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Nonsense! The honorable member is talking rubbish.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member for Gippsland said that the exports and imports of a country are a mark of its prosperity, and that in Great Britain they imported more than they exported. I understood the honorable member to say that during the last 30 years they had imported more than they had exported by about £1,000,000,000.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—£2,111,000,000.

Mr. HUGHES.—A million or two in such a colossal calculation is neither here nor there. Supposing they have done so, is that not indicative of their wealth? Would not any honorable member say, if at the end of the year he had less in his pocket than he had at the beginning, that he was worse off, and if he had more would he not say he was better off? Why do people keep on pouring this wealth into England? Why not pass a law to prevent them doing it? The honorable member furnished us with an answer. England levies tribute over the whole world. They pour this wealth in—why? Because England's interests extend everywhere where civilization is to be found. And she has established this position under a policy which my honorable friend said is symbolical, typical, and causative of ruin. Now, let us take the wages in these countries. My honorable friend was saying something about the rates of wages in different countries. I cannot find the statistics on the subject now, but I should like to say that the rate of wages of the miners in America is lower a great deal than the rate of wages of miners in England, and much lower than the rate of wages paid to the miners either in Victoria or New South Wales.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not so.

Mr. HUGHES.—Who says so? Has the honorable gentleman been there lately? Here is an honorable gentleman who has at length broken silence. I desire to ask the attention of honorable members particularly to this. When we asked the honorable gentleman for an explanation as to how it was that the 10 per cent. Tariff which he recommended was insufficient, he never said a word. When we asked him about something within his own knowledge and his own recollection, something which happened, not in America, Germany, or England, but in the Hume electorate, he said nothing. But when we do not ask him about something of which he knows absolutely nothing,

he bursts out like an oracle with the interjection—"It is not true." I leave it to the judgment of honorable members whether a statement coming from such a source is worthy of my attention at all. When my honorable friend can explain how it was that he made his mistake about the 10 and 15 per cent., I will admit that he is better than *Mulhall*; until then I am putting all I have on *Mulhall*. I say that the average rate of wages paid to the miner, according to the Northumberland representatives at the Berlin Conference of International miners, is 6s. 6d. a day, which is a tolerable wage. They do not work eight hours a day, as my honorable friend must know—because since he has taken upon himself to contradict one statement I assume that *Mulhall* is an open book to him. They do not work eight hours a day in Durham. They get a very decent wage, and they do not want to change. The rate of wages paid to artisans in England is not so high, monetarily speaking, as that paid in America; but I think that on the whole the English artisan is as well off, and sometimes better off, than the American artisan. The stress is not so great in England. I do not deny that America offers vast opportunities. It would be strange indeed if such a country did not furnish admirable opportunities for pushing men; if it did not give an opportunity for the establishment of industries, and for the existence of decent conditions. But in spite of all its natural advantages, as a matter of solid fact, almost every strike that has taken place in the United States has inevitably failed. Why should men strike when they are well off? The honorable member for Melbourne Ports knows something about working men's organizations, and so do I. Men never strike unless they want something.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does the honorable member know what they are striking for at the present time?

Mr. HUGHES.—Because they want something—better wages or better conditions.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not it.

Mr. HUGHES.—One would think that under the ideal conditions which are said to exist in America, men would not want to strike at all; but we know that the most intolerable tyranny exists there, and that, owing to the action of trusts and other social forces the men have failed,

in spite of their huge combinations, to gain the concessions they asked for. I want now to deal very briefly with the effect of the Tariff upon New South Wales. I have been unable to discover from anything that I have heard that there is any assurance that industries will be established in New South Wales by the agency of this Tariff, or that there is any reason for regarding it as a permanent Tariff. In Victoria manufactories are already established; but if manufacturers are to take advantage of this Tariff in New South Wales, they must invest their money there upon the chance of its being permanent. There is no more certainty, however, that this Tariff will be permanent than there was formerly that the State Tariffs would be permanent. Does any one representing New South Wales, does even the Home Secretary, believe that the people of New South Wales will not make a strenuous effort to alter the Tariff at the next election? They will. Does any capitalist in New South Wales not realize that until it is seen whether the Tariff is to be permanent or not he cannot invest his money. I think that no man would be so foolish as to invest his money on the mere off-chance of the Tariff continuing for two, three, or five years. The Ministry would have done well if it had annexed to the Tariff the condition that it should stand for the next ten years.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Would honorable members opposite respect such a compact?

Mr. HUGHES.—I have another condition—that before it is adopted it should be submitted to the people for acceptance. Ministerial supporters say that they have the people behind them. I say: Submit the Tariff to them by means of a plebiscite, and give them an opportunity to express their opinions. Let the farmer say how much he realizes the prospective benefits of the Tariff upon his industry. Let the people generally speak their opinions. If the Tariff is a good one, it should be permanent, and how can we insure permanency when we have no idea as to what the people think about it? Give the farmer a chance. He is the backbone of the country. I do not know what the honorable member for Gippsland really thinks of the farmer; I can only suppose that he regards him as on the same level as the ship-builder and the smelter—a pariah and an outcast.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I did not say so.

Mr. HUGHES.—He is not a manufacturer; the fact that he produces something is of no account, according to the doctrine of the honorable member. It is only the men who produce certain classes of things who count.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I said that the farmers were not affected by the fiscal policy.

Mr. REID.—Then they do not benefit by it.

Mr. HUGHES.—My honorable friend draws a distinction between a person who makes hats and a person who makes ships—one is a natural and the other an artificial industry. What, I ask, is the farmer? Coming to the Tariff list, there is something about molasses which seems inseparable from a duty of 6s. per cwt. Then there is a duty on linseed oil cake. In New South Wales we had a factory which made cocoanut oil cake without the protection of a duty.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And it went bung.

Mr. HUGHES.—My honorable friend does not occupy a very consistent position in respect to this Tariff, and I do not think we should regard anything he says upon it as worthy of consideration. He was in office in New South Wales for a period of eighteen months, and never touched the Tariff. He was so converted through association with men sane and in their right minds, that, when he went before the people he had lost the old trick of saying things about protection, and could not get out anything more than 10 or 15 per cent. I believe that another temporary sojourn with the right class of men would effect a perfect cure, and that in three years he would come down to duties of 2½ per cent., which may, for all effective purposes, be regarded as the correct thing. We have a duty of 20 per cent. upon tents. The honorable member for Gippsland said that in New South Wales 18,000 people lived in tents and wretched hovels. Where are they going to live? If a miner is a pioneer in this country is he to take round with him a great mansion from Toorak? All the work which is worth calling work in this country has been done by men who have lived in hovels. I was sorry to hear the honorable member cast a stigma on a class of men who have done the pioneering work.

Mr. MAUGER.—No, he did not.

Mr. HUGHES.—Undoubtedly he said that 18,000 men in New South Wales lived in hovels, tents, and bark humpies.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That is unfair.

Mr. HUGHES.—*Hansard* is immutable, and is not affected even by the awkwardness of the situation.

Mr. REID.—All the wealth of Victoria came from men who worked in tents.

Mr. HUGHES.—Here we have tanks taxed 3s. for every hundred gallons; doors, bellows, casks, sashes and frames 20 per cent.; axes and pick-handles 20 per cent. It is not necessary to go through the list. I am sure that if it were submitted to the farmers of this country they would accept it with tears of joy in their eyes as being the one chance of their lifetime. Submit it to the people; give us in New South Wales, making the best of a bad job, an assurance that it is on for the next decade, and that we may at least invest our money with the knowledge that for ten years nothing can happen to it. Then whatever there is in the Tariff—I do not see anything in it of course—we shall be able to get the advantage of it; but under present circumstances no capitalist in that State will dare to invest a penny. I have more pabulum here; but I do not care to take up the time of honorable members. I have satisfied the purpose for which I rose, in pointing out that no effort has been made to justify the imposition of such a Tariff as this. The mere fact of our requiring a revenue, even such a revenue, is not by any means a sufficient argument why it should be raised in this particular fashion. There are honorable members on the other side who are thorough protectionists. I have here a leaflet by the honorable and learned member for Indi, who is a protectionist. He says a number of things, and as to farmers and protection, I would ask him if he were here whether he thinks that this Tariff will protect farmers, and if so in what way? Will it protect the wheat grower, the butter producer, or the stock grower? Will it protect any of these men? Not one. We export all these things and we have to fight in the markets of the world for a price. Therefore, we can get no sort of protection for any of those things. The honorable and learned member says that a 15 per cent. Tariff, when various charges are added, comes to 26 per cent. He says that what a 15 per cent. Tariff means is that the retail purchaser pays 26 per cent. I understand why the honorable member for Melbourne Ports

smiles; for any one would smile in the circumstances in which he finds himself.

Mr. MAUGER.—What are those?

Mr. HUGHES.—According to the honorable and learned member for Indi—26 per cent.—I am not saying it is—is the retail charge on a 15 per cent. Tariff. I would like to know what it would be on a 40 per cent. Tariff. But 26 per cent. is sufficient for my purpose. You take from every earner of £2 a week in New South Wales from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a week. You are reducing his wages by that amount. What are you going to do for him? Do you propose to give him 3s. a week? Do you propose to precipitate a strike in New South Wales? The workers of that State are not going to live for less. Even if you do put on a Tariff they will have to get the money out of somebody, and they do not want wages boards to get it for them.

Mr. MAUGER.—They want an Arbitration Act, though.

Mr. HUGHES.—We do want an Arbitration Act, because we do not care about strikes.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the difference?

Mr. HUGHES.—It is a different thing. We do not say for a moment that we care to go out and stand out for six weeks, because we cannot stand out for that time. We say that a dispute is a bad thing. However, I am not going into that question now. What are you going to do for these people? Nothing. You are quite satisfied, the Government are satisfied. I can understand the feeling of smug satisfaction which actuates the Government in these circumstances. They do not care for any criticism. They are secure behind the majority, and whatever may be said, matters little or nothing. When this debate is over they will proceed with their Tariff, and in committee something may happen, and something may not happen. But I am very sure that honorable members, docile and amiable as they are—I was going to say intelligent, but I cannot do that—will yet be found raising their voices indignantly enough at items in a Tariff which they are prepared to accept *in globo*. Indeed, under all circumstances their position, taking it all round, is a satisfactory one. But for us in New South Wales, and for those in the other States, too, there has been no reason advanced why such a Tariff as this should be put forward. It is a Tariff, I maintain, based on a Victorian foundation,

and acceptable to that great organ which regulates affairs in this country.

Mr. MAUGER.—No fear!

Mr. HUGHES.—No Government in this country, it appears to me, dare bring in a Tariff which is not acceptable to the proprietor of the *Age*. Therefore, I have no doubt that, although this Tariff was worked out correctly and experts were called in, one expert, who was not called in, was there and over-saw the thing, and put those final and effective touches upon it which make it so admirable a production, and commend it to the leading columns of that great and critical newspaper. I do not know that I need say any more. I could say more, but I do not think it advisable at this stage to do so. I am satisfied that no reason has been put forward why we should adopt the Tariff, or why this motion of censure should not be accepted. Last night the Prime Minister said some things about wages in New South Wales which are utterly at variance with the facts. I do not blame him, because he has no personal experience of these things. He said that the bakers in New South Wales are worse off than the bakers here. He must know, if he knows anything at all of that work, that precisely the same conditions—a 48 hour shift, and a 50s. rate—obtain there as here.

Mr. MAUGER.—When did it start?

Mr. HUGHES.—When did it start? Now there is a sensible question to ask. Supposing it started yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock, what has that to do with it? I do not know when it started, but will the honorable member say it is not in existence?

Mr. MAUGER.—No; I know all about it.

Mr. HUGHES.—I wish to call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that the Minister for Home Affairs and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports know everything, so that, in case you are in any difficulty at any time, I should recommend you to consult them. They know everything upon those things which are ordinarily within the sphere of human knowledge, and also upon those things which are outside of it. I am sure that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports knows nothing about it. I know, of course, as I ought to know all the circumstances, but the Prime Minister knows nothing at all about it. I do not blame the right honorable gentleman

altogether, because the present rates of wages are not furnished in the statistics made up by the Government statistician of New South Wales, and the rate mentioned by the right honorable member last night does not correctly state the position of affairs in that State.

Mr. BARTON.—I should like to know if anybody has any better information.

Mr. HUGHES.—I think that the right honorable gentleman, when he was quoting statistics with reference to the State which he represents, might have sought his information from the Trades Council. He might have got some information there, but I notice that he never goes near the Trades Council except on certain jubilant occasions when banners are waving, and when votes are flying about. When information is required the right honorable gentleman does not go near the Trades Council.

Mr. BARTON.—I go there in particular when you extend me an invitation and drink my health.

Mr. HUGHES.—Does the right honorable member wish to put that forward as a reason for not applying to the proper sources for information?

Mr. BARTON.—I am only adding that to the false suggestions the honorable member has already made.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable gentleman is so imbued with his own superiority, that the mere ability to answer a question suffuses him with joy—he seems to beam like a kind of rejuvenated cherub. We are all supposed to be able to speak here, in some way or other. We have the faculty of speech, and we have ordinary intelligence, and yet the right honorable gentleman seems to think that any person who is able to make any sort of a reply to any statement is specially favoured by Providence. What I say is this: That the right honorable gentleman, when he was speaking of the wages of workmen employed in New South Wales, had a very easy way before him of finding out what those wages were by applying to the official body. Instead of that, he gets statistics which are, at the very least, a year old, and very likely a great deal older, and he puts them forward without inquiry, without substantiation or corroboration, as depicting a state of affairs which, I am fortunately able to say, does not exist in New South Wales. I have nothing more to say. I am

quite satisfied that nothing I can say will move this Government from their position, and if I were in their place it would not move me. If I had framed a Tariff that was acceptable, not to the members of this House, but to somebody outside of it, how should I be affected by criticisms coming from somebody whom I had not sought to please, or whom I had not cared to please. We were told that this Tariff was framed to suit the country, but no greater mistake was ever made. It was never framed for any such purpose. It was framed to suit a particular class of people—not to suit the people—of Victoria. If the people of Victoria—to say nothing of the other States—were given a chance to express their views, I have not a doubt as to what they would say, but if the manufacturers only are to have the chance to say anything, that will be another matter. If we give the people of the State of Victoria an opportunity of expressing their views I shall be quite satisfied. Let us have some finality in this matter. I challenge the Government to submit the Tariff to the people—to let the people have a chance. The Prime Minister smiles at the idea of a plebiscite as a ridiculous thing, and yet I hope to see the right honorable member in the future come round to the same view as I hold. I have seen him as much opposed to what he is now in favour of, as he is opposed to the plebiscite now. I have seen the passage of time change the opinions of many men. I have seen men opposed to every plank in the platform which I have always upheld, as time has gone on and circumstances have changed, come round on the other tack and take the helm, assuming a genial enthusiasm for interests which had been quite foreign to their nature. When I see the right honorable member smile at the idea of a plebiscite I would tell him not to smile at it too much, because if Providence fixes him here long enough he will come round to our way of thinking. I have performed what I conceive to be my purpose by pointing out that the Tariff is neither a scientific protectionist one, nor a Tariff which can be properly regarded as one imposed for revenue purposes. It is a Tariff which cruelly oppresses a very large proportion of the people of this continent, which is unduly harsh, and for which there cannot be any sort of excuse except that there are some vested interests in one of the States which

are so strong that it seems to be expedient for the Government to placate them. I have shown that the statement of my honorable friend with reference to the prosperity of protectionist countries is either mythical or is largely the work of exaggeration. I have not gone into details, as I might have done, but I have taken my stand on the broad test of a nation's prosperity. I have preferred to rest my defence on the unalterable motive which actuates all men in every step that they take, namely, the pursuit of their own benefit and welfare in the speediest and most direct manner, and therefore I say that the flow of population is an unerring test of the condition of a country. My honorable friend has spoken of other things, such as the education test, which would have been upon other occasions a matter for humorous comment, but I do not think that such a thing would be permissible now. The fact that there were 263 persons in New South Wales who, at the time of their marriage, were unable to read and write, as against only 128 in Victoria for the same period, throws no light upon the prosperity of the respective States. To regard any such feature as a test of the prosperity of the people is puerile. As to the number of houses occupied and the rates of wages paid in various countries, the facts have been proved, both by what I have said myself and by what others have said before me. I have here the report of the Royal Commission on the Factories and Shops Act in Victoria, and without going into details, I may say that it is shown, in the evidence taken by the commission in Sydney, that the rates of wages paid to artisans and other workmen in New South Wales are at least as high as those paid in Victoria. Whether we take the clothing trade, tailoring, printing, butchering, iron-moulding, fellmongering, or baking, we have the same result, that wages are at least as high in New South Wales as they are elsewhere. I am perfectly sure that none of these subterfuges or excuses—none of these platform shibboleths by which people have been gulled in the past as to the merits of protection—will avail the Government so far as the people of New South Wales are concerned. Every protectionist in New South Wales realizes that this is a Tariff which, whatever it may do for Victoria and the other States, will not do New South Wales any good. I spoke on Saturday

last to a protectionist, who is one of the most vehement and most powerful in his advocacy of that policy in the State of New South Wales, and who runs a newspaper that has as much influence outside the daily press as any newspaper in the country, and he told me that this is a Tariff framed for no other purpose in the wide world than to placate the Victorian "ring" of manufacturers. On all sides I have heard the same opinion freely expressed by protectionists in New South Wales. They have only one opinion, and that is that this Tariff will not stimulate any industries in that State, but that it will press unduly in all parts of the continent. Further, the opinion is expressed that there does not appear any disposition or any intention disclosed on the part of the Government to provide any means whereby the lessened purchasing and consuming power of the people is to be made up. It may be, as I have said, that we shall hear from some honorable members that the people of New South Wales will share in the general prosperity; but the experience in other countries, as it inevitably will be in New South Wales, is that, after a trial, the only thing they will be allowed to share is that of which they appear to have been given more than their allocated part—namely, the heaviest burden of taxation imposed on any people in any State of Australia.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—I have listened with great attention to the honorable member for West Sydney, more especially as he and I, although disagreeing on this question, have many things in common. He is anxious that trades unionism should prosper, and that the working men of Australia should be in a good position. That I am also anxious for; and we differ on the fiscal question for that very reason. I believe sincerely that working men are better off in America, Canada, and Victoria than they are in free-trade countries. I take my present stand for that reason, and for that reason solely; beyond that I have not the faintest interest in the fiscal question. I have not the least connexion with any protected industry, and I have nothing whatever to gain personally by advocating the cause of protection.

Mr. HUGHES.—Neither have I anything to gain by advocating free-trade.

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not infer that the honorable member has anything to gain by advocating free-trade; but remarks have been made in the House which bear the inference that I have something to gain by advocating protection, and it is only right that I should say at the very outset that my advocacy of this principle is purely because I conscientiously believe it to be the best. The honorable member for West Sydney said that I knew nothing about the bakers of New South Wales. I happen, however, to be in communication with a number of journeymen bakers in Sydney, and they have kept me posted up as to the developments which have taken place in connexion with their trade. I know that within the last two months a voluntary combination between employes and employers has been aiming at bringing about a better condition of things. I know that they have been forced into that voluntary combination on account of the terrible conditions of that particular trade in New South Wales. I have here sworn evidence to that effect. A journeyman baker of Sydney, in answer to the chairman of the Victorian Factories Commission, when that commission visited Sydney last month, gave evidence as follows:—

Is there any sweating in your trade?—A tremendous lot. From nine to nineteen hours a day are the hours of labour. In a fair shop nine hours is the proper amount per night; in the sweating shops, fifteen hours is about the average per week, and nineteen and twenty hours on Friday and Saturday. I speak as an employé, from practical knowledge.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is right.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member for West Sydney said that I know nothing about the baking trade in New South Wales; now he admits that what I say is right. Which is right—what he said when he was speaking or what he says now?

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member is now speaking from a report, and what I said was that he did not know from his personal knowledge.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does the honorable member know from his own personal knowledge everything he has been talking about to-night? I am inclined to think the honorable member has been indulging in a great many fairy tales, about matters of which he has no personal knowledge. I am acquainted with the baking trade and various other trades in New South Wales. I am in communication with members of those trades, about

which I may know more than men on the spot. I have given the evidence of a journeyman baker, and now I will give an extract from the evidence of one of the largest employers—

What would you suggest as a remedy?—If the employers were all compelled to pay the same rate of wages as is paid under the wages board in Melbourne, 1s. 0½d. an hour, and adopt the maximum number of hours, make the working hours 48 a week, and bring the standard rate of wages up to 50s. a week, it would compel every employer to fall into line, and cure the sweating for the employers and employes.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member knows that since then everything has been adjusted.

Mr. MAUGER.—I know that since then there has been an effort on the part of employers and employed, in sheer despair, to form a voluntary combination, but I also know that both employers and employed are asking for an Arbitration Act, or for a wages board to give that voluntary combination the force of law, as is the case in Victoria.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is quite untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for West Sydney must withdraw that statement.

Mr. HUGHES.—What I mean is that the information of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports is quite inaccurate. I may be permitted to point out, for the honorable member's information, that the employers and employed in the baking trade in Sydney have drawn up a scheme, whereby they can appoint referees and arbitrators, to whom all disputes occurring in the baking trade are to be submitted. Mr. Shadler, the chief baker in Sydney, told me on Friday afternoon that they do not want an Arbitration Act, because they have all the machinery necessary, and every baker in the metropolis is in the combination.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member has not withdrawn his statement.

Mr. HUGHES.—I do withdraw it.

Mr. MAUGER.—All that has occurred within the last two months. I have a letter from the Journeyman Bakers' Society, asking me to address a meeting in Sydney, with the object of bringing about the legalization of wages boards, because those employed in the trade have not the slightest faith in the permanency of the voluntary combination. Has the honorable member for West Sydney any faith in it? Does he

not know that voluntary combinations have always failed to bring about the conditions he is desirous of obtaining.

Mr. HUGHES.—What has this to do with protection?

Mr. MAUGER.—I did not introduce the subject, and I am only answering the honorable member, who asserted that I knew nothing about the baking trade. Apparently, I now know too much to please him. The honorable member said that the manufacturers of Sydney did not want any protection, and he quoted the right honorable member for East Sydney as to the boot manufacturers who have been named. I interjected when the honorable member was speaking that the boot manufacturer whose name he did not give, but from whom he read a letter, was a man who preferred to import. I am not going to mention the name of the gentleman I believe the letter came from, but I will say this—that that gentleman has always opposed trade unions and has always opposed manufacturing if he could import. He would not manufacture a single pair of boots to-day if he could help it. What do we find in relation to the manufacturers of Sydney? I hold in my hand a telegram from Sydney to the following effect—

McMurtrie, Hunter, although large manufacturers, are principally importers. Meeting boot manufacturers last Friday, seventy attending, only McMurtrie opposed Tariff.

Mr. HUGHES.—Whom is that from?

Mr. MAUGER.—Mr. H. Sparks.

Mr. HUGHES.—Who is he?

Mr. MAUGER.—I know more about the honorable member's city than he does himself, apparently. He is the secretary of the Protectionist Union, New South Wales.

Mr. HUGHES.—Oh!

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member surely does not mean to say that the secretary of the Protectionist Union would forge that telegram?

Mr. HUGHES.—Not at all. I was surprised that there was such an association in New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member knows that he said himself in the course of his speech that the Protectionist Union of New South Wales sank its protectionist policy during the elections and went under the liberal flag. Yet he now says he did not know that there was such a union in New South Wales!

Mr. HUGHES.—I said that there was such an association during the campaign.

Mr. MAUGER.—Then the honorable member did know that there was such a union, and was only pretending. As a matter of fact, the manufacturers evidently do want such protection as it is proposed to give to them.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The consumers do not.

Mr. MAUGER.—I will show the honorable member that the consumers in four out of five States do want it, even if they are not so far sighted as to see the necessity for it in the State from which he comes.

Mr. HUGHES.—Does the honorable member call 400,000 pairs of boots per annum a small output?

Mr. MAUGER.—I did not say a word about a small output.

Mr. HUGHES.—But the honorable member said that these boot manufacturers are importers.

Mr. MAUGER.—I say they are also importers.

Mr. HUGHES.—They make 400,000 pairs of boots per annum.

Mr. MAUGER.—That does not affect my argument. Will the honorable member say how many pairs they import? Until he does, the comparison as to how many they make goes for nothing. I will give him further testimony in regard to the boot trade. I have here the evidence of John Wright, boot manufacturer. This is sworn evidence given before the Factories and Shops Commission—

How is it they can make boots in Victoria and import them here and still pay a higher rate of wages than is paid in New South Wales?—Because the output of the factories is larger and more continuous. The Victorian manufacturer has the whole of his State to himself, no one can trespass on him, but in New South Wales we have not anything to ourselves. We get the imports of all the world; they ship to us freely, and the purchasers—the merchants and the shopkeepers here—are always in favour of the imported goods rather than those locally produced, that is one reason. Another reason is that a better class of goods, a more highly fashioned class of goods, is made in Victoria than is the custom in New South Wales, and those goods are imported into New South Wales. We have not the chance to make them—our workmen are not trained to make them; the material is not produced in New South Wales—if we want a specially good class of leather we send to Victoria for it.

I would ask the honorable member to read this evidence, and he will then find that instead of the Victorian factories in the

boot line being behind those of New South Wales, the whole of the testimony goes to show that their machinery is more complex, more complete, and more up to date, and that the better class of goods is made in Victoria, whilst the manufacture of brown paper goods is carried on in free-trade New South Wales. Here is the evidence of a journeyman in the same trade, a representative unionist:—

What do you pay your clickers?—From 20s. to £2. The foreman gets £2.

That is a very low wage?—Very low.

Why is that?—Because of the importations.

They pay higher in Victoria?—But there is no importation there. I have carried on business the last four years for the benefit of my hands. I have lost money every year.

Mr. CONROY.—Is that J. B. Wright?

Mr. MAUGER.—He is a representative bootmaker.

Mr. CONROY.—Paid by the manufacturers to state that!

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable and learned member is always imputing motives. He imputes motives to the Prime Minister and he imputes motives to the unionists of New South Wales.

Mr. MCCAY.—It is a sign that he does not play fair himself.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is a sign that the honorable and learned member does not play fair himself or he would not impute motives to others. My right honorable friend the leader of the Opposition urged that New South Wales under his free-trade policy had made rapid progress industrially. What are the facts? If a beginning is made from the year 1896, when the advantages of the free-trade policy commenced—or the nearest approach to free-trade New South Wales has yet possessed—it will be seen, on a comparison, that the progress of the five leading Australian States has been something as under. I am now quoting Coghlan's *Seven Colonies of Australasia*, at pages 598 to 601. My honorable friend the member for West Sydney can check my figures.

Mr. MCCAY.—Possibly it will be said that Coghlan is paid by the manufacturers to say these things!

Mr. MAUGER.—I suppose my honorable and learned friend, the member for Werriwa, would say so. But I am not imputing motives; I am simply stating facts. In 1896 the number of hands employed in Victorian factories was 50,448, and in 1899 the number had increased to 60,070. These figures are up to the latest date I can get.

The increase in Victoria, therefore, in that period was 9,622. In Queensland there were 19,733 in 1896, and by 1899 the number had increased by 7,467. In South Australia there was an increase of 2,370. In New South Wales there was only an increase of 5,806. All the other States under protection had shown a greater ratio in their industrial expansion than had the great State of New South Wales.

Mr. HUGHES.—What industries are included in those figures?

Mr. MAUGER.—The whole of the industries which the factory inspector gives returns for. I am glad that the honorable member interjects with that question, because it enables me to state that the industries included in the New South Wales figures embrace 1,168 men in connexion with the sugar industry—an industry on which it was found necessary to continue the protection, or else these men would not have been maintained in their employment. It also includes 2,616 men employed in connexion with the Smelting Works. That makes the position of New South Wales worse than it would have been under other circumstances. My honorable friend claims that New South Wales is infinitely more prosperous than Victoria. The leader of the Opposition did the same. After three years' experience of that policy in the sister State, what was the right honorable member's view? I hold in my hand the first progress report of the Unemployed Advisory Board of New South Wales. Just a little time before the right honorable the leader of the Opposition vacated office as Premier of New South Wales he penned the following minute on it:—

For many years, at intervals, and constantly since 1890, the question of the unemployed and what to do with them has been pressing itself upon public notice.

Public works have been pressed on from time to time, but the trouble has proved to be one which is not to be solved in that way.

Honorable members will find that these public works were pressed on and paid for out of borrowed money, and that if Victoria had borrowed to the same extent during the same years, the men that my honorable friend talks of would have been employed in Victoria instead of being out of employment in New South Wales.

Mr. THOMSON.—Victoria borrowed just as much as New South Wales did in those years.

Mr. MAUGER.—My honorable friend is wrong.

Mr. THOMSON.—If we include the borrowings of the subsidiary bodies, she did.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is wrong again. They left off borrowing before that date.

Mr. CROUCH.—The last Metropolitan Board of Works loan was floated in 1891.

Mr. MAUGER.—And the Harbor Trust left off borrowing before that time.

Mr. HUGHES.—There is at least one thing we have not done in New South Wales; we have not reduced our old-age pensions.

Mr. MAUGER.—We have not done it yet.

Mr. HUGHES.—The Victorian Government is talking about doing so.

Mr. MAUGER.—Let my honorable friend wait until Victoria does reduce the old-age pensions. The minute proceeds—

On Monday last I received a deputation consisting of a number of citizens and some representatives of the unemployed who have devoted much time and evident ability to this subject, and these gentlemen have submitted an outline scheme. Without entering upon the various proposals therein set forth, at the present time, I consider that something should be done at once to deal with the evils made so manifest.

This is signed by "George Houstoun Reid," and it shows the result of his policy after only a three years' trial. Had not federation come about, and had not those manufacturers, who have urged that this is acceptable protection, been rescued, it is impossible to say what would have been the condition of New South Wales in another ten years. I have not given the whole of this interesting report. My honorable friend, the member for Macquarie, who addressed the House yesterday and this afternoon, was chairman of this unemployed board, and this is what he has to say about it—

Mr. HARPER.—What, the honorable member for Macquarie?

Mr. MAUGER.—Yes, and he must admit that I am giving authorities. I am not making a wild statement and telling fairy tales for the amusement of the House. I am stating my authorities, their date and their page. The report is signed by Mr. Sydney Smith, the honorable member for Macquarie, and it sets forth that—

Efforts were made by the board to obtain reliable information as to the numbers and classes

of persons at the present time out of employment in the colony. The board, however, early recognised that, while there can be no doubt whatever as to the existence of deep and widespread distress, resulting from the want of employment by a large body of willing workers, no really reliable data can be obtained as to the actual number of persons so unemployed and of those more or less dependent upon them.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member must remember that we had had five years' drought in New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—We had had not only a drought, but a financial crisis unparalleled in the history of any of the States.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Will the honorable member quote from the report of the Victorian Unemployed Board, of which he was a member?

Mr. MAUGER.—My board never reported; a minority presented a report, and an effort was made by some of the members to use it for free-trade purposes; but they were thwarted in their purpose.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The protectionists stopped it.

Mr. MAUGER.—My honorable friend does not like it, although he is so exceedingly good tempered. This is his own report coming home to condemn him.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am perfectly prepared to stand by every word I wrote in that report.

Mr. MAUGER.—The report continues—

The number registered at the Government Labour Bureau is very large, and the superintendent (Mr. Creer) estimates the number of men at present unemployed, in Sydney and suburbs, at between 3,000 and 4,000, and from 8,000 to 10,000 in the whole colony, with a strong tendency to increase.

Mr. WILKS.—In May last, according to her own reports, Victoria had 14,000 unemployed.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is wrong again. The New South Wales Labour Commissioners were here in May last.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask honorable members to refrain from conversing in such a tone as to be heard all over the chamber, and to refrain from such continuous interjections. It is impossible for the honorable member to make his speech in such a way as he ought to do while these interruptions are going on.

Mr. MAUGER.—In New South Wales there are commissioners permanently appointed for looking after the unemployed problem, and those commissioners were

among the guests at the opening of the Federal Parliament. I have it on their authority that there are as many thousands unemployed in New South Wales as there are hundreds in Victoria. I give my authority, and surely that is enough. But that is not all.

Mr. WILKS.—If this Tariff is carried we shall be all unemployed in New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—The Ladies Benevolent Society of New South Wales reported, in the year that the right honorable the leader of the Opposition vacated office as Premier of that State, that there had been more cases of distress, more intense poverty, and more want of employment in that and the preceding year than ever there had been before in the history of their society. That is another evidence of the immense prosperity of New South Wales.

Mr. CHANTER.—And there were more blankets distributed among the poor during that time than ever there had been before.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member for Gippsland alluded to the Savings Banks deposits. I shall endeavour to avoid going over the same ground, but I wish to direct attention to another social indication of the position of the people afforded by the position of the friendly societies. Comparing the friendly societies of New South Wales with those of Victoria I find that in the first-named State the societies have £561,813 in funds, or 8s. 4d. per inhabitant, while in Victoria they have £1,155,408 in funds, or 19s. 10d. per inhabitant. These splendid thrift organizations in Victoria have twice as much funds as the friendly societies of free-trade New South Wales. I could go on quoting statistics in regard to a number of other matters, but I should like, first of all, to call the attention of honorable members to a statement made by the honorable member for Macquarie as to the figures quoted by the Prime Minister relative to wages in the boot trade in Victoria. If he will look again at the schedule from which he quoted, he will find that the Prime Minister was exactly right in his quotations, while the honorable member was wrong altogether. I will not say that the honorable member was wilfully misrepresenting the facts, but it was a gross misrepresentation. He said that 37s. 6d. was the average wage paid to bootmakers in Victoria, and not 44s. 9d. per week as stated by the Prime Minister. Now what are the facts? The

wage of 37s. 6d. per week is the minimum rate paid to 58 workers who have special permits. The average wage of 44s. 9d. per week is paid to 1,564 male employés in the boot trade in Victoria, so that the right honorable the Prime Minister was correct. The honorable member for Macquarie quoted the average wage paid to 58 men having special permits, and he omitted, wilfully or otherwise, the wages paid to the vast bulk of the employés. I have shown the House what are the wages and conditions of boot operatives in New South Wales. I have quoted authorities who ought to know better than does the wealthy importer whose telegram the leader of the Opposition read last evening. I should like briefly to allude to the remarks made by the honorable member for Macquarie this afternoon, in regard to the position of the working classes in England. Has the honorable member never heard of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*? Has he never read of the white slaves of England?

Mr. WILKS.—The outcasts of New York.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am dealing just now with London, and not with New York. That is a way which the free-traders have. Whenever we press them home, they want to shunt off somewhere else. Does the honorable member remember hearing of *The Submerged Tenth*? I am going to quote the opinion of an honorable member of this House, who is a prominent free-trader, and of whose integrity there can be no question, in order to show the conditions of free-trade England within the last ten years. It is the opinion of the honorable member for Parramatta. He says—

I have seen with mine own eyes men with pretty constant work die like rats from sheer starvation, and all because of the decline of the export trade, and the increase of the imported article.

These words appear in a letter which the honorable member for Parramatta published in the *Australian Star*. Surely the honorable member for Dalley will not contend that free-trade England has been turned into a paradise during the last decade! This is the evidence of an eye-witness who saw these things for himself, and who is a prominent member of the party to which the honorable member for Dalley belongs. The honorable member for Parramatta further says—

We sell at the lowest analysis our flesh and blood, our independence, our credit; and

persistence in this kind of barter will lead to ruinous results.

I commend this to the attention of my honorable friends opposite. Then I hold in my hand a leaflet issued by the Fabian Society of London, and revised in February, 1898. I should like to mention, for the information of my honorable friends opposite, that men like Mr. Sydney Webb, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Dr. Clifford, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, and others belong to this organization.

Mr. FOWLER.—They are all free-traders.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member does not realize that free-trade and protection are variable expedients.

Mr. FOWLER.—The honorable member wants to argue that the conditions which he pictures are inseparable from free-trade.

Mr. MAUGER.—Nothing of the kind. I merely wish to show that the contention that free-trade has made a paradise of England has no foundation in fact.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is never contended.

Mr. MAUGER.—Then I have yet to learn what is contended. The same thing has been contended to-day. It has been urged that free-trade has given a paradise to the people of England. It is said that there is no pauperism there, but that the sunshine of prosperity is blazing away in a manner unexampled in the world's history. Yet, in this leaflet—and every one of these leaflets is subjected to supervision before it is issued—it is stated—

Each day in the year about 1,000,000 persons in the United Kingdom are driven to accept relief as paupers. In the course of every year more than 2,000,000 of separate individuals are thus relieved. At least one in five persons over 65 is a pauper. In London alone there were on 1st January, 1897, 68,302 indoor, and 53,657 outdoor paupers, over 280,000 separate individuals falling for longer or shorter periods into this condition in the course of the year. One in every eight of deaths in London takes place in a work-house or other Poor Law Institution.

This is not the worst side of the story. Over 50,000 children in England alone are in charge of the poor law authorities. No less an authority than John Burns has stated within the last two years that the London school boards estimate that there are 40,000 children daily attending their schools who are hungry, not having partaken of breakfast. Is there any such condition as that obtaining in any protectionist country to which honorable members can point? I have not heard of one.

Mr. WILKS.—Any amount of them.

Mr. MAUGER.—I have heard statements, but I have not heard of authorities, and I quote my authorities.

Mr. WILKS.—What cure does this society provide? Is it not socialism?

Mr. HIGGINS.—Their evidence is unimpeachable, because they are impartial.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am endeavouring to point out that the rosy condition of England pictured by my honorable friends opposite, and which they attribute to free-trade, is altogether contrary to fact. I have alluded to the condition of England, as it is brought out in such books as *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* and Frank Heard's *Cry of the Children*. I have also quoted as an authority an honorable member of this House. I have not been in England myself, and therefore cannot do more than quote my authorities.

Mr. WILKS.—All these authorities are opposed to protection!

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member seems to think that protection begins and ends with the Custom-house. Nothing of the kind. With me protection only begins there. It does not finish till it embraces in an Arbitration Act every toiler throughout Australia.

Mr. THOMSON.—How will the honorable member protect the primary producer?

Mr. MAUGER.—We are not dealing with the primary producer just now; but if the honorable member will earnestly endeavour to protect the primary producer, I have no doubt that he will succeed in so doing. But carping at the statements of these men will not afford the primary producer any protection. Let me give some further evidence. I learn from the *Manchester News* that at a recent public meeting which was held in Manchester, the Rev. H. Mills moved—

That this meeting deploras the long hours which so many women and girls are compelled to labour, the scanty remuneration which they receive, and the insanitary conditions of so many work-rooms; and calls upon all lovers of justice to endeavour to promote a happier state of things.

Speaking to this resolution Lady Dilke said:—

To show how necessary it was that women's wages should be raised, she would quote a few cases. A Birmingham girl was making pens at 2s. per gross. A London woman made fancy aprons at 2s. 6d. a dozen, and could only earn 10d. a day by working sixteen hours. Match makers had 2½d. per gross, and they had to find tow and paste, and in damp weather fire to dry the boxes.

Honorable members on the opposite side of the House talk about the duty upon nails, and yet they want to bring Victorian and Australian manufacturers into competition with this kind of thing. The same lady says:—

At Cradley Heath, where I was last year, I found girls working 75 hours in the week receiving 2s. 6d.

That is in free-trade England. I do not wish to weary the House by dealing with the question of female labour, but I earnestly commend to the attention of my free-trade friends Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, in which book they will find it stated that all over the industrial world female labour is displacing male labour. Hobson says—

Modern manufacture with machinery favours the employment of women as compared with men. Each census during the last half-century shows that in England women are entering more largely into every department of manufacture, excepting certain branches of metal-work, machine-making, and ship-building, &c., where great muscular strength is a prime factor in success.

From the table which is published by Hobson, we perceive that, while the number of males engaged in these manufactures in Great Britain has increased by 53 per cent. during the half century, from 1841 to 1891, the number of females has increased by 221 per cent.; showing conclusively that the question of female labour displacing male labour has nothing whatever to do with the fiscal issue, or with the question of free-trade or protection. I would also commend to honorable members, if they are desirous of getting more information upon this subject, the recently published volumes of *Women in Industrial Life*.

Mr. TUDOR.—Who is the author?

Mr. MAUGER.—There are a number of authors, and Mrs. Sidney Webb edits the book. At page 182 of the volume it is stated—

In London alone there are 30,000 tailoresses, 20,000 of whom are in the East End, and 10 per cent. are always out of employment, while from 60 to 70 per cent. are earning less than 8s. per week.

That is in free-trade London.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—How many of them are foreigners?

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not think my honorable friend is in earnest in asking that question.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I am very much in earnest.

Mr. MAUGER.—I should like to say that in very many instances the foreign sweater is working these girls to death, but the girls themselves are daughters of Britain and are not foreigners.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—At all events, they are human beings.

Mr. MAUGER.—At all events, as the Treasurer says, they are human beings, and whether they are foreigners or not does not affect my argument. Twenty thousand in London are earning 8s. a week, and the minimum wage under the Victorian Factories Act is £1 per week. Will any honorable friend tell me how a tailor could hope to compete with such conditions? In the old country they work for 8s. per week, when they can get work, and they work for fourteen hours a-day. In Victoria they are protected by legislation under which they get £1 per week, and work for 48 hours per week. Is competition under such circumstances as these anything like fair, or anything like possible?

Mr. THOMSON.—Have we not the natural protection?

Mr. MAUGER.—My honorable friend as a commercial man knows the value of natural protection.

Mr. THOMSON.—I do.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member knows, or he ought to know, that many of our commodities are absolutely brought out as ballast.

Mr. THOMSON.—What about wool?

Mr. MAUGER.—And then he talks about natural protection in the way of transit. In a number of cases shippers even pay to get goods to bring out as ballast for their vessels, that they may take back the wool the honorable member refers to. My honorable friend would send the wool back, have it made up in the old country, and have the manufactured article sent back here. That natural protection, so-called, goes for nothing, no one knows better than my honorable friend himself. He knows that the means of transit are being improved every day. He knows that the large ocean-going steamers are greatly reducing their freight charges, and he knows very well that, as time goes on, the distance between London and Melbourne, Manchester and Melbourne, and New York and Melbourne is becoming less as regards the transit of goods.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—And they allow discount to cover it.

Mr. MAUGER.—And as my right honorable friend says they allow discount to cover it. I intended to refer to America, and before concluding I may be excused for reading one extract from a lecture delivered as late as July, this year, in America, by Professor Gunton, before the Institute of Social Economics. The Institute of Social Economics is comprised of the leading men in New York and in America. The Chancellor of the New York University is president and the Chancellor of the Cornell University is a member. All the leading literary and intellectual men belong to this institute. Speaking of the progress of America and the working classes, the professor said—

As an index to this, we find that the consumption *per capita* in the United States is higher than that of any other country.

Then he quoted *Mulhall*, the great English authority, who had no prejudice in favour of that country, and he said—

He tells us that in 1894, for instance, the consumption of textiles, hardware, leather, and other manufactures per inhabitant in England (which is the highest of any country outside of the United States) was 138s. a year; in the United States 148s. So of the earnings *per capita* of the population. He says it is £36 per inhabitant in England; £31 in France; £25 in Germany; £17 in Austria; £14 in Italy; and £44 in the United States. In other words that, measured in pence, the daily earnings per inhabitant are 24 in Great Britain and Canada; 20 in France; 16 in Germany; 11 in Austria; 10 in Italy; and 30 in the United States.

My honorable friend the member for West Sydney spoke about strikes in the United States, and when I asked him what the present strike was over, he did not appear to know. I shall tell honorable members. The great strike in connexion with the Steel Trust in America is not for higher wages. The men are evidently satisfied with their wages. It is not for shorter hours.

Mr. WILKS.—It is for the fun of it.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is not for the fun of it. The honorable member thinks of nothing but fun, and that is one of the difficulties in dealing with a serious matter like this. The strike in America at the present time is for the principle of unionism. There are a number of engineer shops in America that have not yet come under the influence of the Engineers' Union of that great continent, and the struggle going on at the present time is conducted by men who are in a sufficiently

comfortable position to wage industrial warfare in the interests of unionism, in order to embrace in the union the whole of the employés in the trade. When does my honorable friend remember a strike of such magnitude for such a cause in any free-trade country? I have not time to quote statistics in connexion with a dozen different trades, showing the relative amount of wages paid in America and in England, but I shall quote a few words of the late esteemed President McKinley in regard to a Tariff, and in regard to fiscal proposals. Let me say that as a protectionist, as one who is in no way directly interested in manufacturing concerns in Victoria, but as one who knows all about the requirements of these industries and the competition they have got to face, the Victorian manufacturers in many instances are dissatisfied with this Tariff—not because it is too high, but because such enormous reductions upon the Victorian Tariff have been made in it. I say that advisedly. Take, for instance, the shirt and collar trade. The Government make a reduction at one swoop in that trade from 35 per cent. to 20 per cent., and then add 10 per cent. and 15 per cent. to the raw material. Take the industry of hats: they reduce the protection there from 24s. and 34s. a dozen down to 10s. a dozen and 15 per cent. Then my honorable friends talk about the poor working farmer. The farmer is getting a better and a cheaper hat now than he ever did before in the history of Victoria.

Mr. THOMSON.—Then what is the good of that big duty?

Mr. MAUGER.—My honorable friend is sufficiently well acquainted with commercial life to know that, so far as the cheaper article is concerned, it would not matter if they reduced the duty by one-half. The cheaper hat would not come into Victoria. There is no labour in connexion with it. It is made of a little wool, and by machinery. It is the better class of hats that will be imported, the hat that needs workmanship and skill of the highest class. And that is the sort of hat we should insist upon the workmen of Victoria producing.

Mr. THOMSON.—Then will the honorable member say why there is a duty on the lower class article?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Because they would swamp us.

Mr. MAUGER.—Because by supporting our Australian mills in regard to the

higher class article we shall get well served in regard to the lower class article. The farmer and the artisan can get for 1s. 11d. as good a hat as any working man desires to wear. The hat can be produced for that, and can be bought for 2s. 6d. in almost every country town in Victoria. Then, too, a farmer can buy a pair of boots for from 3s. 11d. to 4s. 6d. Where does the bleeding and the taxation come in? Take the glass industry. In that industry the duty has been reduced by 40 or 50 per cent., and a new duty for revenue purposes has been put upon raw material. The House must carefully consider these anomalies, and earnestly try to carry out the programme of the Government without the destruction of any industry. I am prepared to admit that Victoria must make sacrifices as New South Wales must make sacrifices. Under our present Constitution we cannot get an ideal Tariff; we cannot get the Tariff which I desire.

Mr. CAMERON.—I hope not.

Mr. MAUGER.—If we did, there would be a very big free list, with adequate protection for the articles we can produce; and the effect would be more local consumption, more local work, and better conditions for the employer and the purchaser.

Mr. CAMERON.—And no revenue for the States.

Mr. MAUGER.—I admit that it is the exigencies of revenue which require the passing of the Tariff which has been introduced. We cannot get what we desire, and what I believe to be absolutely necessary to pay the minimum wage provided for under our Factories Act. In connexion with the hatting industry we have a trades union which is as powerful as any legal enactment. Every man and woman employed in the hatting industry of Victoria—and there is no hatting industry worthy of the name in any of the other States—belongs to a trades union, and receives a minimum weekly wage—not an average wage—of £3.

Mr. PAGE.—The women as well?

Mr. MAUGER.—The women receive 25s. a week. If new machinery is introduced, the trades union is strong enough to require that a journeyman, and not a boy, shall be told off to work and take care of it. Do honorable members mean to say that under such conditions the Victorian manufacturers could, without protection, compete with Italian manufacturers, who pay per

day no more than we are called upon to pay per hour?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—That is in protectionist Italy!

Mr. MAUGER.—My right honorable friend appears to think that protection at the Custom-house is the beginning and the end. He does not know the alphabet of the science he is talking about. If it stopped there, it would be absolutely futile. I have tried to show that protection without trades unions, Arbitration Acts, and wages boards is protection only in name—protection for the employer and not for the community.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—There is no man living but knows that it is futile.

Mr. MAUGER.—President McKinley is not living, it is true, but his words live after him, and I venture to think that he was as great, self-sacrificing, and noble as is the right honorable gentleman. Men like Horace Greeley, Garfield, and Lincoln were not fools. They guided successfully the destinies of one of the greatest countries in the world. I could quote, did time permit, the opinions of the leading professors of economy in the German universities. Is my right honorable friend not going to take into consideration the economic thought of the times, or does he contend that the last word has been spoken upon the subject of political economy? Will he contend that political economy is not a progressive science? Will he not agree with Ruskin that it is the correlation of facts pertaining to the times to which they relate? What are the words of wisdom spoken by President McKinley on this subject?—

A low Tariff or no Tariff has always increased the importation of foreign goods until our money ran out; multiplied our foreign obligations; produced a balance of trade against the country; supplanted the domestic producer and manufacturer; impaired the farmer's home market without improving his market abroad; undermined domestic prosperity; decreased the industries of the nation; diminished the value of nearly all our property and investments; and robbed labour of its just rewards. . . . This is the verdict of our history, and . . . the verdict of history in the case of other nations.

Are these words to be ignored? Are they meaningless? Was it a fool who spoke them? Is all the wisdom of the world on the side of the economists represented by my right honorable friend? I could quote Cardinal Manning, Horace Greeley, and the author of *Alton Locke*, to show the condition which free-trade brought

about in England, but time will not permit. As a native of the Commonwealth, I am anxious to do all I can for this young nation, in view of the possibilities of industrial and national development. Looking at the nations of the earth—above all, looking at the federated nations—I can come to no other conclusion than that those which have adopted the policy I have the honour to be associated with have found progress attendant upon its wake, and neither Germany, Switzerland, Canada, nor America has ever attempted to plunge into the gulf of despair which my honorable friends opposite would lead the Commonwealth into.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—By way of personal explanation, I should like to say that I would not willingly misquote any document I might give to the House. During this debate I took the opportunity to quote from an official document prepared by the Government of Victoria, giving the rate of wages paid in the various trades, but the honorable member for Melbourne Ports said that I misrepresented it. What are the facts? Just as I stated them. The Prime Minister said that in boots and shoes the general average wage paid to males was 44s. 9d. for 48 hours. I showed that according to Appendix B the average rate for 2,628—not 58—was 34s. 5d.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That includes piece-work.

Mr. MAUGER.—To what report is the honorable member referring?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for 1900. The Prime Minister said that for females the average rate was 22s.; but according to this report, for 1,304 females it is 14s. 7d. Then I pointed out that in the cabinet-making trade the Prime Minister had said that the average rate was 44s. 9d. for 48 hours. I find that I did misquote him in that respect. Instead of putting it at 40s. 5d. I gave the workers the benefit by taking the figures above, 42s. 4d. The 40s. 5d. is the exact rate fixed by the inspector, and quoted in this report as against 44s. 9d. stated by the right honorable gentleman. Then I pointed out that in regard to the shirt-making trade he said that 21s. per week is the average rate, whereas, according to this report, it is 14s. 4d. I only make this explanation to show that I was perfectly correct, notwithstanding the contradictions of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, in giving the

rates as fixed by the chief inspectors in Victoria. What does he say to that?

Mr. MAUGER, in explanation: I was particularly careful not to impute motives, but to say that I believed the honorable member for Macquarie had made a mistake. I repeat, the fact that he has quoted the piecework figures does not in any way alter the statement I made that the average he quoted this afternoon related to the small number I was speaking of.

Motion (by Mr. POYNTON) negatived—

That the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. POYNTON (South Australia).—I shall not occupy a great deal of time. I wanted to read some of the speeches which have been delivered; but unfortunately that opportunity has not been granted to me. It is pleasant to observe that honorable members on the opposite side have been let off the chain. Last night we saw a conspiracy of silence which one did not expect to see in a Chamber like this. One would have thought that the Ministers would have been only too glad to have their proposals criticised. One might ask—What are they brought down for, if they are to be covered up in mystery, the gag applied and a robbery perpetrated under the guise of a Tariff saddled on this country without the people knowing anything of it? The Prime Minister, in his speech last night, seemed to make a great effort for the purpose of proving that because the Tariff is less than the average of the Tariffs for the six States, we ought to be thankful, and ought to swallow this coated pill without any consideration. While he was speaking, I interjected once or twice, "But what about the incidence?" The incidence is a matter which ought not to be considered; it is a mere detail, which is not worthy of the House. He also stated, as other honorable members have done, that the advantage to be derived from the release of Inter-State trade to the amount of £29,000,000 is more than equivalent to what is made up by the increased duties. A remarkable feature of this debate is that not one honorable member has defended the Tariff. They have gone away on the other issue altogether. We have seen a fight between the giants of the House on the question of free-trade or protection, but as to the Tariff not one word have we heard from the other side. Is it because they wish to conceal the truth

from the people who have to pay the imposts that they do not want to go into details? What was the object last night when they tried to apply the gag and get the debate closed? Was that the purpose for which we came here? It will come with a revelation, I think, to Australia to learn that the amount to be raised for all federal purposes has been sprung from £7,500,000 to £9,000,000, that a proposal is actually submitted to raise considerably more than was raised by Inter-State duties, the cost of the Federal Government, which is termed new expenditure, and the total of customs and excise on a fair year—an increase of considerable proportions. Not one Minister has yet defended the increase; not one Minister has attempted to justify the incidence of this taxation. Let us see what we gain by the abolition of Inter-State duties. The amount which the people of New South Wales had to pay prior to the imposition of uniform duties was £1 5s. 7d. per head, but under this Tariff they have to pay £2 7s. 9d. per head. Then it is said—"But look at what they get as a result of Inter-State free-trade." According to the figures which have been presented, £141,061 represents the total amount of the Inter-State duties for New South Wales. Working that out on the population basis, we find that 2s. 1d. per head represents the total benefit which the people of that State derive from Inter-State free-trade. That leaves them with a balance of £1 0s. 1d. in the shape of new taxation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They have all our markets.

Mr. THOMSON.—Victoria had all ours before, and we did not charge her for it.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have heard it argued before in South Australia that if we went in for federation, instead of having 350,000 people to supply we should have 4,000,000, so that that argument cuts both ways. In Victoria I find that the taxation per head under the old Tariff was £1 19s., whilst under the new Tariff it will be £2 3s. 6½d., showing an increase of 4s. 6½d. Under the Inter-State remissions amounting to £358,659, Victoria will benefit the extent of 5s. 11d. per head, and the new Tariff will therefore be lower by 1s. 4d. per head than the old one. When I take my own State of South Australia, I find that the taxation is to be increased from £1 14s. 8d. under the Tariff in 1899, to £1 17s. 8½d. under the Government proposals.

The people of that State will have taxation remitted in respect to Inter-State free-trade, to the extent of about 4s. 11d. per head, and there will thus be a balance of 1s. 10½d. per head in favour of the new Tariff. In working out the Queensland Tariff we arrive at somewhat different results. There the taxation will be reduced from £3 6s. 5d. to £2 14s. 6½d. per head, or a decrease of 11s. 10½d. As the abolition of Inter-State duties represents a reduction of another 5s. 6d. per head, the total decrease will be 17s. 4½d. Applying the same rule to the Tasmanian Tariff, I find that there will be a balance of something like 17s. 9d. in favour of the new Tariff, after making deductions on account of the Inter-State free-trade. I do not wonder that there should be such indignation expressed in New South Wales with respect to the new Tariff.

Mr. WILKS.—It is all indignation there now.

Mr. BARTON.—That is the only local manufacture.

Mr. POYNTON. — Honorable members who had not previously studied the Tariff list of New South Wales must have been astonished to see that only some 49 articles were taxed, whilst under the new Tariff over 1,000 articles will have to pay duty. Therefore the new Tariff will be a very serious matter for the people of New South Wales. I now desire to show how this £9,000,000 of revenue is to be raised — how the difference between the £9,000,000 and the amount which was previously levied on the people of the various States through the Customs is to be made up. I have chosen the conditions in my own State for the purpose of making a comparison. Any one who looks at the Tariff of South Australia will not say that it is a free-trade Tariff, but they will admit that some consideration has been shown for what may be termed the actual necessities of the people. It is in this consideration that the new Tariff is absolutely deficient. I am going to show how the revenue is to be raised under the new Tariff, and how the masses of the people will have to pay. No consideration has been given to the necessities of the people at all, but the Government have gone on the broad line that the greater the number of consumers the greater their right to tax the commodities on which they live. Take the case of molasses and golden syrup. Some people

may look upon these articles as luxuries, and no doubt it is a laughing matter to the Prime Minister, with his £2,500 a year.

Mr. BARTON.—I like treacle as well as the honorable member.

Mr. POYNTON.—This is one of the luxuries that goes into the homes of the poor people.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Queensland will give us enough for a century.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then what is the object of putting on the duty?

Mr. KINGSTON.—To give Queensland the pleasure of supplying us.

Mr. POYNTON.—The object is to give the local manufacturer an opportunity of charging a higher price—in fact, the price has already been increased. The duty on these articles under the new Tariff will be 25 per cent. higher than under the old South Australian Tariff. Take another thing that goes into the homes of the poor—arrowroot.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Queensland will give us all we want of that.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then why put a duty upon it? The Government are showing their sympathy for the unfortunate users of arrowroot by putting a duty of £9 6s. 8d. per ton upon it. They are taxing the food of the babies, and they are taxing the poor man's puddings; and, in fact, they are levying duties upon those commodities that are more frequently used in the homes of the poor than in the houses of the rich. The duty on arrowroot represents to the people of South Australia an increase of £9 6s. 8d. per ton, because arrowroot was on the free list in the South Australian Tariff.

Mr. WATKINS.—And what has the honorable member to put in the place of these duties?

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable member justify these duties?

Mr. WATKINS.—Not all of them, but I want to know what the honorable member would substitute for them.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then we have candles, which are largely used by poor people. We know that the manufacturers of candles are making fortunes out of one penny per pound duty. But not satisfied with that they must increase the duty on this line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is Inter-State free-trade.

Mr. POYNTON.—The right honorable gentleman took care to protect his State for some time against Inter-State free-trade.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There was necessity to do so.

Mr. POYNTON.—If the right honorable gentleman were to take a plebiscite in Western Australia at the present time he would not find many “ayes” for the Ministerial programme. During the campaign I heard people advocate “a free breakfast table.” I was then candid enough to say that if a man contended that under the conditions of the Commonwealth, so long as certain amounts had to go back to the States, it was possible to have a “free breakfast table,” he would be only playing the fool with the people. What we did expect, and what every taxpayer in the State had a right to expect, was that, at any rate, the extra revenue would not be raised on the lines such as those to which I am referring. An increase of 25 per cent. in the duty on coffee may be nothing to those who drink champagne, but it is something to those who regard coffee as a luxury. Then as to oatmeal, I may be told that that can be manufactured in the States.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I should think so.

Mr. POYNTON.—But is there any necessity for a duty of £9 6s. 8d. in order to encourage the manufacture of oatmeal in the States?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Oatmeal was manufactured in Victoria with a lower duty.

Mr. POYNTON.—Most decidedly it was. The proposed duty on rolled oats is £9 6s. 8d. a ton, and the effect of this in South Australia has been to increase the price of the 7-lb. bag from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 9d. Wheatmeal, pearl barley, and Scotch barley are in every-day use in every family in the Commonwealth; and yet we find that there is a duty of £9 6s. 8d. per ton imposed on these lines. Even children's food is not allowed to go free, and we have a similar duty imposed on maizena. [*House counted.*] I asked for an adjournment of the debate, but the Government were not inclined to grant it, and when I attempt to deal in detail with the impositions on the commodities of the poor, my statements are found unpalatable and honorable members leave the chamber. The proposal to put a duty of £9 6s. 8d. on the lines I have mentioned is certainly unpalatable, and I guarantee that, when the division comes in connexion with these commodities, a number of honorable members will be found voting on this side of the House. They have not the moral courage, however, simply because

they are sitting behind the Government, to get up and condemn the proposals. Surely the manufacture of preserved milk is an industry which could be established in Australia without penalizing, in many instances, people who are far away from the possibility of obtaining fresh milk. In many cases babies are recommended by medical men to have preserved milk, and yet we find a duty of 25 per cent. imposed on this commodity. Rice is another article which honorable members may say can be produced in Australia. We are very considerate about the man who makes the starch; but is not rice a commodity that is largely used in the homes of the poor? That is so; yet there is an increase of duty on this commodity. We realize a very small percentage of money under this Tariff from luxuries, or from those articles which the rich will purchase. In South Australia we did consider that the blankets of the poor, at any rate, ought to come under a low Tariff; but the Government propose that the duties on blankets shall be increased from 15 to 20 per cent. In some of the other States blankets are on the free list, and I take South Australia as an illustration, because in this particular, that State is neither on the free-trade or the highly protective side. Then, again, surely coatings, vestings, trousers, flannels, and flannelettes might have been more leniently treated. Flannelette was on the free list in South Australia, but under the Commonwealth Tariff it has to pay a duty of 20 per cent. We have also 20 per cent. on flannels, trouserings, coatings, and vestings. Here is another line that goes into the homes of the poor. South Australia, Victoria, Queensland, and New South Wales have hitherto had these articles on the free list, and they should have found a place under the free list of a Federal Tariff. Then we will take blue frocking, butter and cheese cloth, calico (white and grey), drills, duck, dungaree, jeans, moleskins, and oil baize. [*House counted.*] I would ask the Minister if I can now have leave to continue my remarks to-morrow?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; we previously mentioned the time we intended to sit.

Mr. POYNTON.—I was showing the lines on the free list in, at any rate, four States, and was expressing the opinion that these lines might have found a place on the free list under the Federal Tariff.

Mr. McCAY.—Where is the money to come from? That is the trouble.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable and learned member want to increase taxation that comes out of the homes of the poor?

Mr. McCAY.—No; but I want to know where the money is to come from.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then the honorable and learned member will not support taxes on these goods?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Will the honorable member tell us how he is going to get the money out of the homes of the rich?

Mr. McCAY.—We have to yield, because we cannot help it.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member has to yield because he sits behind the Government. He has not the courage to get up and challenge the Tariff in detail.

Mr. McCAY.—I have not had a chance yet.

Mr. POYNTON.—Honorable members opposite would have applied the gag last night if they could, and that is what they are trying to do now—the whole lot of them. Material used in the homes of the poor, such as calicoes, moleskins, towellings, shirtings, sheetings, and similar things, are taxed, although they might have been included in the free list. I suppose they are taxed to encourage manufactures, according to honorable members opposite. We find also that the great mining industry is penalized throughout the whole of this Tariff. There is hardly an article that goes on to a mine that is not taxed heavier under this Tariff than under any previous Tariff in Australia. I wish especially to refer to one or two lines, and I am going to show what revenue the Government expect to raise from them presently. We have before us the estimates of revenue in detail, set out under different headings. I find that £120,000 is to be raised from sugar, which was previously on the free list in some of the States. Then we find upon the Tariff such articles as the Minister says can be manufactured here—lines chiefly used for children—arrowroot, tapioca, and sago. From these articles it is expected to raise £13,790. The Government estimate to receive £32,540 from cocoa. They also propose to tax dried fruits, as if the natural protection that is given to these articles in the way of the cost of carriage from abroad was not

sufficient. From this source they expect to raise £152,445. If those goods can be manufactured here, what will become of the revenue? Then we find that on the little line of preserved milk, the Government estimate to receive £28,750. Preserved milk is an absolute necessity of life in many places. But there is not much consideration for the back-blocks on the part of this Government. Next, let us take the line of tea. The tea-drinkers of the Commonwealth are to have increased burdens placed upon them because they have entered into the Federation.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—There will be a big reduction of the tea duties so far as concerns Queensland.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member speaks for his own State.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—But the honorable member professes to be speaking for the Commonwealth.

Mr. POYNTON.—I say that under this Tariff the commonest tea, that goes into the homes of the poor, will be raised in price by at least 4d. per lb.

Mr. McCAY.—What?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Don't talk nonsense!

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella seems astonished.

Mr. McCAY.—I am astonished at the honorable member.

Mr. POYNTON.—I am just as much astonished that the honorable and learned member should take it in that way. What I say is, that the cost of this tea will be 4d., as against 3d. in South Australia.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is wrong.

Mr. POYNTON.—No; I am not wrong. Take the duty *ad valorem*, and the right honorable gentleman will see that I am correct. This money will be taken out of the pockets of the poor. There is no champagne and no silk about this business. The sum of £384,312 is the amount of revenue to be raised from this source. From rice, the Government estimate to raise £142,422. These are lines that might have been put upon the free list. There are increases of duty in a number of other lines. We know that usually, when the Government brings down a Tariff, it is not the duty of private members to propose increases on some lines, and decreases upon others. In fact, sir, if you were in the chair, I believe you would rule that it was out of

order for any honorable member to do so. Now let us see how they propose to make up this revenue. Coming to the duty on blankets and rugs, we find that they estimate to collect £21,900, and from apparel and attire £72,600. Practically, they propose to raise as much by taxing the blankets and wearing apparel of the poor as they do from silks.

MR. TUDOR.—Do not the rich use blankets?

MR. POYNTON.—The honorable member knows very well that there are more beds to be covered, and that more blankets are required by the poor. I am astonished to hear such a remark coming from the honorable member, who ought to agree with me in regard to every line. I really believe he does think that blankets ought to come in free as soon as possible.

MR. TUDOR.—I shall go with the honorable member for letting them in free. My vote will be all right. I shall be in favour of reducing some duties and increasing others.

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—We cannot increase them.

SIR WILLIAM LYNE.—Of course we can.

MR. TUDOR.—I hope to have the honorable member for South Australia with me.

MR. POYNTON.—Cotton and linen piece goods surely constitute a line used among the poor. These articles were on the free list under the South Australian Tariff and under the Tariff of some other States, but under the Government proposals it is estimated that £338,000 will be raised from this source. Notwithstanding that the Prime Minister said last night that, judging by the experience of Western Australia, the mining industry should be able to obtain all the machinery that is required within the Commonwealth, I notice that the Government estimate to obtain £80,500 by a further tax upon mining requirements. Evidently they do not think that we shall be able to obtain locally all that we require in that direction. Now we come to kerosene.

MR. MCCAY.—I shall vote with the honorable member for striking out the proposed duty on kerosene.

MR. CONROY.—But that is a protective duty. There are some 300 men employed in the industry here.

MR. POYNTON.—The Government purpose raising £157,500 by means of a duty on kerosene. With the exception of mining

machinery, there is not a line to which I have referred which does not go into the poor man's house. I notice that an increased duty on cement is proposed, although in New South Wales they can carry on the cement industry without it. For the sake of some very few men, however, the Government propose to tax that article and to raise £44,250 in that way. There is one item to which I desire to make special reference. I am surprised that the Ministry, as representing South Australia, in common with the rest of the Commonwealth, has not seen fit to remove timber from the list of dutiable articles. The Prime Minister seemed last night to look on this matter as immaterial. As a matter of fact, however, the Government, according to their Estimates, expect to raise £119,180 from this source. What will be the effect of this proposal on the mining industry at Broken Hill?

SIR JOHN FORREST.—We have plenty of timber in Western Australia that we can send to Broken Hill.

MR. POYNTON.—The right honorable gentleman should be aware of the fact that those who are able to speak with authority say that the great bulk of the timber used in the Broken Hill mines is oregon, imported from America.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—There is no reason why they should not use jarrah.

MR. V. L. SOLOMON.—It is not strong enough.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—It is used in all the mines in Kalgoorlie.

MR. POYNTON.—It has been pointed out by those interested in Broken Hill mining that this is going to be a very serious matter to them. The Government propose also a duty on coke.

MR. KINGSTON.—Can we not produce that here?

MR. POYNTON.—I suppose the honorable and learned member will say that we can make it here. Honorable members must know that ships come out here with coke as loading, and take back bullion and ore. In that way we get it very cheaply. A duty of 4s. per ton is now sought to be placed upon it. It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back. The Broken Hill mines, at the present time, have more than enough to contend with. Some of them are making calls, some of them are closing down, and others are considering a reduction

in wages. This proposal is not going to help them.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The Silverton Tramway Company should reduce its rates.

Mr. POYNTON.—Now we come to that wonderful Victorian industry, the manufacture of barbed wire, which employs about one man and a boy, and the protection of which leads to an increase in the cost.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It is not correct to say that it gives employment to only about a man and a boy.

Sir. POYNTON.—I know what I am talking about. In South Australia barbed wire is a necessity, and is used very largely by people in the back country. How do the Government propose to help them? Wire netting, the manufacture of which is more intricate than barbed wire, can come in free. The wire-netting industry in New South Wales can go on without protection, but, because of this barbed wire industry in Victoria, which gives employment at all events to a very limited number of workmen, there is to be an increase, which will mean £3 or £4 per ton to the user. The duty in Victoria was £3 per ton; New South Wales free. The price in 1 ton lots on 3rd October, 1901, in Sydney, was £15 15s., and in Melbourne £18 10s. for 12-gauge per ton. The imports in 1900 were 282 tons, and the revenue £846. The *Age* having made an investigation, published on 3rd November, 1900, an article showing that the weekly output of local factories was 27 tons, equal to 1,350 tons for a year of 50 weeks. The account, therefore, stands thus:—Imports, 282 tons—revenue of State at £3 per ton, £846; local product, 1,350 tons—price increase, £2 15s. per ton, equals £3,712 10s.; added price to consumers, £4,558 10s. Of the total revenue yielded by the duty, the State only got £1 for every £4 7s. 6d. obtained by manufacturers. The *Age* of 3rd November, 1900, also shows that two persons (one man and one boy) attending a machine, produce 3½ tons per week. As not all the machines used are of this modern type, reduce the average output per machine to 2 tons, and the result is, that thirteen men and thirteen boys are employed in the industry. The average wage in wire-works for males of all ages is 28s. 3d. per week, as is shown by the Chief Inspector of Factories' Report of 1901, Appendix C. The total wages per year of 50 weeks paid by manufacturers is, therefore, £1,863. The

manufacturers received from the State all labour for nothing, and a bonus of £1,849 as well, or £2 for every £1 expended in wages. If the factories were closed and every worker paid a life pension equal to his wages, the State would still save £1,849 a year. There is hardly a piece of that vast tract of country which I have represented in the South Australian Parliament for nearly eight years, that can do without the extensive use of barbed wire. The Minister for Trade and Customs knows that I am saying what is true.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What do they want barbed wire for?

Mr. POYNTON.—If the honorable member knew anything about the wild dog pest he would be aware that barbed wire is the only thing that will keep the dogs out of the sheep paddocks. There is not a mile of country from Port Augusta to the border of his own State—west of Streaky Bay, away to the south to Port Lincoln, and extending to the New South Wales border, and thence to Queensland—which can be used for sheep, except it is made secure by barbed wire. Yet the Government propose to increase the cost of this article by putting on a duty for the sake of two or three people, who in the course of their whole existence here have not had to put up with such hardships as fall to the lot of those in the back country of South Australia. I would ask, Mr. Speaker, that I have leave to continue my remarks to-morrow.

Mr. BARTON.—Under no circumstances whatever.

Mr. POYNTON.—Well, I have not to thank the Government for anything. If the Prime Minister thinks that he is going to have this matter disposed of any sooner by adopting such an attitude, he makes a very great mistake. I have now to deal with some other lines. I find that under the Victorian Tariff, cocoa beans and cocoa butter were on the free list. We will see how the incidence of the Tariff works out on those lines. A duty of one penny and two pence per lb. respectively is now imposed. Then we had raw coffee on the free list. That now bears a duty of three pence a lb. It is remarkable to find that a duty on hay and chaff is proposed. I will show later on the amount which the Government expect to derive from that source. But as a mere sop to the farmers who have to pay for everything else, this is put upon the list. Hay, chaff, and linseed, which will

have to pay 2d. per cental, have hitherto been on the free list. Linseed cake and oil cake, which are to be charged 1s. per cental, were also previously on the free list. Then I come to the duty upon matches. This duty has, I presume, been imposed with a view to protecting the match industry in Victoria, which, I believe, has cost this State something like £10,000 per year for the benefit of a very limited number of hands. In the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for 1901, Appendix C, it is stated—

Up to 1894 annual importation of wax vestas was 290,000 gross average per annum, and revenue from duty of 1s. per gross £14,500. In 1894 Messrs. R. Bell & Co., of London, opened a match factory at Richmond. Imports and revenue gradually fell off, and were in 1900 58,300 gross, yielding £2,915. Supposing consumption has remained unchanged, Messrs. R. Bell & Co. produce locally 231,700 gross boxes. The price of wax matches wholesale in usual quantities in Sydney is 2s. per gross boxes. Messrs. R. Bell & Co. sell at 2s. 10d. for large contracts, and 2s. 11d. for ordinary wholesale quantities. They, therefore, obtain 11d. per gross boxes more than they could without the duty. In addition to legitimate profits they get per year $231,700 \times 11d.$ —£10,620 as a tax imposed upon consumers. Total employment in industry—8 males, averaging 18s. 8d. per week; 41 females, averaging 14s. 11d. per week. Total work per year, according to Bell & Co.'s statement in *Age*—46 weeks. Total wages paid in year £1,750.

Rice, sago, and tapioca, were on the free list in Victoria. Spices unground, green ginger, tapioca flour, potato flour, and straw were also free. Now a duty of 5s. per ton is to be imposed upon straw. It would be interesting to know how much revenue the Ministry expect to obtain from this one line. Then hatters' fur, mittens, flesh gloves, flannelettes, lace and veilings, cotton and linens, cotton and linen piece goods, sails, mantle trimmings, bonnet and hat trimmings and yarn are to be taxed. All these articles were on the free list in Victoria, but they are now to carry more or less duty. Then I come to the item "galvanized iron."

Mr. KINGSTON.—That was in the South Australian Tariff.

Mr. POYNTON.—One line was in that Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The other was 30s. a ton there.

Mr. POYNTON.—But it is not so here. Admitting that the Government wanted to encourage that line, there was no necessity to put such a heavy duty

as £1 a ton upon it. It does not require an immense amount of machinery or of expert knowledge to transform a sheet of iron into rolled iron. There are a number of other lines to which I could direct attention, if time permitted. A great deal of talk has been indulged in about the reaper and binder. I have heard this same argument trotted out in nearly every political speech which has been made since we had a debate upon the fiscal issue. But I am assured on the very best authority that despite the enormous profits which are supposed to be made out of reapers and binders, three firms in Melbourne which dealt in them have had to give up their business because of the cost attached to it. The expense in connexion with the fixing up of the machines, and with the keeping of them in repair for a certain time, was so great that recently a new arrangement was made with the manufacturers in America. This fact proves that if a ring existed at all, it existed in America. I do not wish honorable members to lose their trains, and I therefore ask for leave to continue my remarks.

Mr. KINGSTON.—We cannot do that.

Mr. POYNTON.—If I had been upon the other side of the House it would have been quite convenient for the Ministry to do it. I challenge honorable members who are at present supporting the Government to vote for a number of the lines which I have indicated. When we come to deal with the items in detail, if we have to sit here till the Christmas after next I shall fight those items line by line. It is all very well for the Government, with a majority sitting behind them like dumb sheep, to try and apply the gag as they did last night.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is idle to say that.

Mr. POYNTON.—I repeat that the Ministry attempted to apply the gag last night. They even tried to snap a division. When the items come up for discussion, the Ministry will find that there are a number of honorable members on their side of the House who will vote with the Opposition. A number of honorable members who sneer at the impositions placed on the poor, who seem to think that the Tariff is all right so long as revenue is obtained, and who have no consideration for the incidence of taxation, will then be found voting on this side of the House. This is the most iniquitous Tariff ever placed before the people of Australia. I am not speaking of it from a free-trade or protectionist point

of view. But I do say that there ought to be some consideration shown in the adjustment of the incidence of taxation, so as to insure that the burden shall fall upon the backs of those who are least able to bear it.

Mr. McCAY.—Can the honorable member show us the way to do it?

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member has indicated one line upon which he is prepared to do it.

Mr. McCAY.—But we must have the money.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable and learned member believe that a revenue of £9,000,000 is absolutely necessary? I do not believe that it is. Under this Tariff it is proposed to hand back to some of the States more than they have hitherto been realizing under their own Tariffs, in conjunction with the Inter-State duties.

Mr. McCAY.—And some less.

Mr. POYNTON.—Are we to penalize the whole of the people for the sake of these States? Have they not other sources from which they can derive revenue? Are we, because Western Australia has shirked direct taxation, to penalize our people who have gone in for direct taxation? Take my own State, for instance, where we have a progressive land tax and an absentee tax.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—You cannot afford to lose any revenue, anyhow.

Mr. POYNTON.—What do we find that the Premier of that colony says, from the telegrams received to-day? When he was asked yesterday to set a day apart for the discussion of this Tariff, he said he would not do that, but he advised those who asked him to see that public meetings were held everywhere to protest against the incidence of this taxation. That is the advice of the Premier of South Australia, and it will be carried out from one end of that State to the other. I say it is a most iniquitous way of raising revenue to tax the people because of their necessities, and that is what is proposed to be done under this Tariff in connexion with a great number of lines.

Mr. McCAY.—What is the alternative?

Mr. POYNTON.—The alternative is difficult to show now. Ministers should have considered the matter before they introduced the Tariff. The honorable and learned member knows how difficult it is to adjust the incidence of taxation when we are discussing Tariff proposals in detail. Does the honorable and learned member

think it is a fair thing to put 20 per cent. on blankets, and 15 per cent. on silk?

Mr. MAUGER.—Certainly. One is a protective duty, and the other is a revenue duty.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member only thinks of a few Victorians about Melbourne.

Mr. McCAY.—Does the honorable member know that the 15 per cent. duty on silk in Victoria was the result of violent exertion by free-traders?

Mr. POYNTON.—Is it not a source from which we should expect to get some revenue? Is it not a better source from which to get revenue than to get it from the backs of the poor, and out of the mouths of babes and sucklings? I do not intend to detain the House any longer to-night. I shall have opportunity later on of dealing with the Tariff in detail. I am not going to be bluffed out of it, though I may be bluffed out of it to-night. There are a number of lines I want to speak of. I want to speak, amongst other things, of the extravagance of the Ministry in their financial proposals. I want to know why they increased salaries that this House practically stopped, and why, by a subterfuge, they failed to carry out the directions of this House in the matter of paying allowances? Why have they since increased the salaries of the men to whom these allowances were paid? If their salaries were sufficient in June of this year, what has transpired since, other than the motion of the honorable member for Illawarra, to account for the increase in those salaries? The Ministry climbed down over that motion, and yet in these Estimates there are marked increases, and a number of them in connexion with men whose emoluments in the shape of allowances were stopped. Is this House going to allow Ministers to defeat its decision when it has distinctly stated that no allowances were to be given to these men? Ministers have in some cases increased these salaries by as much as £100 without consultation with this House. I should like to know, also, why the return I asked for in connexion with travelling expenses has not been laid upon the table? It would have been very convenient to have had it here at this time. I want to know a lot of things in connexion with it, but at this time of the night I shall not go into the matter. I shall have an opportunity later on, and I mention these matters now so that Ministers will be in a

position to explain these items away if they can.

Debate (on motion by Mr. THOMSON) adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

HOURS OF SITTING.

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trade and Customs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

In doing so I ask honorable members to come prepared to sit a little late to-morrow. We hope to be able to finish the debate on Friday.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I feel sure the honorable gentleman will be perfectly satisfied if we sit till this time of the night. If we sit from half-past two o'clock in the afternoon until half-past eleven at night, we shall have done a fair day's work.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—I should like to know whether it is the intention of the Government to make any explanation in regard to some of the duties imposed in connexion with various manufactures; because what the country will want to know is why they have singled out special men. Some Ministers should get up and explain that to the House.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member cannot upon this question discuss the motion, the debate upon which has been adjourned until to-morrow.

Mr. CONROY.—I would say that if the Ministry persist in trying to force the debate through, when it has not been delayed by this side, they will destroy any good feeling there has been. There will be fight enough over this without starting it first here. I ask them accordingly to deal with us as we ought to be dealt with. I presume members on the Ministerial benches want to say something. I do not think it is unreasonable to ask us to sit until half-past eleven to-morrow night, but on this, the first occasion when a Tariff for Australia is being discussed, to push the matter through too soon will be trying the patience of the House in a way which will not lead to the advancement of business. I say that it will tend to destroy the fairly good feeling that has sprung up here amongst honorable members. I think the Minister for Trade and Customs ought not to hold out a veiled threat in the way he has done, and I ask him to reconsider his statement now,

and say whether, if we sit until the same hour to-morrow night, we ought not then to adjourn.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable and learned member has asked us to deal with him, referring I suppose, to members of the party to which he belongs, as we ought to. That is our intention.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 11.29 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 17 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

SERVICE AND EXECUTION OF PROCESS BILL.

Royal assent to this Bill reported.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 16th October) on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the Financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

- (a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.
- (b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.
- (c) And because they would, in their operation, destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. THOMSON (North Sydney).—In addressing myself to this question, one of the most important to the Commonwealth of Australia, I do not fail to recognise the difficulties which Ministers have had to

meet in arriving at a Tariff which would adequately consider the interests of all the States by providing a total revenue equal to the requirements of the Commonwealth, and at the same time giving a distribution as nearly as possible the same as that previously obtained from customs and excise duties by each of the States. The Ministry have failed to solve that problem, and, in my opinion, they have failed in two ways. They have failed to solve it where I think it was soluble, and they have failed where I think any Ministry would have failed—in providing an amount of Customs revenue for each State something in keeping with what it previously possessed. The sympathy which I feel for Ministers is, perhaps, somewhat reduced by the fact that most of them had an opportunity of solving this question before the accomplishment of federation. At the Premiers' Conference the financial difficulties, and the very bookkeeping clauses, to which the Minister for Trade and Customs has such a strong and proper objection, were brought under criticism, and there was then an opportunity to alter the financial provisions of the Constitution as other provisions were altered before it was referred to the people. That opportunity was not taken, and we have, therefore, to accept the position as it is. Whilst, for the reasons I have given, I think there should be no hyper-criticism of the Financial statement, I am disappointed in both the manner and the matter of it. As to the manner, I do not think the Budget-twin arrangement at all a desirable one. We know that each of the Ministers who dealt with the question was capable of placing before us an able and lucid exposition of the proposals of the Government; but when both of them dealt with it they left gaps which neither of them seemed to think it his duty to fill, and because of which honorable members failed to fully comprehend the figures placed before them. The Minister for Trade and Customs is, we know, an Athenian—he is always seeking something new. No doubt, the composite duty he imposed upon the Treasurer and himself was due to that wonderful invention of his, the composite duties in the Tariff, which he thought should first be applied to the two Ministers who placed it before the House. I must join in the protest that the promise made by the Prime Minister at Maitland has not been fulfilled. Both the Prime Minister and the Minister for Trade

and Customs sought to show to this House that the statements of intentions put before the country at Maitland had been carried out by the Ministry. I shall refer to some of those statements, and I think the House will admit—if honorable members are not already satisfied—that the Budget proposals of the Government are no proper fulfilment of the promises which were made. Here is one extract from the Prime Minister's Maitland speech—

There must be a large revenue from customs, but I do not see that there should be one penny more raised than is required.

I think I shall be able to show directly that more is asked for than is required. How much was required, according to the Prime Minister?—

The figures I received yesterday, up to December 31, reached the great total of £7,804,046, as the total of Customs and Excise revenue of the States of the Commonwealth.

Those figures have been reduced by about £200,000; I suppose by drawbacks that had not been allowed for at the time.—

You have to make provision to collect the whole of that as far as you can; that is to say, if you do not want to leave any of the States in a difficult and an onerous position, you must collect this large sum of money.

That is to say—

If by the junction of internal and external duties they raised £8,000,000 of revenue, the duties may look larger to the pocket of the taxpayer than they were before, but, in reality they will not be larger, because the total sum now taken out of the pockets of the taxpayer is £8,000,000.

Are they not larger now, when £8,900,000 is asked for? The right honorable gentleman continued—

But you will have to do something more than this. You will have to provide for the new expenditure of the Federal Government, which some variously set down as varying from £300,000 to £750,000. It has not been possible to make an exact estimate as to this cost. All I can tell you is that, so far, the cost has been on an economical scale. You will have to add this cost, which, in the course of a few years would amount to hundreds of thousands of pounds, to the loss of inter-colonial duties; but in doing so your sum total of taxation will not be greater than it is now.

What does that mean, if it means anything? It means that to the actual revenue collected by the States in 1900 there was to be added the actual expenditure upon new Commonwealth enterprises. And that means that a Tariff of about £8,000,000 would be the limit if his promises in the speech were to be fulfilled.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Did he not indicate £8,500,000?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The difficulty is that you have to raise up New South Wales.

Mr. THOMSON.—That must not be overlooked, but I shall come to it directly. So far as I can learn, from any report of his speech, the Prime Minister at Maitland did not name £8,500,000. At subsequent stages of the campaign he did name £8,500,000, and towards the end he got to nearly £9,000,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think the honorable member is wrong about the Maitland speech.

Mr. THOMSON.—It is not mentioned in the reports. In a further portion of that speech the Prime Minister said—

You could not make up the huge Customs revenue required by any such Customs proposals as are proposed by those who have gone into opposition.

That is to say we could not raise the amount on free-trade principles. I venture to say that anything you can raise on protectionist principles you can raise on free-trade principles. How can you, by excluding articles from import—which is the only effective protection—raise a larger revenue than if you allow them to come in and become subject to taxation?

Mr. WATSON.—That is why we say this is not a protective Tariff.

Mr. THOMSON.—Who should be a better judge than its author? Surely my honorable friend will allow the Minister to name his own baby. The Minister has declared that the name he is going to give his baby is Protection.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I can assure my honorable member that my personal aim is revenue.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Treasurer was very careful in his speech not to say too much about protection, but the Minister for Trade and Customs kicked over the traces and let us see that it was protection which was aimed at. There are other Tariffs, which even from the Ministerial stand-point could have yielded a similar amount. For instance, the Dibbs Tariff, which was imposed by a protectionist Government, but which, being in New South Wales, was not so strongly protective as is this Tariff, raised over £2 8s. per head of the population, and the amount required from that State under the Treasurer's

estimate is £2 7s. odd per head. Here was a Tariff of 10 and 15 per cent. duties which although based on protectionist principles raised the amount required per head in New South Wales.

Mr. PIESSE.—But that did not cover Inter-State free-trade as well.

Mr. THOMSON.—That does not matter. Supposing that New South Wales had been an island, everything which was brought in would have paid duty just as it does coming into the Commonwealth. I quite admit that you have in other ways to allow for the loss of the Inter-State trade. But in comparing the State as a separate community imposing a duty on all imports with the Commonwealth under similar conditions the per head comparison is perfectly fair.

Mr. PIESSE.—The Dibbs Tariff could not so easily raise the revenue in New South Wales.

Mr. THOMSON.—I think the Dibbs Tariff would raise more revenue per head in New South Wales at the present time. The honorable member must remember that the revenue collected on the border was not a large amount.

Mr. WATSON.—A lot of intercolonial imports came in by Sydney, for instance, sugar.

Mr. THOMSON.—Undoubtedly there were some, but I venture to think with the difference of 1s. per head that Tariff would raise to-day in New South Wales the amount required by the Treasurer—£2 7s. per head. It is, however, a matter of opinion, and I shall deal with other means of raising the sum required when I come to touch on the Treasurer's figures in the Budget. Here is another statement by the Prime Minister. I am quite sure that he does not intend to fulfil the promise in it or he would vote for this motion. He says—

Prohibition or excessive protection would lead to the prevention of that excess of revenue which is absolutely necessary for the proper government and the security of the Commonwealth. If you desire revenue destruction, then you must look for another representative, and the Australian Parliament must look for another Ministry.

Have we not got revenue destruction by the admission of the Minister for Trade and Customs?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not think so.

Mr. THOMSON.—Did not the right honorable and learned gentleman say that

there would be £5,000,000 of suppressed imports?

Mr. KINGSTON.—£5,000,000 of extra local production and industry.

Mr. THOMSON.—Under the Tariff; but there is the destruction of revenue.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Do not you get increased revenue?

Mr. THOMSON.—£5,000,000 will be lost, destroyed, according to the Minister's own words.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Will not that increase the coal industries, and stimulate Customs revenue?

Mr. THOMSON.—If it will stimulate Customs revenue, why does not the Treasurer take credit for the revenue? As the Treasurer is not taking credit for it, how can his colleague say that he anticipates that it will stimulate Customs revenue?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I said so. It will stimulate the yield of revenue duties.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Treasurer has not taken credit for any stimulation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I did.

Mr. THOMSON.—From the estimate of £34,000,000 the Treasurer has deducted £13,000,000, including the £5,000,000 lost for revenue purposes, and as the actual imports for 1899 were valued at £34,000,000, he has not taken credit for an increase under that head. For several reasons I do not intend to question the estimates of revenue made for him. In the first place it is a matter of uncertainty. The conditions are new, and it is very difficult indeed to estimate from the experience of the past what will be the effect of new conditions. Further, it would be a most elaborate task to go through all these estimates, to increase this, to reduce the other, and, finally, to criticise every figure. That could only lead to confusion in treatment. On some items I think there should be a reduction in estimated yield, and on others I think there should be an increase. I am prepared for calculation purposes to accept the Treasurer's estimate of his revenue; but I cannot accept his estimate of expenditure. I do not see that there is any need for the immense sum of £8,900,000 that is proposed to be raised by the Tariff. It must be remembered that the Treasurer deals as to his expenditure with an abnormal year, whilst as to his estimates of revenue he deals with a normal year. One year, however,

does not afford a proper basis for calculating the probable requirements of the States. Most of the Ministers were members of the convention, and they will know that the convention always took the figures of three years for the purpose of making their estimates. They recognised that if one year's revenue happened to be abnormally high it would be ridiculous to estimate the requirements of the States on that basis, and they also recognised that if, through some unfortunate circumstances, the revenue in one year proved very much less than the average, it would be very improper to limit the States to a corresponding expenditure. Now, however, the Treasurer's estimates of expenditure are based on a very heavy year, and he has added £900,000 to his calculation of ordinary expenditure. But I am not at present going to place the Treasurer at a disadvantage by taking the lower average of several years for the purpose of estimating the expenditure. I shall base my estimate on the requirements of 1900, which he has adopted, but I desire to point out the very strong necessity there was for his declining to raise an unnecessarily heavy revenue during the first years of the federation. He now has the responsibility which previously rested on the Treasurers of the States. The State Treasurers have now no responsibility. They are willing to accept any income as long as it is sufficient. If it is excessive they are perfectly ready to take it—they will be only too glad to receive it. If the people complain that they are being taxed to an unnecessary degree in order to provide revenue, the State Treasurers will simply say that the revenue is provided by the Federal Treasurer, and that if it is excessive the fault is his and not theirs. There is no State check upon undue extravagance now, but the whole responsibility is thrown on to the Treasurer of the Commonwealth. There is this additional reason why I think the Treasurer should have been very careful not to raise unnecessary revenue at this stage. He strikes the keynote in this Budget for the future finances of Australia. If we give a State Government £900,000 more than they actually need, will they not require the same amount in the next year; will they not ask for something more even than that, as an equivalent of an increase of their population? Therefore having started £900,000 a year too high, we shall remain that much too high in the years that follow,

until some crisis occurs and stern necessity arises for falling back to smaller figures. I think I shall be able to show that the Treasurer has not given any good and sufficient reason, as far as we have heard, for an £8,900,000 Tariff. As far as I know, the Prime Minister is the only one who has clearly stated reasons. He said that the extra revenue was required to meet the exigencies of the States in the first place, for distributing as nearly as possible the proportions of revenue previously collected by the States, and, further, because of the need for a fund from which they could be assisted if necessary. Now, with regard to the distribution, £900,000 will provide only £170,000 for Tasmania and Queensland, the two States that will go short of their ordinary revenue—Western Australia, of course, has her Inter-State duties to fall back upon. And yet to provide that £170,000 which gives Tasmania only an additional £35,000 as her share, the Treasurer proposes to tax the whole of the Commonwealth to the extent of £900,000. He will not balance his accounts then, as those States will be considerably short of the sum required. He will only get nearer to the balance by £35,000 in Tasmania, and by a proportionate sum in Queensland. There will still be a shortage of £135,000 in Tasmania to be dealt with in some other way, and we might as well deal with the other £35,000 in some other way, too. It must be remembered that although Tasmania does not raise that £170,000 the money is in the pockets of her taxpayers, and that therefore she has that source of taxation left to her.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Tasmania is pretty well taxed.

Mr. THOMSON.—Yes; but if we cease to take £170,000 from the people in the shape of customs duties, does not that reduce the taxation by a like amount?

Mr. KINGSTON.—But how are they going to get it?

Mr. THOMSON.—I am quite certain that if the Minister for Trade and Customs were the Treasurer of Tasmania, he would soon find a way to get it. However, I should very much like to see the finances of Tasmania balanced under our federal accounts. I might point out also that if we raise £900,000 we shall have only £225,000 available for the assistance of the States, because three-quarters of the £900,000 will have to be distributed to the States.

However, we shall not need this £900,000 as a fund for assistance. The Treasurer has shown that there would be £500,000 surplus out of which assistance could be given, but that 500,000 does not represent all the surplus. The Treasurer has deducted the Custom-house expenditure before the distribution, and that leaves a balance of over £500,000. But if he deducts the expenditure of the Custom-houses, I am sure that he will admit he must also deduct the interest payable on the capital invested in the Custom-house buildings. He cannot calculate it now because he does not know what is the value of the buildings. But if he deducts the expenditure, he must deduct that which stands in the place of rent, namely, the interest on the buildings. And when he does deduct that, out of every £100 of the sum he so deducts he will get £75 as a further addition to this fund of £500,000 odd, which he has already got for extending assistance to Tasmania and Queensland, if these States need assistance, and will take it. I was rather amused by a remark of the Prime Minister in reply to the criticism of the leader of the Opposition. The Prime Minister said that the leader of the Opposition had found all sorts of faults with the financial proposals, and asked why he did not propose a Tariff himself. Can the Prime Minister be so inexperienced as to expect the House to be deceived by such a proposition? The leader of the Opposition has none of the responsibility of the Government, and none of the opportunities of the Government. It has been stated by the Government that they have laboured themselves to death, working night and day, and that they have had a staff of officers from all corners of the Commonwealth to furnish them with this Tariff. Yet they expected the leader of the Opposition, within about three days after he had seen the figures, to provide, without any difficulty or labour, a substituted Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Within three minutes after he had seen the figures, the leader of the Opposition found something that was not right.

Mr. THOMSON.—All I can say is that such an expectation is a great compliment to the leader of the Opposition. But I have not the responsibility of that right honorable gentleman, who, if he did put forward any substituted figures, would have to do so

in the name of his party. I, on my own behalf, and independent altogether of party, can bring before the House figures which I think will show that, even on the Ministry's own lines, they could provide much lower taxation, especially on those the least well-off in the community. I do not put forward my suggestions as a Tariff which a free-trade Government would propose, and the House need not be alarmed, because I am not going into details. I shall deal with the totals of the Ministry, but in dealing with these, I make proposals which will exclude from duty entirely many absolute necessities, and will reduce by one-half the duties on tea, kerosene, and jam.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—And sugar.

Mr. THOMSON.—I have not dealt with sugar. The Prime Minister taunted the leader of the Opposition with being a protectionist because the latter had agreed to the proposal of the Government, and because he left a duty of £3 per ton on sugar in New South Wales. I say that if the State alters its duties, and if industries have been established under those duties—that is, if it can be clearly shown that there is some claim for moderate consideration—I see the Minister for Trade and Customs is looking at me—

Mr. KINGSTON.—I see the honorable member coming along.

Mr. THOMSON.—I dare say the right honorable gentleman is wondering what my attitude will be when I come to deal with their proposals, nominally based on the same arguments, but which, as I shall show, are different.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member's attitude is one of modified repentance.

Mr. THOMSON.—Having never occupied the position of Minister of Customs I have nothing to repent of; and in that I am not like the right honorable gentleman, who is repenting for a good deal. If it is felt desirable and proper by the State to confer some compensation for injuries done, the State has a perfect right to give that compensation in such a way, and for such a limited period, as may be deemed necessary under a proposal such as that accepted by the leader of the Opposition. As necessities I exclude articles such as bacon, ham, biscuits, candles, fish salted and dried, fruit and vegetables, preserved milk, onions, potatoes, salt, and soap, and reduce the duties by one-half on jams, jellies, and kerosene. I also exclude from duty agricultural supplies, such as

vehicles, twine, reapers and binders, axle grease, and agricultural machinery and implements. That surely would be a relief to the least well-to-do of the community, and also to the agricultural and pastoral industries. I accomplish that in this way. The Treasurer estimated that from narcotics and stimulants the revenue would be £2,975,374; fixed and composite rates, £2,020,471; *ad valorem* duties of 10 per cent., 15 per cent., 20 per cent., and 25 per cent., £2,362,211; excise, £1,554,345; and miscellaneous, £30,000. If that Tariff be reduced by 10 per cent., we get £8,048,161, which effects a saving of £894,000. As an illustration of what the Ministry could do, additional duties might be placed on luxuries, and a few of the free list items, in order to bring in £150,000. The Government could raise the beer excise 1d. per gallon, and the tobacco excise 3d. per pound, yielding together £230,000, and I shall give figures to substantiate that opinion. Then the Government could greatly reduce the *ad valorem* rates to 10 per cent. and 15 per cent., instead of 20 per cent. and 25 per cent. With such a reduction, there would not be the same suppression of imports that the Treasurer has provided for to the amount of £5,000,000, and such suppression could well be kept at £2,500,000 under the reduced duties I have indicated. With *ad valorem* rates on this increased import of £2,500,000 at 10 per cent. and 15 per cent. — half of each, or 12½ per cent. on the average—there would be a further reduction of £312,000, making a total difference of £1,596,000 between such a tariff and that of the Government. What use could be made of that difference? The estimated value of the goods on which *ad valorem* duties are charged would, by the removal of agricultural implements and machinery to the value of £233,000, be reduced to £12,350,000. *Ad valorem* duties of 10 per cent. on half of that amount, and 15 per cent. on the other half, would mean £1,543,000, or a reduction on what the Government propose to collect of £818,000. Look what could be effected by this reduction of the *ad valorem* duties. The great proportion of the objectionable items on which the leader of the Opposition passed such proper strictures—those items which come most heavily on those who have very little money to meet them with—would be reduced very considerably. In addition, there would be a reduction of

365,000 of certain fixed and composite duties on necessities and agricultural supplies. There would then be a further sum of £403,000 with which to effect reductions wherever it might be thought desirable—either in the *ad valorem* duties or the fixed rates. Those reductions total £1,586,000. That is the difference between the two Tariffs.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member reduces our Tariff by a million and a half?

Mr. THOMSON.—No; I do not reduce it by a million and a half; I reduce expenditure by £894,000. Then I add duties which I have already mentioned, on luxuries and a few other items, amounting to £150,000; beer excise 1d. per gallon, and tobacco excise 3d. per lb., amounting to £230,000; I allow a further increase, owing to the larger imports under the lower duties, of £2,500,000, giving a further £312,000 of *ad valorem* duties. There is £894,000 of requirements reduced; that is to say, expenditure to that amount is saved, and the balance of the £1,586,000 is additional revenue raised by other duties.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—So that the honorable member would provide for £8,000,000?

Mr. THOMSON.—For £8,048,000.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member would run the States short.

Mr. THOMSON.—I will deal with that shortly. I do not see how the States will be any shorter under such a Tariff than under the Treasurer's Tariff—which from the first year raises only £8,009,000—except in the first year, for which special provision can be made.

Mr. SALMON.—But the honorable member assumes that the increased excise on tobacco would not be followed by a decrease in the amount of tobacco manufactured.

Mr. THOMSON.—We know what is being done in connexion with excise on tobacco now.

Mr. SALMON.—But the honorable member does not know what occurred in Victoria in 1895.

Mr. THOMSON.—I will give honorable members the figures directly.

Mr. SALMON.—We have had some experience in Victoria on this subject.

Mr. THOMSON.—A great advantage is being given in some of the States as between excise and import duties. There is an alternative—or, rather, there are several alternatives—to the scheme I have outlined.

I will give one. Suppose it were not deemed desirable to impose further excise duties. Then the requirements would be £894,000 less, plus the £150,000 additional duties on luxuries and a few other items now on the free list, and plus also the *ad valorem* duties on £2,500,000, which I have estimated would be obtained in addition to the imports estimated by the Treasurer. That would be £312,000; or a total difference of £1,356,000. That could be used to reduce the *ad valorem* duties in the way I suggested—half of the imports being admitted on *ad valorem* duties of 10 per cent., and half at 15 per cent—a reduction of £818,000. The abolition or reduction by one-half of certain fixed and composite duties on agricultural machinery, implements and necessities of life would amount to £365,000. There would then be a sum available under that alternative, without any increase of excise duty, of £173,000, to be taken off wherever it might be deemed most desirable. That is another variation, and one which would provide relief in many directions. It would relieve the agricultural and pastoral industries, and also relieve the working men from heavily increased expenses under the Government Tariff. These are the differences between the Treasurer's proposals and those I venture to put forward on the same lines. The Treasurer, it will be noted, has duties of 10, 15, 20, and 25 per cent. As the leader of the Opposition has pointed out, however, the great bulk of the money raised is by means of the higher duties of 20 and 25 per cent. So that the average of the *ad valorem* duties proposed by the Treasurer is about 19 per cent. He has also high rates of fixed and composite duties. I reduce the fixed and composites very materially, and the *ad valorem* duties from 19 to 12½ per cent. In order that the Treasurer may be under no misapprehension as to the imports on which these figures are based, I will give them. The Treasurer based his estimate on total imports of £34,000,000. I have done the same. The Treasurer has deducted a free list of £6,000,000. I have done the same. I recognise the necessity for a large free list. Then as to sterling and specie, and goods of the Government, £2,000,000 has been deducted by the Treasurer. The same amount has been deducted by myself. Goods now imported which would not be imported under the Commonwealth Tariff amount to £5,000,000

on the Treasurer's estimate. Under mine they amount to £2,500,000. The taxable balance is £21,000,000 on the Treasurer's estimate, and £23,500,000 on my estimate. Then the Treasurer will say, naturally—"How will that affect the distribution to the States?" Here is the effect. The Treasurer's proposed Tariff for a normal year—not for the present year, for which he provides only £8,000,000, but for a normal year—is £8,942,000. I point out to the right honorable gentleman that if he can raise any objection to the £8,000,000 Tariff which I have suggested as a substitute based on his own methods, the same objection rests against his own Tariff of £8,000,000 for the first year. If I cannot distribute what would meet the requirements of the States under the suggested Tariff of £8,000,000, neither can he under his Tariff of £8,000,000. If there were a reduction of revenue below requirements caused by a drought or any severe depression, a deficiency would appear equally in the Treasurer's own Tariff and in the substitute, so far as the first year is concerned. Is not the first year the most important? Will it not be then that the States will find a difficulty in so altering their financial arrangements as to make the requisite provision? If they can get over the first year, they will be able, no doubt, to make provision for future years. Let us take the figures relating to Tasmania, as they are smaller and more easily handled than those relating to Queensland's proportion. In future years Tasmania will have to provide for £170,000 under the Treasurer's £8,942,401 Tariff, and surely if she can provide £135,000 for the first year, she will find no difficulty in providing for the additional £35,000 after she has received nine months' notice.

Mr. PIESSE.—She would find a difficulty.

Mr. THOMSON.—If she did she could get assistance from the Treasurer.

Mr. PIESSE.—We do not want it in that way.

Mr. THOMSON.—If Tasmania does not want it, she need not take it, but in any case the taxpayers will have the £170,000 in their pockets to provide for State taxation. I am willing to give Tasmania assistance, although I admire the spirit which prompts the objection to receive it.

Mr. PIESSE.—We prefer to pay what we have to pay.

Mr. THOMSON.—But Tasmania cannot receive the amount she previously obtained from Customs.

Mr. PIESSE.—We shall try to do so as well as we can.

Mr. THOMSON.—She cannot receive her previous revenue under the Treasurer's Tariff.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Tasmania does not want to go cap in hand to the Treasurer.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Minister for Home Affairs should confine his attention to matters nearer home, and not go so far abroad as Tasmania. Although he is a native of that State, and may be able to speak for it to some extent, what do his remarks amount to? He says that Tasmania does not want to come cap in hand to the Treasurer, and therefore my proposals are not feasible. But the Treasurer provides for a financial distribution, under which Tasmania will have to come cap in hand to him, unless she refuses assistance. Practically he provides for the very same amount as I do. I give a little more to Tasmania in the first year of the distribution, and to that extent my proposal is all the better for the State. Still the difference is not worth speaking about. The £8,048,161 Tariff would mean that New South Wales would gain £1,120,721 as compared with her previous revenue, while Victoria would gain £9,545. South Australia would be a little unfortunate, as she would lose £23,320.

Mr. GLYNN.—But the poor of that State would gain?

Mr. THOMSON.—Yes, her people would benefit by it. I think South Australia would be quite willing under those circumstances to refrain from asking that the poorer people of Australia should be taxed £900,000 in order to make up that little difference. Queensland would lose £342,844, and Tasmania would lose £171,056. I have no doubt that Queensland, as her revenue-producing power is very considerable, could make up the difference. If not, there is the assistance which the Treasurer is prepared to extend to her.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—How much would Tasmania lose under your Tariff?

Mr. THOMSON.—£171,056. That is the amount which she would lose for the first year under the Treasurer's proposals.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No.

Mr. THOMSON.—Will the Minister for Defence say that when the Treasurer provides a Tariff of £8,009,000 for the first year, while I provide a Tariff of £8,048,000 for the year, Tasmania will not get a little more under my distribution than under that proposed by the Government?

Mr. REID.—The Government dodge that question of the normal year revenue and the £9,000,000 expenditure.

Mr. THOMSON.—It is an extraordinary thing that the estimated revenue is made up from the returns for a normal year, and that care has been taken to deduct immense sums from the revenue, while the expenditure is based on an abnormal year. Now we come to the position of Western Australia. The Minister for Defence will be interested to learn that, under my proposal, that State would lose for the first year just as she would lose under the Treasurer's Tariff.

Mr. CONROY.—The people would not lose it.

Mr. THOMSON.—No. The State Treasury would lose, but the people would get the benefit. Western Australia would lose £307,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I suppose that is nothing?

Mr. THOMSON.—She has an inter-colonial Tariff which produced last year £260,000. That is sufficiently near to square the accounts.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Out of her own pocket?

Mr. THOMSON.—Where does the other revenue come from but out of her own pocket? The people have to pay out of their own pockets whether they have Inter-State duties, or duties on goods from abroad, unless the duties on goods from abroad are paid by the foreigner. If the foreigner pays for them, then the other States must be paying the Inter-State duties. As regards the customs and excise on beer and tobacco, which I have mentioned already, I shall give my reasons for thinking that an additional amount could be raised without the least injustice to those engaged in the industry. The difference between the State Tariffs and the Commonwealth Tariff in regard to the excise on beer in bulk—on bottled beer, there is an additional advantage to the brewers—is as follows:—In New South Wales the gain to the brewer is 6d. per gallon, and in Victoria it is 1½d. per gallon.

In Queensland and South Australia there is a loss of 3d. per gallon, in Western Australia a loss of 4d. per gallon, and in Tasmania a gain of 1d. per gallon. That is the difference between the advantage obtained by the brewers under the old Tariff—the difference between the import rate and the excise rate—and the advantage which the brewers get under the present Tariff.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In Western Australia there was an import duty of 1s. on bottled beer.

Mr. THOMSON.—Under the Western Australian State Tariff there was a duty of 1s. 3d. per gallon on bulk beer, and of 1s. 6d. on bottled beer. The excise duty in Western Australia was 2d. per gallon. The customs duty was 1s. 3d. That represents an advantage of 1s. 1d. per gallon on bulk beer to the local brewer. The Commonwealth Tariff levies 1s. per gallon customs duty on bulk beer, with an excise duty of 3d. per gallon. That means an advantage of 9d. per gallon to the local brewer.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—What about the sugar?

Mr. THOMSON.—I allow later for that. Therefore the local brewer in Western Australia suffers a loss of 4d. per gallon under the present Tariff as compared with the old State Tariff. Of course, there are duties imposed upon hops, malt, and sugar. But these duties were already in existence in some of the States, though not in others.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is the honorable member proposing to increase the excise?

Mr. THOMSON.—Yes.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Up to what amount?

Mr. THOMSON.—I would raise it 1d. I have taken the trouble to secure expert advice upon the effect of the duties. If the brewers in all these States had to pay duty on the whole of the malt, hops, and sugar which they use—a thing which they will not have to do—the advantage to the brewer in New South Wales, as compared with the old duties, would be 4½d. per gallon. The advantage in Victoria would be 2½d. a gallon, the loss in Queensland would be 2d., in South Australia 2½d., in Western Australia 4½d., and the advantage in Tasmania ½d. per gallon. These figures are based upon the present excise of 3d. per gallon. I will tell honorable members what that advantage means in figures. The difficulty with protectionist duties is that we practically farm out taxation. By their imposition, we shall

be giving an opportunity to the manufacturers—whether it is used or not—to obtain the full difference between the import rate and the excise rate. That means, taking the returns provided by the Treasurer, that if my figures are correct—and I have taken every means to insure their accuracy—in New South Wales the brewing trade will have an advantage, as regards bulk beer, which they can use or not as they choose—and whether they do use it or not depends largely upon whether they combine—of no less a sum than £267,000 per annum. Upon the same basis Victoria will gain £154,000 per annum, and Queensland may lose £47,000 per annum, although, of course, whether that loss would obliterate the profit, I cannot say.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—A loss upon what?

Mr. THOMSON.—Upon all the bulk beer brewed.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The former excise was only 2d. per gallon. The Federal excise is 1d. per gallon more.

Mr. THOMSON.—I have allowed for any difference in my calculations. The brewers in Queensland will lose that amount under the Commonwealth as compared with the State Tariff which has operated hitherto. Then there would be a loss of £30,000 in South Australia, a loss in Western Australia of £75,000, and a gain in Tasmania of £3,000. Deducting these losses from the gains, there is a total advantage of £272,000. That means, if correct, that in addition to the margin the brewing trade as a whole had previously we are handing over the power of taxation to the extent of £272,000.

Mr. REID.—How much does it amount to for the two populous States?

Mr. THOMSON.—For those two States it represents £421,000.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The brewers are against the Tariff.

Mr. THOMSON.—I can only say that I am quite willing to hear the Treasurer prove my figures wrong. I do not give them all upon my own authority, but I have referred to an expert who ought to know the effect of the malt, hop, and sugar duties in relation to the quantities used per gallon. If my figures are wrong I shall be glad for that fact to be demonstrated. At the same time I think it can be readily seen that in the two large States where the returns from the brewing trade have, upon the whole, been exceedingly

profitable, there is a gain of 4½d. per gallon in the case of New South Wales, and of 2½d. per gallon in the case of Victoria.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—What does the honorable member mean by a "gain"?

Mr. THOMSON.—I mean an additional advantage, if the Treasurer prefers to put it in that way. To make the matter perfectly clear let us suppose that the Treasurer was engaged in brewing. Under the old Tariff the advantage which he would gain—that is, the difference between the excise duty and the import duty—would be 3d. per gallon. That would be his advantage as a brewer in New South Wales. He would have to compete with the importer, who had to pay 3d. per gallon more.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The importers had to pay 7½d. per gallon more in Victoria, and 1s. per gallon more in Queensland.

Mr. THOMSON.—Let me take the case of Victoria. The excise here is 2d. and 3d. per gallon.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There are only 500,000 gallons brewed upon which 2d. excise is paid, and 12,000,000 gallons upon which 3d. is paid.

Mr. THOMSON.—I have allowed an average of 2½d. per gallon. As the Commonwealth duty is 1s. per gallon customs and 3d. per gallon excise, it confers an advantage of 9d. as against 7½d. per gallon upon the local brewer. Is there any necessity to hand over this vastly increased power of taxation to that trade? I have no desire to treat any trade unjustly. These arguments, however, apply to a great many of the proposed duties. I wish now to deal with tobacco. In New South Wales the duty levied upon the leaf and the excise duty together represent 2s. 3d., as against 3s. import duty under the old State Tariff. The advantage in that case was 9d. per pound to the local tobacco manufacturer.

Mr. REID.—If they used imported leaf.

Mr. THOMSON.—I am taking 1s. per pound upon all the leaf, and 1s. 3d. per pound excise. Under the Commonwealth Tariff there is an advantage of 1s. per pound.

Mr. THOMSON.—I have the other State figures, but find a discrepancy as to two of them, so will withdraw them, and confine myself to New South Wales. The advantage is 3d. per lb. in New South Wales on the previous Tariff. The industry in New South Wales without that additional advantage has been one of the most prosperous in that State;

and it must be remembered that there will be a very much larger production of colonial leaf in the future. The industry having been one of the most prosperous industries in New South Wales without that advantage of 3d. per lb., surely, under the same conditions, it should be equally prosperous in every other State of the Commonwealth?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We know that the tobacco duties in New South Wales were brought to those in Victoria just before federation.

Mr. THOMSON.—Only the excise duty, and it was a temporary provision.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It was not intended to be temporary at all.

Mr. THOMSON.—It was only temporary, and to be in force until the Federal Tariff was announced. The reason for it was that the excise in Victoria was much lower, and immediately federation was accomplished, as no duties could be collected in the transference of excise goods from State to State, tobacco could have come into New South Wales on a much smaller duty. The provision was only intended to last until the Federal Tariff was announced.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That was the rate until the Federal Tariff was brought in.

Mr. THOMSON.—That is so, but it was only a temporary rate, and the New South Wales tobacco manufacturers will make a large sum of money out of it, because they have been producing all they could under that arrangement, and the Federal Tariff having been imposed, they will have such stocks in hand that they will not require to pay the increased duty for a very long time. As with the difference in duty to which I have referred, firms were able to build up such a prosperous tobacco manufacture in New South Wales, others ought to be capable of doing it under similar conditions in the other States. If that is so I do not see why we should give this heavy additional power of taxation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—What does the honorable member propose as the alternative excise?

Mr. THOMSON.—I propose 3d. per pound extra. It may have been my fault in not having explained myself clearly at first, but I have delayed somewhat in answering interjections to more clearly explain my meaning. I shall try now to hurry on and finish what I have to say. The Prime Minister, in his Maitland speech, which has already been quoted, stated that he would

not place the incidence of taxation on the cottager and the artisan. I think he has done that. It has already been pointed out, and I am not going into the details of the matter, that he has done it very severely in the Tariff proposals of the Ministry. For instance, of every four pounds of cheap tea that the poor man buys, he will have to give one pound to the Government. Of every four pints of kerosene he will have to give one pint to the Government. Of every four bottles of certain medicines he may require, he will give one to the Government. I quite admit that if we have to raise a very large revenue, we cannot let the least well-to-do class of the community, who are the largest in number, altogether escape. We may wish to do it, but we cannot do it. But I do say that so far as is possible it is a good principle, and it is a humane principle, to put the weight of taxation on people's shoulders somewhat in proportion to their strength to bear it. And it is a wise principle from the Treasurer's point of view, because by no other means can he raise per head the same amount of revenue. I say that has not been done. I do not know whether I misunderstood the Prime Minister, but I was rather surprised that he should claim that federation having been accomplished, it cost, I understood him to say—and I wish to be corrected if I am wrong—from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per head less than the burden previously on the people. I asked the right honorable gentleman whether that was what he said, but he would not answer the question. If he did say that, I cannot see how he arrives at the conclusion.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—By lumping the populations altogether.

Mr. THOMSON.—But how can a revenue of £7,600,000 from Customs and Excise, which sufficed for last year, be 1s. or 1s. 6d. more per head than a revenue of £8,900,000, which is provided for under the new Tariff? If the Prime Minister did not say that, I can only repeat that that is what I understood him to say, and what honorable members on this side understood him to say. If he did not say that, of course I am wrong.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The right honorable and learned gentleman said—

The Federal Tariff in a normal year would yield £9,126,541, that is, if the average taxes were £2 8s. 5d. per head. But the average proposed

by the Bill is £2 7s. 6d., and the result will be that the people of Australia get Inter-State free-trade at the price of a saving of 1s. per head all round.

Mr. THOMSON.—“At the price of a saving of 1s. per head all round,” and this saving of 1s. per head is effected by paying £8,900,000 instead of £7,600,000! That is extraordinary arithmetic. These imposts weigh considerably upon the primary industries, which cannot be protected from cheap labour. I heard the honorable member for Melbourne Ports say last night that to tax imports was only part of the doctrine of protection, that the other part was to make laws to raise the wages of those employed in the protected industries. What dust that is to throw in the eyes of the agricultural and pastoral labourers of Australia! The honorable member said that duties are put upon imported articles so that the persons employed in manufacturing similar articles within the Commonwealth shall not have to compete with the products of cheap alien labour, because as long as they have to compete with that labour those articles could not be manufactured here except in conjunction with low rates of wages. Now the pastoral and agricultural industries, as they are exporting industries, send their goods to all the markets of the world, and have to compete there with cheap alien labour; and if there is anything in the argument of the honorable member, we cannot raise the wages of persons employed in those industries because they are in competition with that labour.

Mr. MAUGER.—In what proportion are their productions in competition with those of alien labour, after the home market is deducted?

Mr. REID.—What home market is there for wool?

Mr. THOMSON.—Almost the whole of our wool is exported, and does not the honorable member recognise that, with such a large area of land as we have in proportion to our population, one of the effects of federation will be the greater development of agriculture. That will mean a larger and larger exportation, and the fixing of values to a greater and greater degree by the outside markets of the world.

Mr. MAUGER.—I think that the effect will be quite the opposite.

Mr. REID.—Then federation will diminish agriculture and wool-growing!

Mr. THOMSON.—The honorable member cannot be correct in both of his contentions. He cannot be correct in the statement that we cannot give good wages so long as we are in competition with alien labour, and also in the statement that we can raise the wages of the pastoral and agricultural employes, whose products have to compete in the markets of the world with the products of cheap alien labour elsewhere.

Mr. MCCOLL.—The policy of the honorable member for North Sydney would prevent our producers from getting a home market.

Mr. THOMSON.—Certain duties have been placed on the Tariff as a sop to agriculture. Those duties will be absolutely inoperative at most times, because in all the leading lines of agricultural production the Commonwealth will produce sufficient for its own use, and probably some for export. But what will be the conditions under which they will be operative? They will be operative in times of drought and scantiness, in times of crisis and difficulty, when employment will be scarce. Then, by means of these duties, we shall increase the price of flour and other necessities of life to persons who can ill afford to pay for them, even at the cheapest rates at which they could be got. This sham protection for the agriculturist will then be a great burden upon all other sections of the community. I notice that the manufacturers of Victoria are almost as dissatisfied with this Tariff as are the free-traders in New South Wales. We have to anticipate that there will be, and we have been told that there will be, strong efforts to increase the advantages which have been given to manufactures under the proposed Tariff. I do not think that under the standing orders any honorable member will be able to propose increases; but if they are to be made, honorable members on this side will have to resist such increases, unless gross injustice has been done. This is a statement by one of those who are connected with the society or league to which the honorable member for Melbourne Ports belongs—

Unfortunately there were some people here who called themselves protectionists, who believed in moderate duties, and were afraid of going too far. Our experience in the past had proved that our duties had not been oppressive, that they had not taxed the people unnecessarily, and that the workers had received better wages under them.

He goes on to say that efforts must be made to increase these duties. Another party threatens to go to Japan, and a third party is very uncomplimentary to the Government, because he says that they have failed through ignorance, and that it is the duty of the manufacturer to enlighten them. We may, therefore, anticipate that efforts will be made to keep whatever advantages have been given, and to increase those advantages where sufficient has not been obtained to satisfy the manufacturers. The Minister for Trade and Customs said that his definition of free-trade was trade between those subscribing to the same conditions of life.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Certainly not.

Mr. THOMSON.—If the right honorable member will refer to *Hansard*, he will find that he is reported to have said that that is the kind of free-trade in which he believes.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did not make that statement as a definition of free-trade.

Mr. THOMSON. — Notwithstanding that statement, the honorable member, when Premier of one of the States, imposed protective duties against people living under the same conditions of life as the people of that State, and he is one of a Ministry who are now proposing to impose similar duties against New Zealand. The Commonwealth is likely to suffer in some respects by this action.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I fought as much as any one to remove the barriers between the States. New Zealand has erected barriers against us.

Mr. REID.—But the right honorable member put up barriers against New South Wales, although that State had no barriers against the sister States. South Australia has lived upon Broken Hill.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I was the only Premier to make a reciprocal agreement with New Zealand.

Mr. THOMSON.—I wish, briefly, to object to some of the definitions of free-trade which have been given during this debate.

Mr. WATSON.—It is a common fault on both sides to give wrong definitions.

Mr. THOMSON.—I agree with the honorable member. I want to clearly state my position in connexion with these duties. It is said that a free-trader would not tax imports at all. Whilst a free-trader might desire not to tax imports at all, he is quite prepared to do so if necessary for revenue purposes, but always in such a way as not

to interfere with the channel or direction of trade. You can dip the revenue bucket into the river of commerce, so long as you do not exhaust it or divert its course, and the object of a free-trader in imposing duties would be to leave trade free, or to so impose them as not to injuriously affect the natural flow in the channels of trade.

Mr. MAUGER.—Making it all-round taxation without any benefits.

Mr. THOMSON.—Here is another definition. The honorable member says that is what a free-trader would do. I have heard it stated by the Prime Minister—who ought to know better, because he was a free-trader—that a free-trader must put duty on raw material as well as the partly or fully manufactured article. Nothing of the sort. That is not free-trade—that is protection—and a worse sort of protection even to a free-trader, because it is protection to the outside manufacturer.

Mr. MAUGER.—That all depends on what the raw material is.

Mr. THOMSON.—If the raw material is charged by weight, and the weight is larger than that of the manufactured article, which is usually the case, then to put the same duty on that material as on the manufactured article—and the Ministry have done it, I believe, in some cases here—is a protection, but a protection to the outside manufacturer. I have no objection to the prosperity of manufacturers. I speak as an ex-manufacturer. Like everybody else, my leanings towards the line of business in which I have been engaged are considerable. When I entered manufacturing I had no political views, and it is from my experience as a manufacturer that I have adopted free-trade principles. In Australia, in all except exotic industries, which are not worth while encouraging—

Mr. MAUGER.—What are they?

Mr. THOMSON.—There are many of them, which I shall not delay the House by enumerating.

Mr. MAUGER.—Tell us one or two of them.

Mr. THOMSON.—Nails, if you only put the ends and heads on them. In all except exotic industries it is desirable that we should have manufacturing, and we can have it under free-trade without those complications which hamper manufacturers under protection. I am not speaking of the manufacturer of to-day. You can

benefit the individual of to-day by some duty which farms out to him certain taxation, which he levies or not as he chooses. I am speaking of the future manufacture of the Commonwealth, and I believe that it will be best cultivated and its future best promoted by freedom of trade. I am not going into some of the abstract arguments which have been used in this debate. According to some of those arguments, it seems that the best invention to which human ingenuity could be applied would be something that would syphon off the oceans, and leave an impenetrable barrier between different countries. That would be the simplest method, if it were possible, of accomplishing what seems to be the desire of some speakers. Another argument made it appear that the Creator had made a mistake in confining certain possibilities of production to certain climates and soils, and that all those things should have been provided in one spot.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely the honorable member does not contend that the Creator intended that matches should be made at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a gross.

Mr. THOMSON.—What that has to do with climate or soil I do not know. It is illumination the honorable member wants. It has been said that this Tariff is a fair compromise between the varying policies of the States. I cannot see how that is. It is nearer the Victorian Tariff than any other, but it actually raises in many cases the Victorian duty. I have gone through the groups of duties. In 81 cases the duty is the same as the Victorian duty. In 120 cases the duty is varied, and the effect is uncertain, because when fixed duty is substituted for *ad valorem* it depends a good deal on the value at particular times, or *vice versa*. In 145 cases the duty is reduced, and in 193 cases there is an increase.

Mr. McCAY.—Give us one or two cases?

Mr. THOMSON.—I could if I went through the Tariff.

Mr. McCAY.—Does not that include a very large number of revenue producing duties which are acknowledged not to be protective?

Mr. THOMSON.—No doubt it includes some. I am not saying that the protection is increased.

Mr. McCAY.—Many of the increases are on duties we like as little as do honorable members on the other side.

Mr. THOMSON.—I have just said that some of the duties appear to have been

placed on raw material in such a way that there is a protection to the outside manufacturer. In 193 cases, whatever the effect may be, the duty is raised; in 145 cases it is reduced; and as regards the rest, the duties are the same or varied.

Mr. McCAY.—Remember the enormous free list we had in Victoria.

Mr. THOMSON.—The added duties will affect the Victorian people just as the new duties affect our people in New South Wales. It seems to me that due consideration has not been given to the fiscal system of New South Wales. One honorable member said last night that the debate is confined to the effect of the Tariff upon New South Wales and Victoria. I am not going to put one State against the other. Any prosperity in Victoria I rejoice in. When we were separate no prosperity could take place in one State without benefiting the other. And now that we are united the reflex action will be quicker and greater. In the comparison I am about to make I am not going to compare other lands different from our own—to compare America with England, for example, and to meet the objections which would be raised as to that comparison. I am going to make a brief comparison between two adjoining States under very similar conditions. If one has the advantage of territory, the other has the advantage of condensation and a larger proportion of good arable land and is more easy of development, because all portions of her territory are within a shorter distance from the sea-coast, and are more within the rain belt.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Victoria also has a more equable climate.

Mr. THOMSON.—Yes; and that is a further advantage. It was recognised that it was necessary to give consideration to the other States in the union. The Prime Minister twitted the leader of the Opposition with having said that a high Tariff would be necessary, and that that was recognised as one of the sacrifices that New South Wales would have to make, but it becomes a question as to the height of that Tariff, and, in my opinion, it has been raised unduly. The Prime Minister spoke of the action of the leader of the Opposition in regard to the sugar duties of New South Wales, as affording a reason why we should show consideration to other manufacturers. The leader of the Opposition reduced the sugar duties, but did not abandon them

—he brought the duty down from £5 to £3 per ton, and then he recognised that it would do such injury to an industry that had been established under a Tariff created by the State, if the duties were immediately abolished, that he allowed £3 per ton to remain for a time. Therefore, he took off two-fifths of the duties. Now, New South Wales has two-fifths of the population of the federated States. If we take the policies of the other States we shall find that many of their duties more closely approach to those of New South Wales than to the Victorian duties, but apart from that, the population of New South Wales, as representing two-fifths of the population of the Commonwealth, were surely entitled to two-fifths of the consideration shown in the framing of the Tariff. If that consideration had been extended it would have involved the adoption of 15 per cent. duties instead of the Victorian 25 per cent. duties. I am sure that every manufacturer will agree with me, that one of the greatest advantages that could be given to them has been given by federation, and that is an enlarged market. The Minister for Trade and Customs said—

They will have the advantage of a larger market and a greater output, and consequently a cheaper output.

Very well, that is a great advantage to all large industries. Given that enlarged market they can reduce their cost of production and can get that benefit without the imposition of increased duties or the retention of high duties. It must not be thought that every industry in Victoria is really protected by this Tariff. In many cases industries supposed to be protected are not. That is one of the complications of a protectionist Tariff. Take the case of pickles. There is a duty of 6d. per dozen on pickles imported in packages of certain sizes, but bottles are subject to a heavy duty, and so are labels and corks.

Mr. MAUGER.—All those are made here.

Mr. THOMSON.—But the honorable member does not mean to say that the local producer charges as low a price as the imported article could be obtained at without duty?

Mr. MAUGER.—Certainly, I do.

Mr. THOMSON.—Then the honorable member says what is not correct, for I am pretty well acquainted with these matters. Why is the duty required if the local manufacturer can compete with the importer. It is

the same thing with vinegar, upon which there is a duty of 6d. per gallon, as a still greater duty has to be paid upon the bottles used for placing the vinegar upon the market. I am only alluding to Victoria and New South Wales in my present comparison, because we can get no better examples in the world of the respective effect of the two policies of free-trade and protection. I am not including the other States in the comparison, but it is not because I ignore them, as I desire to arrive at a policy that will be best for all the States. They, however, do not offer the same opportunities for making a comparison as do New South Wales and Victoria, which for the past 30 years have been carrying on their affairs side by side under two distinct policies, the effects of which may be easily compared. No better basis of comparison can be offered than is afforded by population. I do not mean to say that the comparison should be based only on the increase of the population, because there is something in what has been said as to the larger territory of the State of New South Wales. I only intend to show the effect of the protectionist policy upon the male population of Victoria for the last 30 years. The population of Victoria in 1871 consisted of 401,000 males, and 330,000 females, or 55 per cent. of males and 45 per cent. of females. The proportions were the same in New South Wales in that year, and they remained the same in 1881, and up to 1891. In Victoria, however, in 1881—that was before any boom, and before any financial crisis—the effects of ten years of protection were becoming visible. The percentage of males had then been reduced from 55 per cent. to 53 per cent. and the proportion of females had risen to 47 per cent. That is to say, that there were 53 males in the 100, as against 55 in the previous years.

Mr. MAUGER.—That was due to climatic and not to fiscal influences.

Mr. THOMSON.—In 1891 the effects of which I have spoken had been accentuated, because there were only 52 per cent. of males as against 48 per cent. of females.

Mr. SAWERS.—Does not the honorable member know that Victorian energy opened up the greater part of New South Wales and Queensland?

Mr. THOMSON.—Of course we know that; but what was there to prevent the Victorians from taking their wives and children with them?

Mr. SAWERS.—The honorable member would not care to take his wife and family to Wilcannia.

Mr. THOMSON.—Did not the Victorians return to the land of promise? Has not every State contributed to the development of other States? How many men went from New South Wales to Queensland and New Zealand, and, at a later period, to Western Australia. I admit that more men went to Western Australia from Victoria than from New South Wales, but the fact remains that the male population of Victoria has decreased during the period which I have mentioned. Coming down to 1901, we find that in Victoria there were practically 50 per cent. of males and 50 per cent. of females. In New South Wales, which in many ways, both as to climate and otherwise, is not so attractive as regards a large portion of her territory as Victoria, we find that the male population remained at about the same percentage from 1871 to 1891, although many men went from New South Wales to assist in the development of the other colonies.

Mr. MAUGER.—And the others were too hard up to get away.

Mr. THOMSON.—They were just as well able to get away as the Victorians. That fact cannot be gainsaid. I remember the years 1867-8, when the great argument used on platforms in Victoria was: "Let us establish industries under protection; let us find work for our boys, and keep our manhood in the community." In 1901 New South Wales had 53 men and 47 women per hundred of the population. It has been said that this state of things is accidental, or that it is due to loan expenditure. But the movement has been too permanent to be accidental, and too much without reaction to be due to loan expenditure. I have here the loan expenditure of each colony, as set forth in the Treasurer's own statement. The loan expenditure per head in New South Wales is £52 10s. 6d., and in Victoria £51 16s. 9d. These figures include all expenditure.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What about the last ten years?

Mr. THOMSON.—The figures are not given for ten years; the period I am taking is 30 years, and during that period Victoria has borrowed as much per head as New South Wales. The honorable member is thinking of Government loans only, but I am speaking of the whole indebtedness.

The Minister for Trade and Customs said that New South Wales produces in manufactures £1 16s. 2d. per head less than does Victoria, but the right honorable gentleman forgot to add that New South Wales produces in the whole of her industries, £2 2s. 3d. per head more than Victoria, and, therefore, must in other than manufacturing industries produce about £4 per head more than Victoria. I will give an abstract of a return which, on the motion of the honorable member for Kooyong, was laid on the table of the House, and which perhaps will be recognised as some test of the state of manufactures in each colony. In that return we are told that the total number of people employed in the New South Wales factories is 50,265 males, and in the Victorian factories, 44,541 males.

Mr. WILKS.—What year is that?

Mr. THOMSON.—This is a return placed on the table of the House within the last month. The females employed in New South Wales number 10,398, and in Victoria 18,415. It will be seen that 8,017 more females, and 5,724 fewer men are employed in all the manufactures mentioned in the return in Victoria than there are in New South Wales.

Mr. SAWERS.—What does that prove?

Mr. THOMSON.—It does not prove that there is any great advantage in protecting those industries. Omitting industries in which there is no protection in either State, and those industries the products of which are dutiable in each State, we have in the remainder some 60 industries, which are not protected in New South Wales, but which are protected in Victoria. What is the result then? Certainly there is an advantage in favour of Victoria. In New South Wales there are 33,561 males employed in these industries, and 35,654 in Victoria, while there are 9,473 females employed in New South Wales as against 16,789 in Victoria. The difference is 2,100 males and 7,300 females in favour of Victoria; and that is really all that Victoria has to show for the protection which she has imposed. These males are fully accounted for, and two-thirds of the females are accounted for, by a few industries. Butter-making, cheese-making, tanning, coach-building, and hat and cap making account for an excess in Victoria of 2,131 males, and clothes-making, dressmaking, hat and cap making, shirt-making, and boot

and shoe making account for 5,963 extra women. Some of these industries are natural industries, which would exist without any protection; others are artificial industries, and those in which the employes are most sweated. But it has been stated by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports that the wages are very much better in Victorian industries than in the industries of New South Wales. If that be so, and it is the result of protection, it no doubt affords reasonable argument in favour of that policy. But, as a matter of fact, returns have been published in the papers lately which show that that is not the case. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports questioned the statement of the honorable member for Macquarie in reference to some figures quoted by him yesterday. But it was shown that the honorable member for Macquarie was correct. I cannot understand why the honorable member for Melbourne Ports should have questioned that statement when he had the facts before him. The figures I am about to quote were prepared for the Victorian Factories Commission.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Is the honorable member quoting the figures published yesterday in the *Argus*?

Mr. THOMSON.—Yes.

Mr. MAUGER.—They are not worth the paper they are printed on.

Mr. THOMSON.—We shall see.

Mr. HUME COOK.—On inquiry from the secretary of the commission, he says that those figures are not full, and are not to be relied upon.

Mr. THOMSON.—The figures were prepared at the request of the Factories Commission. The Victorian figures were furnished by Victorian authorities themselves, whilst the New South Wales figures were supplied by Mr. Coghlan from the factory returns and papers in his department. That is the position. More than that, it seems to me that the figures were furnished to the Victorian commission by Mr. Ord, who questions them to-day.

Mr. MAUGER.—Mr. Ord had no knowledge of them whatever.

Mr. THOMSON.—If the statement of the *Age* is correct, they were prepared specially for the commission. The *Age* says—

The Act has only been recently extended to the remaining 23, and at the time when Mr. Ord compiled the statistics which form the Victorian

basis of comparison there were no figures available as to the average standard of wages which prevailed in these trades.

The *Age* states that Mr. Ord compiled these statistics. Probably he did so when the commission asked for them.

Mr. MAUGER.—No.

Mr. THOMSON.—The details show that in the trades under wages boards in Victoria, the average wage paid to males is £1 13s. 10d. per week.

Mr. MAUGER.—How many trades are referred to?

Mr. THOMSON.—Twenty-four or twenty-five.

Mr. MAUGER.—As a matter of fact, there were only six trades under boards at that time.

Mr. THOMSON.—The honorable member is seeking to escape by a quibble. These trades were gazetted in 1900.

Mr. HUME COOK.—But no determination was arrived at by the boards.

Mr. THOMSON.—The honorable member may be perfectly right in saying that the wages had not been fixed or decided in all the trades at that time. But have seen statements made both in evidence and in the press, that the effect of bringing those industries under the wages boards was to raise the wages of those engaged in them because it was known that the trades would have to come under revision. The average wage paid to male hands of the age of nineteen years and upwards employed in Victoria in those trades was £2 0s. 5d. The average wage paid to all hands was £1 13s. 10d. In New South Wales the average wage paid to males over nineteen years of age was £1 18s. 11d.; the average wage to all hands was £1 13s. 6d.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Will the honorable member give the figures for all those employed over the age of eighteen years, and the figures for all under that age?

Mr. THOMSON.—The number of those of nineteen years and over in Victoria was 13,516, and in New South Wales 10,755. The females of nineteen years and over employed in those trades in Victoria received on an average 18s. 6d. per week. The average for all female hands was 15s. 3d. Females of nineteen years and over in New South Wales received, on an average, 14s. 11d. The average for all hands was 11s. 5d. In to-day's paper Mr. Ord states that, even taking these figures, and taking

the same number of males and females employed in these industries in Victoria, as compared with New South Wales, the males in Victoria would receive a total of £41,944 per annum, whilst the females would receive £23,151 per annum more than in New South Wales. The proper way to take the figures is this: Take every 100 workpeople. What do we find then? There are only 65 males, as against 35 females, in every 100 work people employed in Victoria. There are 75 males and 25 females in every 100 workers in New South Wales in the same industries. Multiply those figures by the different rates of wage, and it will be found, instead of Mr. Ord's calculation being correct, that every 100 workers in those industries, and the families providing those workers—which will be practically equal in the two States—receive £8,558 in New South Wales, whereas in Victoria the amount received is £8,513—an advantage of some £45 in favour of New South Wales, or practically the same.

Mr. WILKS.—And living is cheaper in New South Wales.

Mr. THOMSON.—Of course the New South Wales workers have the advantage of lesser cost of living, in some things at any rate. That is the true comparison.

Mr. ISAACS.—Is the honorable member speaking of factories or manufacturing industries?

Mr. THOMSON.—I am speaking of the industries in the list of trades gazetted in Victoria as being under wages boards. When we turn to other industries the effect is very different. In those industries which are not under wages boards the advantage is altogether in favour of New South Wales. I do not say that in a disparaging way towards Victoria. I merely say it in order to show what is the true comparison in reply to the reflections upon the effects of free-trade policy of New South Wales. I now give the figures relating to trades not under wages boards, which were provided for the Factories Commission. In Victoria the average wage paid to males in trades not under wages boards is £1 13s. 3d. per week. In the same trades in New South Wales, with practically the same number of males employed, the average wage is £1 15s. 4d. per week. There are 12,822 male employés in these trades in Victoria, while there are 12,630 in New South Wales. In Victoria the number of females engaged in the same trades is 8,402, while there are

4,273 employed in New South Wales. The average wage received by these females is the same in both States, namely, 12s. 9d. per week. Let us see how these figures work out. Taking 100 employés, I find that in these trades in Victoria there are 40 females and 60 males per 100 employed, and 25 females and 75 males per 100 employed in New South Wales. Thus, working out the wages received by males and females, we find that the weekly wages-sheet for a factory employing 100 hands in these proportions in Victoria, is £131 10s., while in New South Wales it is £140 12s. 6d. I am sorry that I have delayed the House, but I thought it only right to bring forward these figures in reply to those bearing a different complexion, and supported by different arguments, which have been brought forward by the other side. As a representative of New South Wales, I might take exception to the Tariff on the ground of its injustice to that State. I do so as a representative of New South Wales, but I take a wider ground, and say that in my opinion, in the interests of Australia, the Tariff is an undesirable one. I believe that if the Government had let some fresh air into the industries of Australia—that if, whilst giving consideration where it was absolutely necessary, they had allowed the long-established industries of Australia greater freedom, it would have been better for the industries, and better for Australia. The Prime Minister said that the rise in prices which this Tariff might create would not be permanent. If it is not likely to be permanent, why should the duties be permanent? Surely 30 years of protection in Victoria ought to have made these duties unnecessary? When protectionist duties were first introduced in Victoria, the statement was made that they would be required only for a time which has long since expired. Now we are trying to make the duties permanent. By his statement, the Prime Minister admits that they should not be permanent. I have read in the newspapers that the right honorable the leader of the Opposition has been described as a “political pirate”——

Mr. CROUCH.—A brigand.

Mr. THOMSON.—The application should have been made to the leader of the Government.

Mr. BARTON.—Thanks!

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I used to be called "the amiable brigand," when proposed a land tax.

Mr. THOMSON.—The right honorable gentleman will understand that I mean a political pirate. Like the piratical move of running up the ensign first and then the skull and cross-bones, he obscured the protectionist flag by the free-trade flag when he was asking for the suffrages of the people of New South Wales.

Mr. BARTON.—I find the skulls are on the other side.

Mr. THOMSON.—The right honorable and learned gentleman said that a Tariff would be brought in in which protectionists and free-traders could equally unite. When the Tariff was introduced, however, his own Minister for Trade and Customs said—"It is a protectionist policy. We were sent here by the people to support that policy, and we place it before you in the strength of our majority."

Mr. BARTON.—The side of the House on which the honorable member sits shows that he knew what I meant.

Mr. THOMSON.—I know exactly what the right honorable and learned gentleman meant, but he has not fulfilled what he meant when he made that statement.

Mr. BARTON.—That is very unjust and unkind.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Prime Minister was absent from the House when I quoted his Maitland speech and compared it with certain figures that have been laid before us by the twin Budget Ministers. I do not wish to impose, in any way, the needs of New South Wales upon the rest of the Commonwealth. I do not say that New South Wales should receive sole attention; indeed, I should be quite willing to extend reasonable consideration to other States; but when the only approach which the Tariff makes towards New South Wales conditions consists of some light concessions, I do not think that State has been treated fairly. However, I should not mind the injury to an individual State if I felt that it would benefit ultimately under the policy which had been adopted as the policy of Australia. But when I believe that the policy proposed by the Government is one which will not tend to the best interests of Australia; that it will, as the Minister said, place pronounced protection on the statute-books, and that it may, at any rate, lead

towards that increase of duties which is common to protection, I think that it is demanded of me that I should oppose the Ministerial policy, and support the motion moved by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition.

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava—Treasurer).—I do not propose to attempt to follow my honorable friend at such great length as that which has characterized his speech. He has given us a large number of statistics, but honorable members will realize the difficulty of following them as uttered without having an opportunity of checking them, and ascertaining the basis upon which they have been worked out. My honorable friend, all through his address, has been somewhat unfair to my colleague, the Minister for Trade and Customs, in the quotations he has made from his speech. The Minister for Trade and Customs, whilst saying that this was a protectionist Tariff, distinctly stated that our main consideration was to produce sufficient revenue to keep the States solvent. That is one of the first duties we have to perform, because we have taken away from the States the management of their own Customs departments. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to be very careful that we do not place them in such a position that they will be wanting money for the purpose of carrying out their necessary works. The honorable member for North Sydney said also that on behalf of New South Wales he might fairly take the objection that the interests of that State had not been considered in the preparation of this Tariff. If I were to speak as a Victorian—but I think we should not speak as representatives of any one State—I should say unhesitatingly that the interests of Victoria had not been considered to the extent they ought to have been. The protective duties upon many items have been largely reduced, in addition to which necessity has compelled us against our own desires to impose duties upon the raw materials of particular industries. As an example let us take one industry in which a large number of our females are employed. I refer to shirt-making. That industry has hitherto been protected to the extent of 35 per cent., and the material was free. The protection given in that case has been reduced to 20 per cent., and a duty of 10 per cent. is imposed upon the raw material. Surely honorable members will

see that that is hitting our manufacturers at both ends. I do not know what effect the reduction of duty will have upon this industry. The honorable member for North Sydney also said that we were imposing a permanent Tariff. I hope, for the sake of all portions of the community, that this Tariff when passed will not be altered for a number of years.

Mr. THOMSON.—I was referring to the Victorian duties as having been permanent for 30 years.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I understood the honorable member to refer to this Tariff as being a permanent one. Certainly it ought to exist for a number of years. I will, however, deal with the question of its permanency at a later stage. The leader of the Opposition must realize that that matter is one which is altogether in the hands of Parliament. Although we may pass this Tariff to-day, in a year or two Parliament in its wisdom may choose to alter it, and Parliament is subject to the will of the people of the Commonwealth. Honorable members of this House will have to go before their constituents in a little over two years at the latest, and the constituencies will have full power to pronounce judgment upon their actions. I am not afraid to go before my constituents, and I do not represent a manufacturing district. On the other hand, the district which I have the honour to represent leans far more towards free-trade than it does towards protection. But people here and in the other States desire, when once a policy has been established, that it shall not be too lightly disturbed. However, they will have the opportunity of pronouncing judgment, and I venture to say that, before the next election arrives, the people of New South Wales will be far more protectionist in their ideas than they are at the present time. Speaking at one of the conventions in New South Wales, I expressed the belief that within five years that State would receive most of the benefits of this federal union. I believe that those benefits will come to New South Wales far more quickly than I then anticipated. What is being done now? Do we not know that large factories are being erected—a great number of them—in the city of Sydney? Do we not know that the people of that State are getting ready for what they knew was inevitable? They knew full well that there must be a protective Tariff, and they are

determined to take advantage of it. Looking at the natural advantages which they possess, surely—as my honorable friend said—it would be only a lunatic who would for a moment believe that Victoria was going to take the lead of New South Wales even under a policy of protection. With the natural advantages enjoyed by New South Wales—and there is no denying the fact that that State possesses all the advantages with which it is possible to endow her—there is no doubt whatever that within the next two or three years she will manufacture, and manufacture very largely. I believe that when the next Parliament meets here we shall find that a majority of the representatives from the mother State will hold protectionist views.

Mr. REID.—Victorian people will turn round the other way then.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; they will not. As Australians we are perfectly prepared to compete with our brother Australians in any part of the Commonwealth. We do not object to that. We recognise that we have a small territory as compared with New South Wales, but we have the energy and the determination to fight fairly. We do not object to competing with any of the other people of the Commonwealth; but we do object to competing with the cheap labour of many parts of the world, and also with the immense output of America and Germany. We know very well that where the output is very large the cost of production on each particular item is greatly reduced. We realize that in these larger countries there is over-production, and that they are perfectly prepared to send their surplus goods to any outside market, and sacrifice them, rather than sacrifice their home market.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Is that what Victoria does?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Of course we do. Every protectionist country does the same thing.

Mr. McCAY.—And every free-trade country, too.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—These countries never sell at such a price as to ruin their home market; but they will send their goods out of the country and sell them at a loss elsewhere rather than get rid of them at a lower rate at home, and thus spoil their own market. In framing this Tariff my colleague and myself have not looked at it from a State point of view. We have looked

at it from the point of view of what we think will be most beneficial to the whole of the Commonwealth. We have had to labour under great difficulties. If we could have been appointed a board with power to take evidence upon oath I think we should have ascertained some startling facts, not from importers alone, but from all classes. I believe that we should have ascertained some very startling facts from the importers in regard to the immense profits which they make. But we have had to discharge our task as best we could. We had a large number of recommendations sent in to us, some of which were in favour of goods being placed upon the free list whilst others again asked that certain industries should be protected. We received a good many from New South Wales. Unfortunately, we could neither go nor send to any of the manufacturers or importers in order to make inquiries, because if we had done so we should probably have disclosed to them to some extent what we proposed to do. We had, therefore, to work to a very great extent in the dark. I am not going to say that this Tariff is perfect. I admit, in the light of the information which I have received since it was submitted, that it contains many blemishes which we are prepared to rectify. If that information for which we have asked from those interested shows us that we have made a mistake in regard to any particular article, and that what we propose is likely to injure any industry, we do not intend to continue to do wrong merely because we have done so up to the present. We are perfectly prepared to ascertain the views of the various parties interested, and then, if we think it wise, to modify or alter any of the anomalies which may possibly exist.

Mr. POYNTON.—Are the Government prepared to adjust the incidence of their taxation?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We think we have done that very well indeed. Up to the present time we have not received from the Opposition members any indication of what Tariff they would bring in. The last speaker has apparently adopted our Tariff. He has cut off a piece here and added a piece there, and reduced from 10 to 15 per cent. all round.

Mr. WILKS.—He has reduced the taxation upon the poor all round.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Does the honorable member call putting 1d. per gallon extra upon beer, and an additional 3d. per lb. upon tobacco, taking the heavy imposts off the poorer classes? From the speech of the leader of the Opposition, I gathered that he would give us nearly everything free. Our food, of course, ought to be free. He referred to the poor unfortunate swagman, earning his living in the far-off parts of the country, and asked why he should be called upon to pay duty? In the opinion of the right honorable and learned member he ought not to pay duty.

Mr. MAHON.—That swagman will express his opinion about this Government presently.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We are not afraid of the verdict the country will give when it has had a fair experience of the working of the Tariff. We know that there is always an inclination to make a change and that people get dissatisfied. Whenever a Tariff is brought forward, what do we hear? A howl of indignation from those whose pockets are touched.

Mr. CAMERON.—The right honorable gentleman touches everybody.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I daresay my honorable friend will later on give us his opinion of what we ought to do.

Mr. CAMERON.—And a straight one, too.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am perfectly certain my honorable friend will do that. We cannot get from the Opposition any detailed Tariff; but we have got it from their mouth-piece.

Mr. REID.—Then the right honorable gentleman has got it?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—From the press. We have got it from the journal, which, so far as they are concerned, occupies the position, which they allege that one of the important journals of this State occupies with regard to ourselves. I think there is no man whose name is more respected throughout Australia than the financial editor of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Nash.

Mr. REID.—I say "query" to that.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Let us see what he says ought to be done. The free-trade organ in Melbourne and the free-trade organ in Sydney both recognise the necessity of raising nearly £9,000,000 if we are to do our duty and keep the States

solvent. Now, what does Mr. Nash propose? He proposes a duty of 4d. per lb. on tea, and on coffee and cocoa, 3d. and 4d. per lb. respectively.

Mr. McCOLL.—What is the date of that?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—6th September, 1901. He proposes, further, a duty of 5s. per cental on rice; sugar, per ton, £8.

Mr. REID.—Who is Nash? What have we to do with Nash?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—He proposes on jams and jellies a duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per lb.; currants, 2d.; raisins, 3d. We do not find much difference in those items from our own Tariff. Foods, preserved and prepared, 1d. per lb. Pickles and sauces, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pint.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Is the right honorable gentleman going to adopt the Tariff he is giving us now?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I thought it was a new Tariff the right honorable gentleman was announcing.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It supports my contention that what we want is a Tariff that will produce a revenue of £9,000,000.

The SPEAKER.—It is impossible for the Treasurer to make his speech with these continual interruptions. I must once more ask honorable members not to interrupt.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The duty proposed in this suggested Tariff on oils, linseed and olive, is 6d. That does not differ very much from our own. Now, what about the poor unfortunate farmer?

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—What about the swagman?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The swagman uses candles, and they are dutiable under this proposal. But what about the unfortunate people throughout the length and breadth of the country? We are condemned because we propose to put 3d. on their kerosene. We put that 3d. on because we cannot help ourselves.

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable gentleman takes 3d. off in Queensland.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We do, unfortunately.

Mr. PAGE.—Fortunately, I think.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Unfortunately. What is the duty under this proposal? The duty proposed here on kerosene is 4d. We put kerosene in because we wanted to get revenue, and because we hope it will enable the mother State in time to

produce a considerable quantity of kerosene.

Mr. REID.—Oh dear, oh dear!

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—My right honorable and learned friend has apparently a very poor opinion of the industry in that State.

Mr. REID.—I have some knowledge of what kerosene shale we have got. They gave up the industry years ago.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—With regard to these revenue duties I confess I do not like them. We have not got them to any very great extent in Victoria, but we had to consider the interests of the other States. If we had considered the interests of Victoria alone we need not have put many of the revenue duties on. But we had to consider Queensland and Tasmania, and we found that they had in one case a duty amounting to 6d., and in another a duty of 3d. We could not go the full length, but we had to assist them, and in order to do so had to put on these duties. The duty on rice and the duties on a number of other articles were put on, because we were anxious to assist these States, and because we knew that other States must be prepared to make some sacrifices for the benefit they would obtain from Inter-State free-trade. This proposed Tariff further suggests these duties.—Candles, soap, starch, and blue, 1d. per lb.; fancy soap, 3d.; confectionery, 2d.; fish (preserved), 2d.; all grain, 1s. per cental; flour, meal, 2s.; salt, per ton, £1. We also find, no doubt, to assist our great wine industry, a proposal to put on an excise duty of 8d. per gallon. That, of course, is to assist an industry which we are glad to know is in a flourishing condition in many of the States. On what are called softgoods, of every description—boots, hats, clothing—the levy proposed is 15 per cent. Jewellery, watches, musical instruments, and platedware 15 per cent; metals, machinery, and hardware 15 per cent. Paints, varnish, turpentine—used in so many of the industries, and which we have left free for that reason—drugs, chemicals, china, and earthenware; glass, furniture, timber, cement, slates, and other manufactures, 15 per cent. Then we come to the proposals for a duty of 10 per cent. And they cover mining explosives, cyanide—cyanide with us, I think, is free—unwrought metals, tools, agricultural implements, sewing machines, and materials for manufactures. There is a

free list proposed—including printing paper—amounting to £3,200,000. That is not a very large free list, compared with ours of £8,000,000. The summary shows that narcotics and spirits are expected to produce £4,130,000; specific duties, £1,950,000—and most of them on those articles I have referred to, and which are used in nearly all our households. The 15 per cent. *ad valorem* duties are expected to produce £2,747,000, and the 10 per cent. duties £185,000, or a total of £9,012, 0.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—That is what one would call a “national Tariff.”

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is a Tariff framed by a gentleman who knows and realizes the difficulties, and who desires to keep our various States free from insolvency.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—When he pulls the string they all jump over there.

Mr. CONROY.—As Australians, ought not the people to be considered before particular States?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is a revenue Tariff to a considerable extent.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—There is no *ad valorem* duty in that proposal above 15 per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not above 15 per cent. Now I have always been puzzled to know what was the real policy of those who lately were free-traders and who have now called themselves “revenue tariffists.” A revenue Tariff, as I think the honorable member for Wentworth explained it, is one that gives to the Treasurer the amount of money required, but does not give any protection to any industry. Why, therefore, should we have a free list of any articles that are used in manufacture?

Mr. THOMSON.—Because it would be protection to outside manufacturers if we had not.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Then my honorable friend believes in putting a duty on raw material?

Mr. THOMSON.—If we did it would be protection to the outside manufacturer.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Then my honorable friend admits the principle of protection?

Mr. THOMSON.—No.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Undoubtedly. If the duties are to be for revenue, and

revenue only, and the least burdens are to be put upon the people, and only those absolutely necessary, there should be no distinction.

Mr. THOMSON.—Does not the right honorable gentleman notice that I allowed a £6,000,000 free list?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member adopted our free list.

Mr. THOMSON.—I said that it should not be reduced.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Therefore I say that my honorable friend is a protectionist. He has not come the whole way yet, but I hope to see him sitting a little nearer next session, and that after the next election he will be found supporting us, having learned by experience the benefits of a reasonably protective Tariff. It is all very well to talk about theories; but I am a protectionist because I find that nearly the whole civilized world is protectionist. If protection is the great curse which we are told it is, if it ruins all the countries which adopt it, how is it that those countries progress and prosper? We talk about the progress and prosperity of Great Britain, and as part of the Empire we are proud of it, but we must not forget that it was under a system of rigid protection that Great Britain attained her prosperity, and the figures which were quoted last night show clearly that she is not maintaining her position. In her own colonies, where the people are anxious to deal with the motherland, Germany, the United States, and other heavily protected countries are cutting out her trade very quickly. Our iron imports and many other things which ought to come from Great Britain, if it is necessary for us to import them at all, come very largely from Germany and the United States, the fact being that those countries manufacture to such a large extent that they are able to undersell the mother country in her best markets.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But they are not cutting out the mother country.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If my honorable friend studies the statistics as I have done, he will find that America is cutting out the mother country in many lines, and especially with regard to iron and boots. Why did Mr. Chamberlain ask a few years ago that inquiries should be made in each of the States as to the effect of this foreign trade, in order to put a stop to the loss which Great Britain is sustaining?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That action was taken in reply to the “Made in Germany” agitation, which has been exploded.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is of no use to deny that English trade is being lost in the colonies, and we, who are loyal to the old country, seriously regret it.

Mr. WILKS.—Then why did not the Government bring in a preferential Tariff?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We considered the advisability of introducing a preferential Tariff, but we found that such Tariffs have not answered as they were expected to answer. We found that Canada has had the markets of a large number of countries shut against her because of her preferential Tariff, and we were not prepared to take the responsibility of advising the House to adopt such a Tariff until we had ascertained from quarters in which we are making inquiries that it would be of benefit to us.

Mr. BARTON.—Germany has deprived Canada of the advantage of the “most favoured nation” clause in her treaty, solely because of her preferential Tariff.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member for North Sydney would seem to think that we take a delight in raising more money than is necessary, but surely honorable members must realize that our task is hard enough, and that we were not likely to make it harder, by proposing to raise more money than is required. Mr. Nash, in the issue from which I have already quoted, says—

Now, if the Federal Government accept a list of duties practically upon these lines, they will not secure £9,000,000 of revenue in the current financial year. That is impossible. But in future years they may probably count upon doing so. It will be in the main a 15 per cent. Tariff.

That, of course, is the great difficulty. The honorable member for North Sydney wants us to have an £8,000,000 Tariff at once. He says that the aggregate Customs revenue collected in 1900 was about £7,800,000. The amount, if I recollect it aright, was something like £7,772,000. If that was the amount we had to raise, there would be very little difficulty; but my honorable friend has overlooked the fact that at least £1,000,000, if not more, has to go to New South Wales to level her up to the position of the other States. If it were not for that unfortunate difficulty, there is no doubt we could get on very well with a Tariff producing considerably less. But we have to recognise that federation

brings with it intercolonial free-trade—except so far as Western Australia is concerned—by which we lose at least £1,000,000 of revenue, and a large amount of revenue will also be lost by reason of the fact that goods will be made here instead of imported. I pointed out that both the great journals which have dealt with the total required, have admitted that from £8,750,000 to £9,000,000 will be absolutely necessary. I have no hesitation in saying that a smaller sum than we propose to raise would not keep the States in their present position. The honorable member says that our Tariff will destroy the revenue. I cannot see how that will be, if we are going to raise far more than he thinks is necessary. We think that any Tariff, framed on purely free-trade lines, must necessarily destroy all our industries. That is where I am puzzled with regard to the attitude of my friends opposite. They either believe that free-trade is the right policy, and will give us prosperity, or they do not believe it. If they believe it, they ought to have no discrimination. They are against protection of every kind, and, therefore, they should not give any protection at all. They should have one uniform duty, except upon a few items, such as narcotics and spirits, which every one recognises should be liable to heavy duties.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Should no distinction be made between luxuries and necessities?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—You may, of course, tax luxuries higher; but the lists we have seen, and the proposals put forward, do not attempt to discriminate between luxuries and necessities.

Mr. BARTON.—Does Mr. Nash call kerosene a luxury?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I should not think so, yet it is proposed by him to put a far heavier duty on kerosene than we propose. If you are going to have a pure revenue Tariff, you ought to impose duties on all things alike. When you make a difference of 5 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., your proposals are protectionist, just as they are where the discrimination is greater, though they do not go far enough to assist the various industries which they affect. Let us look at the matter from this point of view: We raise a certain amount of revenue from our Customs, and the cry is—“Reduce your duties, and the revenue from Customs will be increased.” I fail to see how that is going to be done,

because we are told by our honorable friends from the mother State that if we reduced our duties to what they suggest—10 and 15 per cent.—our industries would not be injured; that we should do just as well as we should under the higher Tariff. One of two things must happen. Say that you reduce the duties on any articles by one-half: to get the same revenue you must import twice the quantity of those articles. If you continue to import the same quantity of articles you lose one-half of your revenue. To tell us that you can reduce all these duties very largely without injuring our industries, is telling us something which, if it is considered at all, we must see is clearly impossible. We have made reductions where we thought the duties were too high, and possibly we have not got now the same amount of revenue as we should have done if we had kept the higher duties on, because the higher duties are paid on the higher priced articles. It was necessary to make the Tariffs somewhat approximate, and in the case of many of our duties we had to do so. But if they are to occasion, as some fear they will, a very large increase in the imports into our State, that must necessarily mean a very large reduction in the amount of our production, and a large loss of spending power on the part of our people.

Mr. CAMERON.—If a duty is imposed on an article which is produced in the State, what is the advantage of that duty to the Treasury?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Certainly you do not get the revenue.

Mr. CAMERON.—Hear, hear; that is just what we are driving at.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But we do better, we produce the article—

Mr. CAMERON.—And put the money in the pocket of the manufacturer.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not necessarily so.

Mr. BARTON.—If the manufacturer could make everything himself without workmen, that would be true.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The cry has been raised that all this money goes into the pockets of the manufacturers. I quite admit that where there is a corner among manufacturers, just as there is among importers, they will charge higher prices. But I do not desire to support any industry which is a monopoly or a ring. If it is possible to include in our Tariff Bill any proposal which

will put an end to these rings and monopolies, it will receive the hearty assent of the Government. It has been tried in Canada, and it is well worthy of consideration whether it ought not to be tried here. But so long as you put on a protection which allows fair competition between the importer and the manufacturer, or competition amongst the manufacturers, then you do not increase the price. The competition has been strong enough in many industries in the States. Do we not all know that in all these large lines there will be the keenest competition between the States? Do we not know that in the various States travellers are now endeavouring to get the local business? While we are against any of these monopolies, while we shall do all we can to put them down and prevent them, we hold that the true policy is, so far as we justly can, to protect our industries so that they may be able to compete fairly against each other. That is my answer to my honorable friend's question. We get the revenue on the articles which cannot be made here because there is not a sufficient market for them, and we give employment to our people. Instead of sending our money put to other countries to be spent there for the pleasure of importing their goods, we give it to our own people. They spend the money on articles which bear revenue duties, and by that means we get a considerable amount of revenue, as is shown by our Victorian Tariff. I cannot see why we should send our money away to other States to be expended there when we can manufacture here, and have a large wage fund, amounting to millions, enabling our people to be fully employed and to spend money. Preserving the home markets to the farmers and the market gardeners is the best possible thing which we can do for them. We are told that, if the people cannot find employment in the manufactories, they can go on the land and produce. We are also told that the farmer can hardly make enough to keep himself, as the prices are so low. Therefore, we are asked to take away from the people who are here the means of earning a livelihood, and to tell them to go on the land, and at the same time we are taking away from the farmer and the market gardener his best class of customer—the artisan. We all know well that when the artisan is employed, and is getting fair wages, he buys

the product of the farmer. By that means the farmer gets a benefit; he has the home market. But we do not stop there in any State. While it may be that we cannot give as much protection to the farmers as we give to the artisans and the manufacturers, have we not in every State done everything we possibly could to assist the farmers? Have we not given them land on reasonably long payments, provided water supply and railways, and regulated the freights on the railways so that their goods are often carried at a loss? And who has borne the burden of all that? The general public, and I venture to say that none more freely pay what little extra taxation is necessary to give these benefits to the farmers than do the workers in our factories. A protective duty raises revenue and may possibly increase the price of goods; it certainly does give employment to a very great extent. A revenue duty undoubtedly increases the price of goods; that was shown by my honorable friend the other night with regard to starch, when he said that the moment the duty of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. was imposed, 1d. or $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. was put on the price of the manufactured article. While at first protection may increase the price, ultimately as the goods are made here, internal competition brings about the lowest possible price at which they can be sold with a reasonable profit. But even if it does increase the price, will honorable members tell me that it is wise to increase the purchasing power of a man's money and at the same moment to take away from him the means of earning that money? It is far and away better for our people—and I do not believe they pay any more on the poorer class of goods—to pay a little more for their goods and spend their own money in our Commonwealth than not to have money to spend at all. With regard to the amount which is asked for, all our figures have been carefully arrived at after the fullest consideration by our expert officers who have worked loyally and have no ends to serve. If we wanted to say anything at all in that respect we might say that the gentleman who mainly prepared the figures was Mr. Lockyer, of New South Wales. He is an able man, and I have been astounded at the interest he has shown and the trouble he has taken in his work. Whenever he found out that he had made an error, he was only too ready to correct

it, even though it may not have been pointed out to him. I believe the calculations he has made are absolutely genuine, and as correct as calculations can possibly be made. We have allowed for a large falling-off in the imports — £5,000,000. We have certainly taken into consideration the fact that we have imports of raw materials, but honorable members must realize that under the Tariff we have framed, and the figures we have given, we depend upon a normal year, and not upon the figures for this particular year or for that particular year. We have taken as our basis 1899, which undoubtedly was a normal year, and it is a peculiar thing that Mr. Nash, in his calculations, has also brought out almost exactly the same figures as we have. Therefore, I think that, allowing for a normal year, our figures as to imports are as correct as possible. Now, I am told that I have largely increased the expenditure, because I have based it upon the figures of 1900. Surely honorable members know full well that the receipts in 1900 were only £400,000 more than those of the previous year, and that this increase is partly accounted for by the higher prices ruling in the markets of the world. Surely we know that the States have expended—I think in every instance—up to the full extent of their receipts, and I would ask whether we are now to suddenly come down and say that we will only give them the revenue they received in 1899. I venture to say that if we attempted to give them, for this year only, the same amount as they collected two years ago, they could not possibly carry on, and one of the greatest responsibilities which rests on this House would not be faithfully carried out. Therefore, whilst I took 1899 as a proper year on which to calculate the imports for a normal year, I felt that I was in duty bound to give back to the States something like the amounts they received in 1900. The other course would have been a far easier one to take. If we had cut off £300,000 or £400,000, it would have enabled us to have kept out some of the items that we do not altogether like to see in the Tariff, but, at the same time, we should have landed the States in such a position that they could not possibly have carried on. I do not know whether it is thought—of course it cannot be thought—that we are to vary our Tariff from year to year. We started to frame what was a reasonable and proper Tariff for a normal year. Now, I am told by my honorable

friend who last addressed the House that £8,000,000 would be a sufficient amount of revenue for a normal year. He admitted that that would leave Queensland short to the extent of £342,000, and Tasmania short by £170,000, whilst Western Australia would have a deficiency of £307,000. Will honorable members for one moment say that if we followed that course we should be carrying out the pledge we made throughout the Commonwealth that we would protect the solvency of the States?

Mr. McDONALD.—How would that affect the solvency of the States?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I think that if we left Queensland with a permanent deficiency of £342,000 per annum it would affect her solvency.

Mr. McDONALD.—We should only be taking that much less from them in the form of taxation. Could they not put on direct taxes that would yield a similar amount for themselves?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I will deal with that point presently. I am afraid that the honorable member has as yet had no experience as a Treasurer, whereas I have. If we had provided for only £8,000,000, of revenue in a normal year, we could expect to get only £7,000,000 this year, for the reasons which I have explained—namely, the loading up which has taken place, and many other things. We only expect to get £8,000,000 altogether this year, but if we were to base our Tariff upon a revenue of £8,000,000 for a normal year, we should only get £7,000,000 for the current year. Have honorable members considered what the position of Queensland would be in such a case? If Queensland would have a deficiency of £342,000 under our proposal, how could she possibly carry on with a further reduction of £150,000 of revenue, such as would result if our total income were reduced down to £7,000,000 for the current year? She could not do it; we should leave her £500,000 short; and, more than that, we should be breaking faith with the people for whom we are the trustees.

Mr. McDONALD.—They were £500,000 short last year in Queensland, and the Treasurer said it was a mere nothing.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes, but he is now trying to make that up by some form of direct taxation, and I will ask if it

would be right for us to call upon him to make up another £500,000 as well? It is all very well to say that this money is in the pockets of the people.

Mr. CAMERON.—So it is.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No doubt it is; but if the honorable member had had any experience as a Treasurer he would have found that there is nothing more difficult than to get money out of the pockets of the people when they once get it there. The only way in which you can get that money without causing the people to growl very much is by collecting it through the Customs.

Mr. WILKS.—They do not understand that.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No; they do not understand it. I remember that, on one occasion when we had a deficit, I proposed a land tax, with an exemption up to £100. That exemption, however, was increased to £500, and I lost all interest in the proposal, because I thought that in the amended form it amounted to class taxation. I recollect very well that some of my constituents told me that it was a splendid tax, only that I was to leave their places out of it. It was a splendid tax so long as the exemption of £500 was sufficient to cover their properties. When you attempt to impose direct taxation, people always say, "You must take it out of somebody else's pockets, and not out of ours." No doubt they have reserves of taxation in Queensland, but we do not know but what they may require to call upon those reserves for other purposes. Then again, look at the position in which Tasmania would be placed. She is heavily taxed, and has no land that she can sell, and so raise £2,000,000 a year to help her revenue.

Mr. WILKS.—What State does that?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—New South Wales derives a revenue of over £2,000,000 a year from rentals and sales of land. I have been asked what New South Wales ought to do with the extra money she will receive in the form of customs duties under the new Tariff. When I was in Sydney I told them unhesitatingly that they could very well place £1,000,000 a year to a sinking fund for the purpose of paying off their national debt.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Every penny of the money has already been hypothecated.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I submit that there has been no extravagance in the

framing of the estimates of revenue and expenditure. The expenditure of the States had been increasing year by year, but, as I have shown honorable members, we have stopped short and have cut the expenditure down. I venture to say that if the States had gone on during the current year in the same way as they were expending money prior to the transfer, our expenditure in connexion with the transferred departments would have been fully a quarter of a million more. The requisitions made upon me amounted to fully a quarter of a million more than I have asked the House to provide for, but I have cut the requirements down. I have not shirked my duty, but I would ask honorable members what time I have had. I venture to say that, when I have time to go thoroughly into all the details of the expenditure, I shall find other opportunities of making savings, and that by the end of the year our expenditure will not be so large as is at present provided for, unless some special demands have to be met. If we had followed out the proposal of the honorable member for North Sydney, and raised a revenue of only £8,000,000 in a normal year, and £7,000,000 this year, some of the States would have found it very difficult to provide for their requirements. Queensland might have done it, and Western Australia, with the assistance of increased duties upon Inter-State products, might have managed somehow, but Tasmania could not possibly have carried on.

Mr. CAMERON.—I say that it is the best thing that could happen to Tasmania.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is our duty and responsibility, no matter what individuals may think, to keep the States perfectly solvent as far as we possibly can, and I regret to say that, even with our proposals, we are putting a larger burden on the shoulders of Tasmania than I should like her to have in view of her deficit at the end of the year.

Mr. CAMERON.—Tasmania wants no charity; she can pay her debts as she incurs them.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am satisfied that Tasmania will ask for no charity. Anything we give Tasmania will not be charity; it will be what she is entitled to for her loyalty to the federal cause. It is peculiar that the States which have been most loyal to federation are those which are to receive the least consideration. I

provide only £8,000,000 for expenditure this year, and that will, I hope, be ample, as we cannot raise more, owing to the fact that we do not receive so much this year, for reasons I have already stated, as we shall in a normal year. The first year, as has been said, is the most important, and the year in which we as far we possibly can, propose to help the States. If we had to deal with only the aggregate amount of taxation our task would be easy. Some £7,000,000 or £7,500,000, or perhaps £7,750,000 would be enough; but honorable members must try to realize the fact that not only do we lose Inter-State duties, but we have to provide £1,000,000 or £1,250,000 over and above the present income, in order to give back to New South Wales the amount to which that State is entitled. This has been the great stumbling block all through. If it were not for the book-keeping clauses, we should not have to do that; but we are bound to carry out the Constitution and to raise a far larger amount than we should otherwise be compelled to raise. I do not want to enter into these matters at any great length; and I have already trespassed over the line I intended to take. My intention was to deal only with figures quoted, because the Minister for Trade and Customs, who has charge of the Tariff, will have an opportunity of replying on the general question. I have, however, been drawn once or twice into expressing my own opinion. In regard to the excise on beer, I listened very attentively to my honorable friend, and I failed to understand the figures which he quoted. According to him, by increasing the excise we shall receive a larger amount of revenue. That probably will be so, but we shall either have to take it out of the pockets of the consumer, the pockets of the publicans, or the pockets of the brewers. No doubt a considerable amount of profit is made in this particular line; but do honorable members know many breweries, more especially in Victoria, which have been paying dividends lately? As a matter of fact, the present tax is a very heavy one, namely 12s. 6d. per hogshead of beer which is sold at £3. Then, with regard to tobacco, we have considerably increased the excise and the duty on the leaf, the excise in Victoria having been brought up from 9d. to 1s. Some years ago, for the purpose of getting revenue, I raised the excise in

this State from 6d. to 9d.; but what was the effect? So far as I could glean, the manufacturers simply said to the growers—"We have been giving 6d. for your leaf in the past, but we have now to pay 3d. extra excise, and we shall give you only 3d. in future." That killed the growth of the leaf in Victoria. But tobacco growing is an industry that ought to be encouraged, and under the present Tariff proposals, we give the grower a preference of 1s. 6d. We charge 3s. 6d. on the imported manufactured article, and 1s. 6d. on the leaf; and that 1s. 6d. is the protection which we give to the grower. If we increase the excise, we reduce the protection, and that is a course to which I think the House would not agree.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has the right honorable gentleman considered gentlemen who smoke three-and-sixpenny cigars?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have considered those gentlemen who smoke three-and-sixpenny cigars. I consider that gentlemen who smoke three-and-sixpenny cigars ought to be able to pay a little more to the revenue than gentlemen who can afford to smoke only sixpenny cigars. The more of these cigars the honorable member for Parramatta smokes the better it will be for the revenue, and I hope he will smoke a large number of them. I do not wish to refer to questions which have been raised as between the States of Victoria and New South Wales; but I have heard a very large number of figures quoted with regard to the people who, during the last ten years, have left Victoria. I have not yet heard, however, anybody speak of the immense number of people gained by the other States. It has been said that the protective policy of Victoria starved these people out. But what do we find? In Queensland, during the last ten years, there has been an increase of 14,000 by immigration over emigration; and this is probably accounted for to some extent by the mining industry. I shall not read the figures for Western Australia, because these, no doubt, will be dealt with by the Minister for Defence, who represents that State. But no honorable member will say that New Zealand is a free-trade colony. Yet we find that in New Zealand, during the last ten years, there has been an increase of 29,000. We have the recent census returns, and what do we find in the great free-trade State of New South Wales? We find that

her immigration over emigration amounted, during those ten years, to only 864.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—What are the figures for Victoria for the same time?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—In Victoria the figures went to the bad, because tens of thousands of people came here in the boom times, and when the boom unfortunately, or fortunately, broke, we had no means of employing them. I believe that in our boom years, at least 160,000 people came here. They did not, however, come here to settle permanently, but simply because they could get better employment, or higher wages, than in other countries, or the other States; and when we failed to find employment for them, they naturally left us. But if it be desired to draw comparisons between Victoria and the other States, what have Victorians been doing all through with their small territory? Have they not been investing money in, and developing great parts of, the large States. Some left Victoria because of our distressed circumstances, which cannot be said to be due to protection. No one can say that the boom was brought about by protection; but the unfortunate circumstances in which we were placed compelled many of our breadwinners to go to the other States for the purpose of earning a living. They went to Western Australia, and they went to South Africa, taking some of our money with them to start with, and I am very pleased to say that they have done well. Many have come back, as may be seen on reference to our returns during the last few years. These returns do not, as in the past, show a decrease, but an increase. Many Victorians, I am glad to say, have settled down in the sister State of Western Australia, and in Queensland, and, so far as the figures are concerned, the comparison shows Victoria to be in a very fair position. There are many circumstances which have to be taken into consideration. When honorable members talk about the loss of population in Victoria, they must not put that loss down to our protective policy. Look at other States, where there is also a protective policy. Look at New South Wales, who, with her free-trade policy, has only increased by immigration over emigration in ten years by 864. If honorable members will take the figures as supplied to me by the Victorian statistician, they will find that in the last fifteen months, New South Wales, by excess of emigration over

immigration, has lost over 11,000 of her population.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I do not know where the right honorable gentleman got those figures from. They do not agree with Mr. Coghlan's.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—New South Wales has retained her natural increase.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But one would have thought that if she were progressive and prospering she would be on a par with the protectionist States of Queensland and New Zealand, and that she would have a far larger increase of immigration over emigration. What the actual facts are I have shown in the figures which I have circulated. I want to say that, with regard to the financial portion of the subject, I have acted with caution. I am not going to say that the estimates I have put forward are too high or too low. I believe that the amount will be fully realized. I hope and trust that it will be. But the amount that we propose for a normal year is only sufficient to keep the States in a fairly solvent condition. It forces on many of them direct taxation or retrenchment, to a certain extent. But if we are to attempt to cut down the £9,000,000 to £8,000,000, we shall put three or four of the States in such a position that they cannot possibly carry on. It is no part of our duty to do that. It is our duty, according to the Maitland speech, and it is the duty of Parliament, to pass such a Tariff as will give a fair amount of protection to all the established industries, and will also conduce to the establishment of new industries, if possible. That has been our desire, for instance, in regard to the iron works in New South Wales. I am perfectly certain, from what I know of honorable members, that they are not going to take any action which will ruin many established industries, and which would make many thousands of employers and tens of thousands of employees bitterly regret the day when they so loyally and so trustfully entered into the federal bond. I am certain that honorable members, whatever their fiscal views may be, will vote in order to raise such an amount, by some means or other, through the Customs—because we cannot raise it by any other means—as will put the States in a proper condition, and not press hardly upon any industry. As soon as we get to the details, in committee, I trust that we shall

deal with them as quickly as possible. I have said that the Government are prepared to listen to all the suggestions that can be made. We are not prepared to throw the Tariff on the table and allow honorable members to worry it; we are going to stand by the main principles of the Tariff. But at the same time, if evidence can be given that any of the details of the Tariff will do injury, and if good reasons can be given for alterations, the Government will act reasonably, and if we come to the conclusion that alterations ought to be made we are not going to be afraid to make those alterations. What I claim ought to be done is only what has been done in New South Wales. When it was seen that a free-trade policy there would ruin some of the established industries, did the free-traders dare to damage those industries? When they came to the limit which the sugar-growers said would be a sufficient protection for them, the free-traders stopped. They would not go on in the course which they had proposed, because further information showed them that they would ruin the sugar industry. Therefore they continued the protection on it. Did those honorable members who talk so loudly about reducing our duties and increasing our revenue, when they were in power follow out that practice? They increased the duties wherever they could get extra revenue, and the free-traders in New South Wales would not ruin the sugar industry by taking away from it a fair measure of protection. All we ask for the other States is that that same policy shall be pursued with regard to them; and that wherever it is considered by honorable members that a severe reduction of duties in the protected States will injure their industries they will stop at that point which will enable those industries to be profitably carried on by our people in the future.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON (Tasmania).—The right honorable the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech on Tuesday night upon this question, challenged the members representing Tasmania, Queensland, and Western Australia to justify themselves in voting for the motion now before the House. Speaking for myself, as a representative of Tasmania, and also as a free-trader who was elected by that State as a free-trader, I say that I should fail in my duty to my constituency, and in my duty to myself, if I did not support the motion which has been proposed by the right honorable the leader of

the Opposition. Now, the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, has represented officially to the people of Tasmania what their position will be under the Tariff which is now before us. In this letter he claims that he has secured a Tariff as little as possible disturbing to Tasmanian finance. The loss to the State Treasurer on the transferred revenue-earning departments he limits to £30,000 a year. On the assumption that the imports into Tasmania during 1901 will be equivalent to those during 1900, the loss on customs and excise on the Tariff now submitted would not, the honorable member says, exceed £30,000; for the full year, 1902, £100,000; and, similarly, for subsequent years, £120,000. Now, I do not profess to follow accurately those figures, or to say how far they are or are not reconcilable with each other; but I do say this: that the Tariff which is presented to us is not one which justifies the view of the honorable gentleman. He says—

I have much hope—I trust on good reasonable grounds—that you will be able to agree with me that the uniform Tariff is likely to be less embarrassing to your revenue than has been expected, and that it bars the necessity for any early consideration by you of a renewed appeal to that final fiscal resort, the re-imposition of a system of direct taxation, which has been tried and repealed in Tasmania; and that in the meantime the Tariff provisions will enable you to maintain the financial credit of the State. If so, I shall not have given my services fruitlessly to the arduous duties in assisting to form the first uniform Tariff for United Australia, and shall gain my reward in having secured a continuance of that good-will so pronounced in my favour on many occasions by the electors of Tasmania.

That, at any rate, might be said to go a long way towards placating the people of Tasmania. Further, the honorable member, Sir Philip Fysh, has said that the Tariff fulfils the conditions of the West Maitland manifesto of the Prime Minister—

That neither the free-trader of New South Wales nor the protectionist Tariff of Victoria could prevail, but that a Tariff sufficiently high for revenue purposes, must rule, and I claim that it discovers in many parts a complete redemption of my electioneering pledges.

In "many parts," be it observed, not everywhere, the honorable member says it contains a "complete redemption" of those pledges. Well, I shall come later on to what those election pledges were, as I understood them. After all these representations, made through the State Government to the people of Tasmania,

Sir Edward Braddon.

what is the result? On Monday a meeting of business men was held in the town hall, Hobart, for the purpose of discussing the Tariff. At that meeting the Treasurer of the State said that—

In view of the published Tariff he withdrew all that he had said in favour of the benefit of federation to the people, and frankly admitted that every penny of the new taxation would be an extra burden as the proposed duties afforded no relief.

That was an opinion expressed and vociferously applauded by the representative men at that meeting. Further, I am proud to say the meeting strongly applauded the sentiment that there should be no appeal for aid to the Federation, it being more dignified to suffer the injury inflicted by the protectionists.

Mr. CAMERON.—Of Victoria.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—What were the election pledges made by the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh? Did he not stand as a free-trader who had been consistent in that one policy throughout the whole of his career? Was it not as a free-trader that he was returned in Tasmania by a people believing, the great majority of them, in free-trade?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—Why did the right honorable member oppose me?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I did not oppose the honorable member in particular any more than I opposed any one else.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The right honorable member posed as a free-trader. I was not.

Mr. CAMERON.—The honorable member, Sir Philip Fysh, was a wobbler.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The honorable member pronounced himself to be still a free-trader. Although he wobbled and consequently lost a considerable measure of support, he persisted to the end of his canvass in announcing himself to be a free-trader; but a free-trader who had come to see that one could not draw a sharp line between protection and free-trade, and could not pledge oneself to 2½ per cent. either way. There were five members returned by Tasmania, of whom only one stood as an avowed protectionist, and was returned.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Second on the poll.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Second on the poll, but not as a protectionist. He was supported by the local press as a local man. He was returned on the splendid policy of the parish pump. A local man

would have been returned whatever his fiscal principles or any other public policy might have been. The honorable member will admit that as freely as any one.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The right honorable member is labouring under a multiplicity of delusions.

Mr. CAMERON.—There can be no mistake about the West Coast vote.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—There is the fact, as I see it, in respect of the pledges made to Tasmania by the honorable member, Sir Philip Fysh. Yet he says that the Tariff brought before us is such that free-traders can consistently support and accept it.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—It is such as the right honorable member ought to accept.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It is such as no free-trader could accept. There is no sort of question as to what is intended by it. Has the honorable member dropped entirely his free-trade principles? I will not ask whether he has sold his principles; but has he leased his principles for the time being, and given up the policy of a lifetime?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—I shall reply presently.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—There can be no question as to what this Tariff means, after the speech made by the Minister for Trade and Customs. The right honorable and learned gentleman speaks with no uncertain sound.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I said that revenue was the first consideration.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The right honorable and learned gentleman said—"This is a protectionist Tariff, with revenue incidental to protection."

Mr. KINGSTON.—I put it in the reverse way.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I understood the right honorable and learned gentleman to challenge the House; to throw down the gauntlet to the free-traders, and say—"Come one, come all!"—

These are clan Kingston's warriors true,
And Saxon—I'm the Regular Do.

He asked the free-traders to come forward and do battle with the protectionists. I think that is clear.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is not what I said, but still it does not matter.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Was not that what was meant?

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is near enough for the right honorable member.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The right honorable and learned gentleman is somewhat vague in his statements; in regard to some of them he wants that accuracy that one would like to see.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable member is giving me credit for something that I did not say.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I find in the right honorable and learned gentleman an absence of that perfect accuracy which one would like to have when statements of importance are made on the floor of the House.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am generally 99 per cent. nearer accuracy than the right honorable member is.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—No. The right honorable and learned gentleman has at times his flights of candour, and in one of those flights he charged the leader of the Opposition with doing a most extraordinary thing, with soaring on the apex of the height of his absurdity.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, I spoke of the right honorable the leader of the Opposition's audacity. The right honorable member has got it all mixed up.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—In this connexion it is often thrown at Tasmanians that they have had a heavy protective Tariff. No doubt they have had a heavy Tariff, a Tariff which, for the most part, consisted of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duties. But those duties were imposed at a time of great stress and pressure, for revenue purposes only, and absolutely without any protective discrimination. They were imposed by the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, as a member of my Government—imposed with the distinct understanding that as soon as we could possibly reduce them they should be reduced. The honorable member will bear me out in saying that it was our full intention to reduce those duties which had been raised from 12½ to 20 per cent. as soon as we possibly could. He knows also that an attempt was made two or three years ago to reduce them. What was the position of Tasmania when they were imposed? We had fallen upon evil times, such as those which had struck down Victoria. We were at our wits' ends to make our revenue and our expenditure meet. We had a constantly increasing deficit, and what

could we do? We sought at every point to obtain the necessary revenue to meet our obligations in the emergency. We imposed for the first time a heavy income tax; we doubled the land tax—already the heaviest imposed in any portion of the Commonwealth—and we added this large amount of additional customs duties to our Tariff. But that was done at a time of abnormal difficulty. They were never intended to become permanent when times should have improved, and when we should be in a position to make a change.

Mr. KINGSTON.—When were the duties raised from 12½ to 20 per cent.?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—In 1894. Although we imposed these additional duties, we still allowed to come in under our free list much of the raw material for manufactures, and many of the articles upon which it is proposed under this Tariff to impose duties.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There were 9 per cent. only of the imports which came under the free list of Tasmania.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—If the Minister for Home Affairs will kindly possess his soul in patience, and tell us something about Tasmania which he really knows to be a fact, instead of what he imagines, I shall be much obliged. I shall prove directly that this Tariff imposes duties upon many things which, in Tasmania, were admitted duty free, even when we had a widespread net of Customs taxation ranging up to 20 per cent. The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, who was then my colleague, was as firm a believer as I was, and am, in the fact that it is not by high duties that we can raise the maximum revenue, but by moderate duties—12½ to 15 per cent. duties—such as were advocated by the Minister for Home Affairs.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Why did the right honorable member raise them to 20 per cent, in order to get revenue?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Because at that time the purchasing power of the people had fallen far below its normal strength and because the scope of their purchases was so seriously reduced that we had to take every thing we could get out of them for that balance of purchasing which remained.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Then the 20 per cent. duty did take more out of them than the 12 per cent.?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It took more because of the abnormal condition of things which prevailed. But in ordinary times the higher rates of duty must necessarily have the effect of reducing the revenue. The Treasurer has just admitted that if we have high duties operating there must necessarily be some reduction in the amount of the importation of dutiable goods.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—And more production here.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—As to that point the Treasurer gives us a very fine explanation. He says that these goods, if not imported, will be manufactured within the Commonwealth, and that the Customs revenue thus lost to the Commonwealth will be recouped by an increased consumption of dutiable goods on the part of those engaged in the manufacture of those goods.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Dutiable goods which are not made here.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The Treasurer says that he will be recouped by the revenue derived from customs duties upon articles consumed by those who manufacture goods within the Commonwealth.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—To a very large extent.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I should like the Treasurer to work that problem out upon a black-board.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They will have more money to spend then.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Does the Treasurer seriously contend that the amount lost will be entirely recouped?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not entirely.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Does he contend that it will be anything like recouped?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—To a very large extent, yes.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—If the Treasurer works the matter out he will find that what he says is absolutely impracticable. The Treasurer also said that in five years New South Wales would be a protectionist State. In England some eight years ago, Sir Howard Vincent ventured to make a similar prophecy in regard to the House of Commons.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Some one said that all Europe would be free-trade in a few years.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Will the Treasurer allow me to give my illustration? Sir Howard Vincent said a few years ago

that in five years the House of Commons would be a protectionist House. Yet we saw only the other day—not five years, but eight years after this prediction was made—that Sir Howard Vincent in moving some very moderate protective resolution, succeeded in getting a following of twelve others. There was just a baker's dozen out of the 670 members of the House of Commons prepared to follow him. The Treasurer also made a remark which I think he will admit rather weakens the cause of protection than anything else. He said that protectionists will never sell at such a price as to spoil their home market. They will sell at a loss outside, but they will make their own people pay to the uttermost the tribute to the manufacturer which goes with protection. I do not think that that is a benevolent act to the people of one's own country.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is carrying the matter a long way farther than what I stated.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Concerning the prospect of America and Germany cutting England out of the trade with these States, I think the Treasurer will find upon inquiry that Germany is going back very considerably, and that a great many of the goods from that country which were formerly received here are now being rejected. I know from information derived from traders that German ironware is not being received now. I suppose that these traders know their own business.

Mr. KINGSTON.—They had enough of German material in Western Australia lately.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—A great deal is made out of the increase in the volume of the trade of Germany, France, and the United States, as compared with that of England. Protectionists exclaim—"Look! England is now in her day of decay, with her industries paralyzed and her trade practically ruined."

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—In New South Wales we imported iron from Scotch firms, and when it was found to be defective, we took down the bridges which were built of it and found that it was made in Belgium. My remark applies to nearly the whole of the iron imported for the Government of New South Wales.

Mr. WILKS.—When was that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It was when I was last in the Government. It was discovered through the faults in the Aberdeen Bridge.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—That has little or nothing whatever to do with the subject of which I am talking. The Minister for Home Affairs is a hundred horse-power engine in the way of making statements, but hardly a donkey engine in the way of explaining what they mean. I was talking about the state of trade and commerce in England, and I deny utterly that England is in that position which some of the protectionists—who apparently will be disloyal to England in order to be protectionists—have delighted to pronounce her. There is the indubitable fact that the countries of Europe, Germany, France, and Belgium have made immense strides in their industrial pursuits within the last 30 or 40 years. But is this mainly due to protection, or because England is a free-trade country? Not one bit. They have done, and wisely done, what England has largely neglected to do. They have gone in for technical teaching, by which their artisans and mechanics have had their labour improved to a vast extent, and have been enabled to a great degree to compete, and compete favorably, with English artisans. There is another thing these countries have done, which England has not done, is not now doing, and probably, relying upon her own strength, will not consent to do. They have been doing the "bagman" business all over the world.

Mr. KINGSTON.—England is doing the "bagman" business also.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Not to the same extent as Germany has been doing with absolute loss, which at the present time is paid for by Germans in the interests of an extended industrial world. No doubt they succeeded at the outset in gaining a great deal which might have been monopolized by England if she had consented to pursue the same course. But has England been standing still—England which last year had a volume of trade more than equal to that of the United States and Germany put together, a volume of trade, with her 40,000,000 people, considerably more than equal to the volume of trade of the United States and Germany with their 120,000,000 people? We have had weak arguments showing the virtues of protection, but we have the best possible evidence of the merits of free-trade close at our doors. A great deal was made last night out of the alleged pauperism of a large body of the

people of England. Again and again, I ventured to remark by way of interjection—though my interjections were not quite so lengthy as those of the Minister for Home Affairs—

Mr. KINGSTON.—Not so much to the point.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—More to the point I think. I ventured to remind honorable gentlemen by interjection that tens of thousands of these paupers who are credited to England are foreigners, Germans, Poles, Russians, Belgians and others; that in the east end of London they form a city within a city—a city which is as little English as is a great part of the continent of Europe, which has its own language, its own foreign employers—Polish Jews for the major part—which has its own systems, and which in the police courts has its proceedings conducted through its own interpreters. To say that the existence of these tens of thousands of paupers and cruelly sweated operatives in the east end of London is any reflection upon English labour conditions, or the condition of the English people, is to talk utter nonsense. We heard a great deal yesterday from the honorable member for Melbourne Ports in explanation of the difference between the conditions of labour in the United States and the conditions of labour in England. The honorable member has apparently got this in his heart, or, at any rate, in his head, and always travels on the same beaten track. He will not be brought to make a comparison between the labour of England and the labour of Germany, and other protective continental countries.

Mr. MAUGER.—Because they have not like conditions. What about the conscript system in Germany?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Yes, and what about the protective system in Germany?

Mr. MAUGER.—Compare like with like.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The protective system is followed there with the result that their labour is so cheap that the honorable member wants to shut out the products of that labour because of the cheapness of it. As to the comparison between the labour of England and of America, I should like to give the opinion of some of those who are deemed high authorities. These are Mr. James MacDonald, Secretary to the London Trades Council; Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. John Burns,

Mr. Inskip, Secretary to the National Boot Union, and Mr. Ben Tillet. Now, who are these men? They are representatives of the people who know what they are talking about, and know of it from personal experience, personal observation, and from a life lived in the country of which they speak.

Mr. MAUGER.—Just six weeks ago John Burns said that there were 2,000,000 of people in London on the borderland of starvation.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Mr. James MacDonald said—

There is as much sweating and injustice in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston as in little free England.

Mr. Keir Hardie says—

What difference there is seems to me to rest in favour of the Britisher. There is not the same rush here as there, and strange as it may appear, there is more personal freedom. Wages in most cases, not all, are higher in America, but it costs more to live, and whilst the standard of living is higher, there are more solid comforts this side of the Atlantic.

I have been furnished with the protectionist catechism, or rather with a portion of it, which condenses very much what is to be said in favour and in defence of protection, and explains to a large extent the attitude of protectionists.

Mr. McCOLL.—Who is the author?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Necessarily, the protectionist authorities. Protection, as the honorable member will no doubt admit, is with Victorians something more than a superstition or a fetish—it is a religious faith.

Mr. McCAY.—We think that faith without works is dead.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The works of the protectionists do not come up to their faith, but their faith would be beautiful to observe, were it not tainted, to the minds of free-traders, with that ignorance which generally goes with bigotry and superstition. The protectionist creed is distinguished by a liturgy composed of protectionist fallacies, and a catechism largely made up of misused statistics. This is as much of the catechism as has been furnished to me—

Q.—What is the effect of protective duties upon prices paid by consumers?—A.—To lower them.

Q.—How do they do this?—A.—By increasing the cost of local production, and preventing the importation of goods made by the cheap labour of other protectionist countries.

Q.—Does protection foster employment, and keep up the standard of wages?—A.—Yes, as a natural and inevitable result; and wages boards exist to prevent this consequence going so far, so as to give labour too large a share of the profit of the local manufacturer, whom we should first consider.

Q.—If protection is so favorable to the working-man, how do you explain the exodus of 200,000 of Victoria's manhood from the State?—A.—Those 200,000 were philosophers, who could not tolerate the excessive luxuries of princely wages, palatial residences, and aldermanic living.

Q.—What are we to think of the unfavorable evidence adduced by Coghlan and other statista?—A.—That, being the unsophisticated representation of figures conveying bare and unqualified facts, they should not be seriously considered.

Q.—Where shall we turn for acceptable protectionist statistics?—A.—To the *Age*. Statistics made on the premises out of the best material—the protectionist inner consciousness, fresh every day and fit to meet every occasion.

Mr. McCAY.—Will the right honorable member lay the document upon the table?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—If the honorable member will move for a return of the whole catechism I shall be very glad to support him. There can be no doubt that this Tariff question is the most important that can by any possibility occupy our attention this session.

Mr. WILKS.—Or during a good many sessions.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Its effect will be seen through a good many sessions. It is the greatest and most important question to be dealt with at the present time, and the greatest that could be brought before us. When I first saw this Tariff produced, after many months of promise and patient waiting—which was “being considered,” “just completed,” “would be ready next week,” and “had only to be considered by the whole Cabinet”—

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—They could not satisfy the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh. It was that that caused the delay.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Possibly that explains some portion of it. My first thought on seeing it was that it had been prepared by Ministers very much in the way in which, in the island of Laputa, the philosophers in the great school there wrote their books, by putting words into a barrel, and drawing them out at random; or as prayers are distributed in Thibet, where they are placed on a wheel, and dealt out to the devotees as chance may direct. After careful thought, and an earnest endeavour to find out the principles that

might underlie the proposals of the Government, I could only arrive at the conclusion that the Tariffs of all the other States are to be suppressed, and that of Victoria is to predominate; that everything is to be guided and directed by the protectionist policy of Victoria. We have heard so much this session, and before Parliament met, as to the necessity of taxing those who can afford to bear it, and of as far as possible relieving the necessities of life from taxation, that it is difficult to understand how a measure so imperfect as this is, in those respects, should be brought before us. During the brief time permitted to any one to consider the Tariff—although Ministers seemed to think that the leader of the Opposition should have been prepared with a new Tariff to supersede it—it was only possible to ascertain some of its leading defects, and it became a duty, therefore, to expose them. Designedly or undesignedly, as the case may be, there has been an attempt on the part of Ministers to introduce something like an intentional complication. We have in the Tariff not only a simple division between specific duties and *ad valorem* duties, but composite duties made up of specific duties plus *ad valorem* duties, and package duties plus *ad valorem* duties. There is a wonderful provision that reapers and binders are to be exempt from duty until a date fixed by proclamation. We find that minor articles, to be specified in departmental by-laws, for use in the manufacture of goods within the Commonwealth are to be exempted. Then we find another mysterious entry—that other machinery is to be dealt with as referred to in the proclamation. Here we have a mixture of composite duties, proclamation duties, specific duties, and *ad valorem* duties, which might very well puzzle the intelligent people who have studied Tariffs for years. In this introduction of package duties, we find also a distinct leaning to Victorian methods. Everywhere else package duties have been abandoned, and very properly so. I am proud to say that it was part of my duty as a representative of the people of Tasmania in the Parliament of that State to do away with package duties. Here we have this revival, and it is very difficult to understand why it is done, except to conceal the fact that some of the necessities of life—some of the articles of consumption passing into the use of those least able to bear

taxation—are subjected to very heavy duties by the introduction of this composite method. I now turn to the anomalies in the Tariff as between luxuries and necessities, as between those articles which are charged the maximum duties and those which are charged lesser duties. To begin with, medicines—which are a disagreeable necessity—the necessity of every household which comes to be afflicted with sickness—are taxed 25 per cent; and perfumery, which, I presume, may be classed as a luxury, and nothing else, 20 per cent. Fancy goods, card cases, glove stretchers, ivory and ornamental figures bear a duty of 20 per cent., while all woollen goods, all stationery and rubber boots—the boots worn by the miner, which might well receive some consideration—are taxed 25 per cent.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The miners' gum boots are exempt.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Are they? Flannelettes—unfortunate flannelettes!—are charged 20 per cent. Flowers, feathers, embroidery, silks, velvets, furs, lace—all essentially luxuries, which the consumers should not use unless they can afford to pay for them—are taxed at the lower rate of 15 per cent.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does not the right honorable member see that the consumers will have to pay on those, but that on the others made in Australia they will not have to pay?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—If the others are all made in Australia, what is the use of fooling us with a proposition that we are to raise revenue by this taxation?

Mr. MAUGER.—I did not say all.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It does not alter the case in the slightest degree. Here woollens are taxed 25 per cent.—woollens which must be admitted to be necessities which pass into the consumption of the people, whom we most desire to serve, as a matter of their every-day life—are taxed 25 per cent., and the consolation given to us for this is that not all of the woollens consumed will be imported, but that a great many will be manufactured in the States, and have their prices raised by reason of this 25 per cent. duty on the imports.

Mr. MAUGER.—If my right honorable friend wants to buy Australian blankets and tweeds, he need not pay a penny tax.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—‘That is the effect of these duties which are imposed on commodities, some portion or the bulk of which will be manufactured locally. Will the House bear with me while I give the evidence of one who is wholly unbiased—a journalist of great distinction and of considerable observation, who, when he deals with American affairs, deals with the affairs of a country in which he has a personal interest, and to which he is personally attached? I refer to Rudyard Kipling. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports laughs, but in this matter I should prefer the evidence of Rudyard Kipling to that of Cardinal Manning. Rudyard Kipling, in his book *From Sea to Sea*—from which I think the Prime Minister gleaned that eloquent phrase—“The pattering of bare feet”—speaking of a journey he took by train, says:—

A man sat at my side, and began to talk what he called politics. I had chanced to pay about 6s. for a travelling cap worth 1s. 6d., and he made of the fact a text for a sermon. He said that this was a rich country, and that the people liked to pay 200 per cent. on the value of a thing. They could afford it. He said that the Government imposed a protective duty of from 10 to 70 per cent. on foreign-made articles, and that the American manufacturer consequently could sell his goods for a healthy sum. Thus an imported hat would, with duty, cost £2 2s. The American manufacturer would make a hat for 17s., and sell it for £1 15s.

Thus they were bleeding the people to the extent of the difference between 17s. and £1 15s., and of course the article which, with the import duty, would cost £2 2s., would not pass into consumption. He continues—

Everything that I have yet purchased costs about twice as much it would in England, and when native made, is of inferior quality.

Mr. ISAACS.—The rest of the world does not say so.

Mr. REID.—Is the honorable and learned member the rest of the world?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I prefer the evidence of an expert journalist like Rudyard Kipling, who has visited and studied these countries, and who has partially made his home in America, to that of even the honorable and learned member.

Mr. HUME COOK.—According to the honorable member's own account, he was only quoting some one else.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—He quoted what some one else said, but he drew his own deduction. He proceeds to say—

Moreover, since these lines were first thought of, I have visited a gentleman who owned a factory which used to produce things.

Now he comes to the great argument of the protectionists, that protection fosters labour and gives employment to the people—

He owned the factory still. Not a man was in it, but he was drawing a handsome income from a syndicate of firms for keeping it closed in order that it might not produce things.

Mr. McCOLL.—Is that in a work of fiction?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It is in a work which gives facts and the results of personal observations, and Rudyard Kipling can well afford to leave all fiction outside his own particular department to the protectionists. Now, how far does this Tariff in its incidence afford any sort of relief to the agriculturists or the miners? I have gone through the index to free goods and have honestly endeavoured to see all that it contains of the goods used by those who follow agricultural or mining occupations. As far as I can make out the miner benefits only to the extent that his hats come in free. The Minister of Customs says that his gum boots also come in free, but his machinery does not. As to machinery, no doubt the Minister of Defence will have something to say when he explains away the fact that machinery orders which had been issued to the extent of £250,000, in Western Australia, have been cancelled on account of the imposition of duties under this Tariff.

Mr. HUME COOK.—They are going to have the machinery made in Victoria.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Unfortunately it is alleged that this machinery cannot be made in Victoria; but, even supposing that it could be, are we to shut out the produce of the world in the case of everything that can be made in Victoria? Is the whole world, as well as the whole Commonwealth, to be made subservient to the interests of the Victorian manufacturer? That is very much what this Tariff will reduce us to throughout the different States of the Commonwealth, and the honorable member for Bourke would, no doubt, like the same position made for the Victorian manufacturer throughout the whole of the universe. This index to free goods, at the outset, holds out some little hope to those

of us who desire to see a large free list, in these words—"All goods to be free if not included among dutiable goods." Unfortunately, however, there is a mysterious arrangement of letters—*n.e.i.*—which appears all over the Tariff, and which unostentatiously sweeps so much into the category of dutiable goods that very little is left untouched.

Mr. McCOLL.—There is a similar phrase in all Tariffs—"Not otherwise enumerated."

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—The term "not otherwise enumerated" is used in most cases as one general statement, and is not dotted all over the Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Oh, yes; it is.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It may be in the South Australian Tariff, but it is not in the Tasmanian Tariff. I find that axes are on the free list, but that the Government cannot go the length of making axe handles free, although they have been on the free list in New South Wales, Tasmania, and Western Australia up to the present time. Tasmania, with all its heavy duties, has admitted axe handles free hitherto. Then they have on the free list—

Cornsacks, cream separators, and testers, discs, plough and harrow, drills, flour bags, forks (digging, hay and stable), grindstones, gannies, hames, hoes, reapers and binders (until date fixed by proclamation), hay knives, manures, true vegetable parchment for packing butter for export, rabbit traps, hand rakes, salt-brown rock, scythes, sickles, spades, tomahawks, whetstones, wire netting, and woolpacks.

We find in the free list also such articles as fur and other skins, undressed, which do not stand on the same plane as agricultural necessities. We also find works of art, statuary, paintings, and windows for churches and public institutions, under departmental by-laws; but we do not find amongst these exemptions, agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural machinery and implements, which are charged 15 per cent., though all have hitherto been free in New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia.

Mr. McCOLL.—The duty used to be 35 per cent. in Victoria.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Then more shame to the honorable member!

Mr. McCOLL.—I helped to get it reduced to 15 per cent.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I wonder the honorable member has lived to be able to say what he has just said, or how he can

say it without blushing all over. Plough plates and sheep-shearing machines are charged 15 per cent., and yet these and other similar articles mentioned in the Tariff used to be free—except sheep shearing machines in Tasmania—in New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia. Then we find that axles, which have been free in Queensland, New South Wales, Tasmania, and Western Australia, are subject to a duty of 25 per cent., and that sheep washers, also free in the States I have mentioned, have to pay 15 per cent. Sheep, cattle, pigs, and poultry, except those imported for the improvement of breeds subject to departmental by-laws, are made to, say, a duty of 20 per cent., whereas these used to be free in New South Wales and Queensland, and Tasmania. Reaper and binder twine, which used to be free in New South Wales and Tasmania, and paid 8s. a cwt. in Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia, has now to pay 20 per cent. That is the way in which a few of the most important items to the agricultural industry have been most unmercifully dealt with in this Tariff. There is the consolation to the agriculturist that he may get a manure set on the payment of a duty of 15 per cent, so that if he cannot afford to cultivate his fields, he can cultivate his nails. There is also the great comfort to him that he is to get protection in the shape of 6d. per dozen on eggs, so that if everything else fails, eggs may possibly pull him through. As to Tasmania's position which has been variously represented by the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, our Government statist, and others, I acknowledge, as Tasmanian people generally acknowledge, that we require a very considerable Customs revenue to cover our necessities. But we do not require a Tariff of this sort to raise the revenue necessary for our requirements. The Treasurer for one moment gave just a glimpse of reason, when he recognised the fact that high duties do not necessarily make for revenue. Obviously, as Treasurer, he has to admit that if we impose heavy duties, we restrict, if we do not actually prohibit, importations. When we do that, where is the revenue to come from? I am confident, as the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, has been confident in the past, that a 12½ per cent. to a 15 per cent. Tariff would give to Tasmania the great bulk of the revenue she requires.

Sir Edward Braddon.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—Is the right honorable member quoting from anything which he thinks I have said?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON. — I am quite certain I am quoting what the honorable member has said.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The right honorable member is evidently much misquoting me.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—So far as my memory serves me, and my memory is not very treacherous, the honorable member, as my colleague, has said these things on the floor of the Legislative Assembly of Tasmania.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—I thought the right honorable member was speaking of the Commonwealth revenue.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON. — I am quoting now what the honorable member has said, namely, that lower duties would realize the revenue which Tasmania requires more effectively, for all time, than higher duties.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The right honorable member is assuming that I said that in reference to the Commonwealth Tariff.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, will have an opportunity presently.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—If ever the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, gets an opportunity of twisting himself out of his present position it will be very surprising. That honorable member has said, as I have said on the floor of the Tasmanian Legislative Assembly, that high duties do not necessarily mean a large revenue, but that in normal times, the maximum revenue is to be obtained from the minimum of taxation. That was said by my honorable colleague for Tasmania, one of the four free-trade representatives of that State in this House.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Does the right honorable member propose to reduce the duties in order to get more revenue?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Yes; I say that lower duties would realize certainly as much revenue, and probably more than will be obtained under this Tariff, because to the extent that duties prove restrictive or prohibitive they fail to bring in a high revenue. I wonder if anything in the world will drive that truth into a protectionist's mind. I wonder whether anything in the world will make a protectionist understand that

prohibition, which prevents importation, must prevent the raising of revenue on articles which happen to be in the prohibitive list.

Mr. McCAY.—Then the poor man is saved from paying duty on them.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Can the right honorable member explain that?

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—It is not for me, but for protectionists to explain how they propose to raise revenue by means of prohibitive duties, when, necessarily, prohibition must result in the entire effacement of revenue.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Protectionists prefer to pay their taxes to the manufacturer, not to the Treasury.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—That is what protectionists will not see. It was a subject of boast on the part of the *Age* newspaper, which, I believe, is a protectionist journal, that while in Tasmania customs duties to the extent of £2 10s. per head were levied, in Western Australia £6 per head, and in Queensland between £4 and £5 per head, the amount in protectionist Victoria was only £1 19s. per head. There was only £1 19s. taken out of the pockets of the people for the service of the Treasurer and his brother taxpayers, but there was probably another £1 19s. taken out of the public's pockets for the use and benefit of the manufacturer.

Mr. McCAY.—That is just where the right honorable gentlemen makes the mistake.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I know that it is of no use to adduce any sort of argument. No argument whatever will prevail, except the argument of the ballot-box by and bye, when the Commonwealth shall have been converted, where conversion is necessary, to that pure system of trade advocated by free-traders. I have no doubt in my own mind that that day is not far distant, not beyond the next general election for this House. And it is because I feel that so strongly—because I feel how much depends upon it, not only as to the fate of the particular State which I represent, but as to the fate of the agriculturists, the miners, the working classes throughout the Commonwealth from end to end—that I speak on this question at all, and that I shall vote as I shall do. Whatever the result of this motion may be, I am convinced that we of the free-trade cause will carry victory with us to the poll at the next

general election; and that this debate, although it may end in the defeat of the motion moved by the leader of the Opposition, will have a large educational effect, and will open the eyes of the people, and let in a flood of light where, hitherto, there has been nothing but darkness and misleading.

Sir PHILIP FYSH (Tasmania).—I hope, Mr. Speaker, that honorable members will recognise in the quiet attitude I have observed throughout the somewhat long debates that have heretofore taken place, that I have been more considerate to them than to myself. I have listened with extreme pleasure to many of the discussions that have taken place, although I have not joined in them. Ministers have thought it more advisable to keep back and direct the business of the country and of the House, rather than give more texts upon which honorable members might hang other arguments and speeches in addition to the many which have already been delivered. But there are occasions, sir, when a man is compelled to speak. Possibly I might have been silent on this occasion—even though I remembered that not once or twice, but thrice or more, has one or another honorable member very inopportunistically and without occasion for it, as I thought, mentioned me—had it not been for the speech of my right honorable colleague, Sir Edward Braddon, who has just resumed his seat. He has charged me with having changed my principles, and has said that he has not known where to find me on certain questions. On another occasion, Mr. Speaker, I remember that I was introduced to those who were strangers to me heretofore except by name, as one who had certainly been a preacher of the gospel of free-trade; and I think that the right honorable member, the leader of the Opposition, said that he had read with pleasure my writings and speeches on the subject. The speech to which we have just listened is one to which I must reply; and perhaps I shall best consult that which is fitting if I do take occasion to disabuse the mind of the right honorable member, and if I prevent those honorable members whose opinions I respect and who sit around me, from entertaining the very false impression which they would gather if I left entirely unanswered the attack which has been made upon me. But in order to do that I shall have to make allusion to personal

matters. I regret it, but I shall have also to follow the provincial course and allude to provincial matters to which so much reference has been made by my colleague. I think, sir, that the right honorable member, Sir Edward Braddon, has belittled himself and belittled the discussion by the introduction of these personal matters. We are here for higher and nobler purposes than the discussion of the differences which may be found existing between two men who have been leashed together as Ministers in a neighbouring State for so many years. I am exceedingly astonished that such a necessity should arise. During the speech of the right honorable member, so much time in the early portion of its delivery was occupied by personal allusions to myself, that—regretfully I say it—it must have been observed by honorable members to have been delivered for the purpose of attempting to belittle me. I am therefore compelled not only to refer to my own past career, but also to a portion only of the past career, from the fiscal point of view, of the right honorable member. It is perfectly true that I have been acquainted with the Cobden leaflets, and have prided myself on a knowledge of what has been going on in the world. It is true that I watched with considerable interest what was taking place in regard to the protectionist policy of Victoria, and in connexion with the free-trade period of New South Wales, and that I was interested also in the period of protection which died out with the Dibbs Government. It was my privilege, time after time, to express an opinion with respect to the enlightened policy of a Government which had £2,000,000 of territorial revenue behind it, and which necessarily, therefore, did not go in for a Tariff for revenue purposes. Mr. Speaker, I can say what my right honorable colleague from Tasmania cannot say, that I have made personal sacrifices to maintain my opinions. A long time ago—as far back as 1873 and 1874—I endeavoured to alter the fiscal policy of Tasmania. I carried through the House of Assembly measures which would have altered that policy. But failing after two years, I resigned my portfolio, and made the sacrifice of whatever pecuniary advantage or disadvantage it may have been. I did not because of that, Mr. Speaker, turn to the opposition benches and direct towards my own friends whatever opposition I could,

Sir Philip Fysh.

but for another two years I endeavoured to help them through the difficulties they had to encounter in trying to face what was a very serious and perplexing problem in 1875. But although I favoured the introduction of direct taxation, it was for the purpose of securing revenue to cover interest upon the public debt, which at that time had only accumulated to the extent of £80,000. I have been associated almost ever since with the progress of that State, except in years when I have visited England. I have scarcely been out of Parliament; I have scarcely been out of office. But during the whole of that period we have run up our responsibilities from £83,000 a year to £320,000 a year for interest. When I hear my colleague, speaking with stentorian lungs which I hardly knew he possessed, but upon the possession of which I congratulate him, in his venerable years, and raising aloft his hand and crying for free-trade, I am reminded of what my own reflections were when he was lately wooing a constituency for his seat, and talked of free-trade as though free-trade would make good the financial necessities of Tasmania or of any other State in the Commonwealth except New South Wales. During all this period—finding the necessity for more revenue arising more and more every year—we made Tariffs for revenue purposes. My right honorable friend may not have learnt, as I have learnt, that as we have increased our Tariff, so we have increased our ability to consume dutiable articles. Last year, the highest amount that had ever been collected from customs and excise was collected on the highest Tariff that has ever existed in Tasmania. Originally these Tariffs were proposed for revenue purposes. But we have learnt that the fiscal problem is a tentative science. I do not like to say that of all politics. We have to do, not what we desire to do, but what we can do, and what we are compelled to do by the emergencies and exigencies of the State. Under the exigencies of the State of Tasmania, from year to year, I had to help to build up a Tariff, because we found that the direct taxation was insufficient to meet our purposes. In connexion with the building up of that Tariff, we have had the assistance of the right honorable member who has just resumed his seat. He went hand in hand leashed with a man who calls himself a free-trader in Tasmania, but to whom the unenviable notoriety attaches of having proposed a duty of 40s. on cattle, 2s.

on sheep, and 3½ per cent. primage heaped upon what were already heavy primage duties. This gentleman cried free-trade in Tasmania. Then the right honorable member, Sir Edward Braddon, following in the trail of the leader of the Opposition, who found it convenient to visit Tasmania for electioneering purposes, cast the glamour of his speech over some of the people and led them to follow, crying "free-trade," when they did not know what they were calling for. The cry for free-trade in Tasmania, had it ever received sanction, would have meant the confiscation of a large amount of the property of the people. During that period, I remembered what had been my own course. I was a month behind in my election campaign, owing to my absence in England, but I sent out my manifesto. I called on the people with all the earnestness which my knowledge of the English language would permit, to return members to this Commonwealth Parliament who should be pledged to realize from customs and excise as much revenue as possible, in order to maintain the credit of the State. I took up that position all through my election. I never spoke of free-trade, or if I did, it was to own a liking for it, which I regretted the position of Tasmania and the colonies generally would not permit me to gratify. On the very first occasion that I spoke in Launceston, upon my return from England, my colleague, the Minister for Trade and Customs, was on the platform. I did not anticipate that my speech on that occasion would have produced upon some of the gentlemen present the result that it did. I spoke to the audience, as I am speaking now, calling their attention to the necessities and the possibilities of the great future into which they were entering, and begging of them to consider well the men whom they were to send to represent them. I begged them to see that they were men marked by the possession of judgment and some erudition, and able to read the signs of the times. I said—"To me the signs of the times are strongly in favour of such a revenue Tariff as you have been having yourselves, incidentally protecting the interests of the manufacturer and of the producer." I told them of the producers and the manufacturers who had been built up in that place, and of the capital that had been drawn into Tasmania. I told them of the hundreds of men who were earning a living in the factories,

of the pattering of clogs along the streets, and the ringing of factory bells, which we knew not of 20 years ago. Telling them all these things, I said—"These interests give employment, and I shall be no party to their destruction. I honestly beg of you to return men who will pledge themselves to keep down the expenditure of the Commonwealth, but who, at the same time, will be prepared to maintain a high revenue Tariff." As a result, much to my astonishment, I was, from that time forth, taken in hand, apparently, by protectionists. I did not bid for their assistance; I did not ask for it. I meant to have gone on my own independent course, but because on that particular platform men came to the front, and said—"We accept Sir Philip Fysh as our candidate"—although I did not ask to be so accepted—I was denounced in other portions of the country where the glamour of these free-traders' speeches had fallen on the people. I was denounced by my right honorable friend, Sir Edward Braddon, who had been my co-Minister and colleague for 10 years.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—I never denounced the honorable member.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—Oh, yes, the right honorable member did. I heard of it, and I heard of it very regretfully. I think I may now get away from my own personal position, but I may say, that to my mind, my right honorable friend, Sir Edward Braddon, has not properly explained the object of our Tasmanian Tariffs. Surely he has forgotten them. He has thought more, perhaps, of their purpose than of their results. I do not know what causes this aberration of mind on his part, but he tells us now that the Tasmanian duties were imposed absolutely without discrimination.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Without protectionist discrimination, I said.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—"Without discrimination" were the right honorable member's words. He said that in respect of a Tariff which included a duty of 40s. per head on cattle, 2s. on sheep, and 2s. 6d. on pigs.

Mr. CAMERON.—Is not the right honorable member aware that that duty has been repealed?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—What has that to do with the matter? When the honorable member has some sensible remark to make I shall be very happy to reply to it.

That cattle Tariff was repealed for one year during the Braddon-Fysh administration. It was not a case of "Whereas we have discovered our error and are desirous of introducing free-trade in meat into Tasmania," but it was a case of "Whereas the number of fat cattle is so short, be it known that it is necessary for a year to reduce this Tariff." The Tariff was accordingly reduced, but by effluxion of time it again came into operation. Thus we had from the free-trader who has just been speaking a duty of 40s. per head upon cattle. Yet, according to the right honorable member, there has been no discrimination in the Tasmanian Tariff. Why, timber in the log has been admitted free; timber sawn has carried one duty, timber plain another duty, and timber in architraves still a different duty. Spices which were whole have been taxed at one rate, and spices which were ground at another rate. Candles, which of course could be made in that State, carried a duty of 2d. per lb., and a similar tax was levied upon imported biscuits. Stearine which could not be made locally was admitted free for the protection of the candle makers. These are facts which I should not have introduced had not the right honorable Sir Edward Braddon so thoroughly misunderstood or misrepresented me. His action, however, compels me to remind him how he has sat with me, and agreed that certain raw materials in connexion with saddlery, upholstery, bootmaking and hat making should be admitted free, whilst there should be a duty imposed upon the finished articles for the purpose of encouraging local manufacturers. I found myself when I returned from England thoroughly in accord with the manifesto issued by the Prime Minister at Maitland. I found that although he had been associated with protectionists, he at any rate had the breath of free-trade upon him in New South Wales, and was under a certain influence which caused him to say—"We cannot have the free-trade Tariff of New South Wales or the protectionist Tariff of Victoria, but we must have a high Tariff for revenue purposes. In connection with that high Tariff for revenue purposes we must meet the necessities of the weaker States, and I pledge myself that except in the hour of the greatest stress and emergency my Government will not call upon the people for direct taxation."

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It was because I believed I was going to secure a higher Tariff for revenue purposes, and was thus going to protect the weaker State of Tasmania from that direct taxation, more of which she could not bear, that I joined the Government, and have been associated with them in an endeavour, first, to find a sufficiency of revenue for the weaker States; secondly, to see that we do not destroy that which we cannot build up; and, thirdly, to try and redeem those pledges which were made on behalf of the Ministry by its leader. I claim that we have redeemed our pledges. I do not say that in every respect this Tariff is perfect. What is our object in going into committee? It is to see wherein we differ in regard to details. If we accept the principle we shall get into committee and possibly amend in detail.

Mr. CONROY.—What principle?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The principle of obtaining a sufficiency of revenue for all purposes and of preventing the destruction of any existing industry. In Victoria alone, irrespective of what we have in Tasmania, there are £12,000,000 invested in various manufacturing industries. I am not one of those who say that there are no "vested interests." Let those who make this declaration apply it to the various public houses throughout the land, and see if they can break down the cry of "vested interests." Vested interests may be seen in all directions. Victoria has particularly invited the investment of capital within its borders. Tasmania has invited manufacturers to build up warehouses, employ labour, and invest capital, and having done so these men are now thriving. They are thriving not to the disadvantage of some one else, but with advantage alike to themselves and to the people. I am addressing myself to a subject with which I am personally acquainted. I have been an importer for 52 years. I was an importer in England for ten years, and a resident importer in Australia for 42 years. The duties imposed in Tasmania are—as I have pointed out—very high, and yet last year they yielded the largest amount of revenue ever received by that State. Those duties have enabled the manufacturers of boots, blankets, flannels, woollens, candles, and various other articles to keep me as an importer out of foreign markets. Where fifteen years ago I annually imported these articles by hundreds of cases, my son, who

now has my business, does not import one case. The whole of these goods such as the heavier classes of men's boots, all woollen blankets, flannels, woollens for trouserings, and ladies' dresses are now made in Tasmania, and sold at prices which prevent us from importing from Lancashire any one of them. They are superior articles, and are recognised as such.

Mr. CAMERON.—Where does the revenue come from?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—I have already pointed out that the high duties imposed resulted in Tasmania securing last year the largest amount of revenue from customs and excise ever collected by that State. The fact is that we have given to a larger population a higher wage, and have so improved their position that they can buy a larger portion of the world's commodities. Although, if I had resided in New South Wales I might have seen its progress under different circumstances, I must say that so far as Tasmania is concerned she would not have been in the progressive position which she occupies to-day had we not through our revenue Tariff given this incidental encouragement to local manufacturers. I think that I may now pass from my right honorable friend and from matters connected with Tasmania to a few general observations upon this motion. I am sorry that the leader of the Opposition is not present, because it is always more pleasant to speak in the presence of a man than it is to talk behind his back. I wanted to say that all through this speech I had a feeling that I knew where I could put my hand upon some description of some one else which would be very much akin to the description I should have given of the right honorable gentleman and his speech. I remember that in Justin McCarthy's volume No. 4, somewhere about the middle of the volume, he tells us about Gathorne Hardy, of whom he says that his speech was of a rattling, declamatory kind, stirring as the rolling drum, as flowing as the sand in the hour-glass, which is always flowing; but as empty as the drum, and as dry as the sand in the hour-glass.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The right honorable member was not dry.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—I wish the right honorable gentleman were present, but if he was not dry, there was this feeling which was observed by members of the House. Members of the State Legislature

came to listen, and when the right honorable and learned gentleman entered the other day, one was heard to say, "George, give us some fun." Now, I do not come here for fun; I should very much prefer spending my time at home. Upon this the most important occasion of the session, when we might have expected the right honorable and learned gentleman to apply himself rather to a thorough shredding to pieces of what was to him a most objectionable Tariff, I was unable to take down more than three or four points which needed any special answer. One occurs to me immediately with respect to a grocer, who evidently had been taking a rise out of "Georgie."

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable Minister must not refer to another honorable member in that way.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—I am very sorry, and I beg pardon. I do not often slip in that way. Some one has been taking a "rise" out of the right honorable and learned gentleman, who is known to be so thorough a free-trader. We know how it is with people outside, and we know that the man on the corner always wants to give us some tips. He gave the right honorable and learned gentleman some tips, and said he had been all day marking up 100 articles in his warehouse by reason of the rise in prices due to the Tariff. I have gone over them, and I find that there are seven on one side which he could raise in price, whereas there are thirteen on the other side the price of which he would have to reduce. I say that is a very fair specimen of the criticisms we have had of this Tariff. It is high in its aggregate, but we require to look through the items and compare them. We must draw a big black line down New South Wales first.

Mr. CONROY.—A State with one-third of the people of Australia.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—We must draw a big black line down the free-trade country first, and then look to the Tariffs of the other five States, and we shall find that there has been an extraordinary compromise—to say the least of it—in favour of those States which are demanding more revenue and less protection. So far as protection is concerned, I shall just take two items, hats and boots. Was it possible to expect that nine gentlemen could meet in Cabinet representing the incongruous elements of six separate States, and by any method at all,

by ballot or otherwise, frame a Tariff which should not only gratify them individually and collectively, but gratify also this House and the people? I have had some pleasure in framing Tariffs before. But I have never gone into Parliament with a Tariff without knowing that I should have a great many voices in opposition, and that I might have to make some concession to those who, sitting on one side or the other, might make good their objections. We could not expect that these nine gentlemen, under these circumstances, and finding the necessities of their States so widely different, could agree unanimously to all the articles in any one Tariff. Had we not to consider, so far as New South Wales was concerned, that whatever we did must give to her a revenue altogether disproportionate to the needs of the State? But New South Wales came into federation with the rest of us. The right honorable the leader of the Opposition told the people in February, 1890, that the price New South Wales was to pay for federation was the abandonment of her free-trade policy. Is that not a fact? I read it, and I admired him for saying it. It was telling his people the straight-out issue which they had to meet. They met it, and returned my right honorable colleague and leader at the head of the poll.

Mr. CONROY.—It is exactly what the Prime Minister did not say.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—What the Prime Minister said is recorded in black and white, distinctly, and I have read it on more than one occasion. The question as to a high or a low Tariff is a question of degree. Fifteen per cent. might be a very high Tariff for New South Wales, while 20 per cent. would not be a high Tariff in Tasmania, where such a Tariff has been in existence for some time. Twenty per cent. on shirts in Victoria, with 10 per cent. charged on the raw material, which heretofore paid nothing, is a vast concession for Victoria from the previous 35 per cent., and no duty payable on the raw material. So far as hats and boots are concerned a great concession has been made, and we have there a reduction of 50 per cent. When they had to take into consideration Victoria, which is represented here by almost as many members as New South Wales, and also to take into consideration Queensland and Tasmania, where the Tariff is incidentally protectionist, how is it possible to presume that nine men in their senses should produce a Tariff very

much dissimilar from that laid upon the table? In connexion with our imports of goods of a value of over £13,000,000 which pay *ad valorem* duties, not one-fifth is chargeable with so high a rate as 25 per cent. With respect to narcotics and stimulants I need not offer a word of apology, because all the States, just as has been done in other countries, have loaded up the duties upon stimulants and narcotics as high as they possibly could to secure revenue, while avoiding inducements for smuggling on a large scale. Dealing with the specific duties, those who attack the Tariff ought also to acknowledge lines where the specific duties have been to a considerable extent diminished, and *per contra* we shall be able to show that, where there has been one increase of any importance, there have been very many decreases of very vital importance in the value. I take sugar for example. Where, except in Western Australia, £5 or £6 has been the ruling rate, and in Queensland £3, in the course of the next six years there will be, so far as sugar is concerned, a free breakfast table for the people of Australia. Tasmania had a duty of 6d. upon kerosene, but in future her people will have to pay a duty of only 3d. In the same way I might take the House through all the lines of the Tariff, and show that if we are to have revenue at all we must maintain these specific duties. They are duties which have been imposed by the States almost without challenge, not for protective purposes, because the articles were hardly manufactured here at all, but to give revenue. I think, therefore, I may pass away from that consideration to another, and a very serious one—whether it would have been possible, under the provisions of the Constitution, for any Ministry to bring forward other proposals than those contained in this Tariff. In a normal year, the proposed duties will return a revenue of £9,000,000 sterling. The difference between that amount and the revenue collected in 1899—which was, roughly speaking, £7,500,000—is £1,500,000. Nearly the whole of that amount will come from New South Wales; that is to say, it will be collected from the people of that country, and returned to them to be used for their own purposes. But the Commonwealth has another responsibility, and the people were told of it by those of us who for the last 20 years advocated federation. They hailed with much satisfaction our purpose to break down the barriers

between the various States and to give to trade between the States that free course which we were so desirous to obtain, but which so many resolutions of the various Parliaments, and so many agreements between Ministers, had failed to secure. From the moment of the introduction of this Tariff we had the blessings of freedom of trade between the States. We have not put our seed into the ground in the expectation of its germinating within a week or a month, and we are not like children to pick it up from time to time to see if it is growing. We know that there is vitality in it, and so far as Tasmania, which is the State with which I am most connected, is concerned, I am satisfied that, whatever sacrifice of revenue may be made, whatever the loss to the Treasury may be, the people will gain, because of the market opened up for their products among 3,500,000 people. But the removal of the Inter-State barriers has laid upon us the responsibility of finding £1,000,000 of additional revenue. That was a point respecting which I waited for honorable members to show that fairness which we might expect from those who claim a desire to help Ministers by making a concession in regard to this serious difficulty; but they did not do so. In addition to that, we have to find revenue to pay for new departments, and the new expenditure of the Commonwealth generally. Surely honorable members are not likely to ignore that other responsibility which comes to us through partnership with people who are financially weaker than ourselves. Surely they will bear in mind the fact that the interests of those people are Commonwealth interests, and that the destruction of the credit of Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, or Queensland, would be a blow to the credit of the Commonwealth. How is the Commonwealth to maintain the credit of those States except by returning to them, as nearly as possible, the amount of revenue which they received before joining the union? It is true that in doing this we must give New South Wales more than she requires, but that is only incidental. Even when £9,000,000 per annum is raised by the Commonwealth, Tasmania will lose £135,000 a year, together with other losses, and increased expenditure.

Mr. CAMERON.—Losses such as “Tattersall’s.”

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—Yes.

Mr. CAMERON.—Then why did not the honorable member try to retain “Tattersall’s”?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—There is another point, which the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse, referred to, when speaking on the address in reply—the inability of some of the weaker States to consume proportionately the same quantity of stimulants, narcotics, and luxuries, as is consumed by the larger States. If, therefore, a Tariff is raised, equal to 40s. per head upon the population of the Commonwealth, the distribution to Tasmania will not be equal to 40s. a head. Although we are gradually creeping up to the consumption of the other States in the consumption of these articles, we shall find it difficult to overtake the consumption of States like Queensland and New South Wales. The consumption of these articles by Queensland is very great, no doubt by reason of her large male population and the number of people engaged in mining there, while the consumption of New South Wales is no doubt due to the wealth of her cities, and the large number of persons interested in pastoral and other pursuits. In dividing the £9,000,000 of revenue amongst the States, Tasmania, although her population represents 5·05 per cent., will retain only 3·95 per cent., the measure of the power to consume. 3·95 per cent., which is practically 4 per cent., on a Tariff of £9,000,000, amounts to £360,000, which means a loss to Tasmania of £135,000 a year. If the House could get rid of that provincialism which I am sorry to find still exists throughout the States, and of which we have an exhibition here from time to time; if honorable members will forget what was done in the Convention, and take account of what we are learning day by day, that the time must soon come for a federation of our financial systems—for the federation of our common purse—we shall get rid of, once and for all, the difficulties which surround Ministers in framing a Tariff. If now we could frame a Tariff for £7,000,000, and that were found enough for New South Wales, and would give to Tasmania and the weaker States their proper proportion per population, I should have, at 5 per cent., £350,000 instead of £360,000 out of £9,000,000.

Mr. CAMERON.—Is not the honorable gentleman ashamed to beg for Tasmania?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—When the honorable member can interject something which is worthy of a member of this great Legislature, I shall reply.

Mr. CAMERON.—The honorable gentleman will find it out when he goes back for election.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—That is the point I have been trying to keep before the people for years past. I am very pleased that the leader of the Opposition has entered the chamber, because I want to refresh his mind in respect to it.

Mr. REID.—The honorable gentleman will never refresh my mind.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—It may not be at the moment on the right honorable member's mind, and certainly my conclusions are not on his mind. If I can bring home to honorable members my conclusions then, —not this session, but, I hope, very early—they, giving attention to the result of such a change in our Constitution may support the Administration in bringing about so desirable a result as a division of the revenues of the States *per capita* instead of giving back the amount which was collected therein. This was an astonishing claim to put forward. I dare not put forward such a claim in the convention.

Mr. REID.—Nor now, either.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—I am not putting it forward as a claim now. I hope that directly New South Wales finds that she has to raise so much more than is immediately necessary, and that she only needs to raise it because the weaker States are compelled to ask for this much more; she will consider the position, and help us at an early date to amend the Constitution, so as to get rid of the bookkeeping clauses. I own that I am as much responsible for the bookkeeping clauses as is any one. For seven days, in three separate conventions, the Treasurers sat to consider this question, but we always had before us the prime principle on which we were entering into federation—that there should be no abandonment by any State of its rights, properties, or interests. Starting from that basis, we never could get as far as we would like until on one occasion, the right honorable and learned member who leads the Opposition here, after agreeing to our proposals in committee for the first or second time, went into the convention, and instead of backing up the minutes of the committee which he had indorsed within the hour, made what we

hoped would be a proposal which might possibly assist in getting us out of that difficulty—a proposal somewhat similar to that which has been made, so far as Western Australia is concerned—to level up and down the collections within the various States. Tasmania was collecting only 35s. per head, while New South Wales was collecting 45s. per head. His proposal was that during five years Tasmania should be levelled up to the 40s. per head, and New South Wales levelled down to the 40s. per head. But no sooner did he discover that it meant to New South Wales a loss of not less than £800,000 per year, than he naturally was obliged to abandon it. When we remember that Western Australia in those days was collecting about 17 per head through her Customs, while New South Wales was collecting only about £1 5s. per head; we shall see that there was no other course open to the committees—try as much as they could, and knowing that the press and the people, and every one in the convention, were opposed to the bookkeeping principle—but to continue in the Bill as finally framed a provision almost similar to that which appeared in the first draft of the Bill of 1891. So that we are driven by the Constitution into the position of raising a much larger revenue than is necessary. Now that my right honorable friend has left the chamber again, I do not know that I shall trouble to go over the various points to which he referred. I did allude to the grocery matter, and now I shall allude to the man who paid 6s. duty a dozen on caps, and who hereafter will have to pay only 3s. a dozen. Surely that was wide enough for any protectionist body to reduce the duty at one fell swoop. The right honorable member said just now that the manufacturer would have to pay 20 per cent. on his imported woollens and 20 per cent. on his trimmings and bindings. His informant was only “having” him, for most likely the caps are made of the odd pieces of Ballarat wool. At any rate all the bindings and trimmings are absolutely free of duty. Let us boil down the £63,000,000 of imports for 1899 to see how much is to be exempted from duty. I think honorable members will discover that we have in that amount reached the maximum which we could afford to exempt at the present time. If we add to the £29,000,000 for intercolonial products and interchange of trade the taxable amount of

£21,000,000, which produces the revenue of £9,000,000, we get £50,000,000. In view of the high values of last year's imports and the great loading up of stock during this year, my right honorable colleague has thought that he should allow £5,000,000 or thereabouts for shortages, and thus we have the very large sum of £8,000,000 worth of goods which are absolutely exempted from duty. When any one looks up the Tariff and turns to the exempt lists, and asks what meaning is to be attached to those words "all articles not stated in the Tariff are to be absolutely free," I call his attention to the fact that he can study for himself and discover that not less than £8,000,000 worth of imported goods will now be free of duty. I do not think I need occupy the House with further observations on the subject. I have been drawn on more than I had intended, but I think I have said enough to show honorable members that I have been perfectly in earnest. I hope I have been conscientious in the discharge of my duty. I have done that which I believe is the best to be done for the Commonwealth, and I am quite sure that it is the best that could be done for Tasmania, whose interests I feel more immediately associated with. We have expected a deficiency there, variously estimated at from £100,000 to £260,000 per annum. I have always stated it at about £100,000. I wrote to the Premier of Tasmania a few days ago to call his attention to the fact that, seeing that the Tariff comes into operation so late in the year, I believe his loss for the year, including his loss of about £6,000 on the importation of cattle, if he loses that, will not be more than £30,000.

Mr. CAMERON.—Is not the honorable gentleman aware that the duties were repealed twelve months ago?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The cattle duties were collected last year. I also called the attention of the Premier of Tasmania to the fact that I believe during the coming year his loss may be £100,000, and that it will not reach more than about £120,000 in a normal year. If that be the result, I shall claim as far as Tasmania is concerned, at any rate, that she has had a hand in framing a Tariff which will not be detrimental to her own interests, but which I hope will operate to the advantage of all the States. I trust, further, that New South Wales herself will presently take a very

large hand in meeting the necessities of her own people, and that we may have, not only in connexion with one thing, but in all things, a united and self-contained Australia.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—I think that you, sir, and the House must have marvelled at the wonderful self-control of the representatives of New South Wales throughout this debate in regard to a Tariff which has imposed such burdens upon the people of that State. A protest has been raised not only in New South Wales, but it has also been heard from the representatives of Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia; and even one representative of Victoria has complained of the pernicious character of this iniquitous Tariff. We have been told that we should extend the sentimentalities that were indulged in at the time that we were being appealed to to join in forming a United Australia. We are asked to extend our horizon, and take a broad and comprehensive view of the possibilities that lie before us as a united people, but we find that we are expected to expand our mental view to a horizon that is ever extending southwards to Victoria, and to accept freely and willingly a Victorian Tariff. It is with difficulty that any man from New South Wales can even contemplate such a prospect, and even at the risk of being considered provincial, I feel that it is my duty to fight for the rights of the State I represent. The right honorable gentleman who last addressed the House, in his opening remarks, led us to believe that his sole desire was to promote the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole, but he did not forget, towards the close of his address, to tell us that the most important matter in his mind was the interest of Tasmania. From his own stand-point he appeared to be satisfied, and he has a perfect right to his opinions, but I take it that I am called upon, equally with the right honorable gentlemen, to see that State interests are not sacrificed. I know that there are very many men who can well uphold the interests of Victoria without the assistance of any one from New South Wales, and I must enter the lists and fight as strongly as I can for the people of my own State, who strongly disapprove of the financial policy of the Government. The whole of the people of New South Wales are practically in a state of rebellion. This feeling has not been worked up by any

newspaper agitation, and is not confined to any one class of the community, but prevails among all classes, from the merchant to the mechanic; and if the people of that State had the power to obtain a divorce from this Constitution, that power would, in the present state of feeling, be exercised against the Commonwealth. This Tariff is not merely a temporary scheme of taxation, but it will involve serious consequences for many years to come, and if it is carried in its present form, it will practically mean confiscation for the people of New South Wales, and particularly for those who are least able to bear it. We have been told that we do not know what vested interests mean, but we do know what they mean, and we fear them in consequence. We recognise that this Tariff has been framed very largely as the result of the influence exerted by vested interests in Victoria, and it is because we know that under a system of high Tariffism you create vested interests, which exercise a power inimical to the best interests of the general public, that we fight so strongly. It is well known that this battle will extend beyond the walls of this House, and that it will be fought upon the platforms throughout the whole length and breadth of Australia, and we, the representatives of New South Wales, will stand up, not only for our own State, but in support of an equitable adjustment of the burdens of taxation, such as the people of New South Wales have benefited by, and recognise as truly just. They expect us to fight for them in this matter with all the strength with which we are capable, and that is the reason why we feel so concerned about the proposals of the Government; that is why it is difficult for us to restrain ourselves when we are speaking upon this matter so as to avoid being offensive. I have not yet been personally offensive in my attitude in this House, and I do not wish to be so now, but if I should be carried away into making remarks that might bear the colour of offensiveness, it is only because I feel strongly and regard it as my duty to speak strongly in defence of that policy which I have helped to mould, and for which I have fought under the leadership of the leader of the Opposition. It is this policy that the people in the district I represent have realized the full benefits of, and they expect me to uphold it here as fiercely as I have maintained it in

the past. I trust this House will not regard me as egotistical when I tell them that I represent the strongest industrial electorate in the whole of Australia. The magnitude of its industries, the powerful influences they exert, their stability and the thousands of operatives employed in connexion with them, make the district I represent unquestionably the most important manufacturing centre in the whole of the Commonwealth. I am now speaking with the force of conviction, and with the greatest earnestness in support of the policy we have carried out there, and as the representative of such an important centre, my words must carry a certain amount of weight. It has been my privilege to represent for many years a district in which the electors are mainly composed of the artisan classes. They have returned me not by small majorities or by any catch votes, but by absolute and decisive majorities. In presenting facts and figures to honorable members, I will not draw upon the statistical journals, as many other honorable members have done, for information, but upon my experience as the representative of a constituency composed of men for whose special benefit the Government policy is supposed to have been framed and formulated. My constituents have persisted, not by small but by absolute majorities, in affirming, in the interests of their own welfare, a policy directly opposed to that of the Government. That is surely a refutation of the arguments used by some honorable members who have addressed the House from the Government side during this debate, and a refutation which ought to have some weight with the community. Surely the people there, who have been for years engaged in iron-working and similar industries, are well able to judge of what policy they are prepared to live under? On the question of revenue we have heard no better speech than that of the honorable member for North Sydney tonight, when he, with his critical faculty and commercial knowledge, followed to the bitter end the consequences which will flow from the Budget and Tariff now presented. The honorable member gave this House a criticism which has not as yet been reversed; and I may here show how two members of the Ministry contradict each other on this question of revenue. The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, referring to his experience in that State, contended that

high tariffism, while it had kept out certain commodities, had given the people there more constant and regular wages, and had enabled them to buy more largely of the world's goods. Early this evening the Treasurer said that a high Tariff had the effect of keeping out the world's goods, but that, while goods might be dearer to the people of Victoria, they had with their money purchased their own local goods.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not at all. What I said was that, by having the work done and the wages paid here, the people were able to purchase a far larger quantity of imported goods.

Mr. WILKS.—That the people were enabled to purchase more imported goods?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Imported revenue-producing goods, that we do not manufacture here.

Mr. WILKS.—I certainly must have misunderstood the right honorable gentleman. But it will be remembered that the Treasurer said that, while the people in Victoria paid a little dearer for the goods locally manufactured, they were able to sell those goods in the outside markets at a cheaper rate. Thus we discover that the years and years of high tariffism in Victoria have been at the expense of the taxpayers of that State—that the people inside the protected area have had to pay higher rates for locally manufactured goods than were paid for these goods elsewhere when exported.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But the protectionists strenuously deny that fact!

Mr. WILKS.—The Treasurer said this afternoon that while goods produced in Victoria have been sold in New South Wales and elsewhere at a cheaper rate than in the local market, the people of Victoria have had the compensation of the knowledge that they have benefited the community. During the debate on the address in reply the Prime Minister said that the need of revenue for the various States stood higher than any fiscal theory. The statement made by the Prime Minister was that he considered revenue before fiscal theory; but the Minister for Trade and Customs said that he considered protection before revenue.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did not say anything of the sort!

Mr. WILKS.—That was the inference from the right honorable gentleman's remark when he threw down a challenge and said, "We stand here and hold our majority on

the pronouncement of the principle of protection." The right honorable gentleman has forgotten that, when speaking, he said it was the intention of the Ministry to give bonuses to certain industries, and that when these industries had produced sufficient to earn the bonuses, they would be carried on afterwards under a protective Tariff. The right honorable gentleman was so reported in *Hansard*; and if that be his view, I ask him now whether he does not consider the fiscal before the revenue aspect.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No.

Mr. WILKS.—We are told by the Prime Minister that he requires revenue, subject to the condition that "substantial" industries are not destroyed. That, I think, is the position taken up by the Prime Minister—that revenue must be collected, but not at the expense of what are termed "substantial" industries. "Industries shall not be ruthlessly destroyed" is, I believe, another phrase that was used by Ministers during the electoral campaign, or within the walls of this chamber. At any rate, they say that "substantial" industries must not be sacrificed. I want to know what is a "substantial" industry. Are the Ministry concerned only with the "substantial" industries of Victoria, or are they concerned also with the "substantial" industries of another State? We have substantial industries in New South Wales, the effect of protection on which would be their destruction. According to the Government, destruction would follow the removal of protection from certain industries in Victoria. I am endeavouring to show that the Tariff, not only in its form, but in its incidence of taxation is, according to the Minister's own representations, purely in a Victorian direction and under Victorian influence. If to remove the protective duties from certain industries in Victoria is to destroy them, then I reverse the position, and say, what I shall be able to prove, that to impose protective duties on certain New South Wales industries would certainly mean the destruction of the latter. When honorable members are asked to record a vote on a question of this character, they are naturally concerned to know the exact meaning of the word "substantial." If industries in Victoria, after 30 years' coddling at the expense of the taxpayers, still require further assistance at the hands of the Commonwealth Parliament and the Commonwealth taxpayer, and the people

of Australia are to be asked to carry on the work of charity and generosity hitherto carried on by the taxpayers of Victoria, those industries can no longer be called substantial. If those industries are substantial there is no necessity to tax the people of the whole of Australia in order to support them. In the electorate which I have the honour and privilege to represent, there are industries employing thousands of men. Those industries are absolutely dependent on commerce and shipping, and are dependent on the free importation of the tools, appliances, and material used by those engaged in them. If it be right to protect the industries of one State, it surely is right to protect the industries of another State. The industries I have mentioned have become staple and powerful at the expense and in consequence of the enterprise and energy of those engaged in them. The people of New South Wales have not been called upon to contribute one penny, either by means of Tariff or bonuses, for the support of those industries; and should like to ask the Ministry whether they are prepared to take the broad Australian view that no industries must be destroyed or crippled. Are they prepared to consider the industries of New South Wales, which will materially suffer if the present proposals are carried out? The incidence of this taxation can be told in language, which I cannot command, by the people of New South Wales, who feel the burden, and are expressing, hour by hour, the fear of the results which will follow the imposition of this Tariff. We are told by the Government that this Tariff of an *ad valorem* character is not an unfair one; but I submit that an *ad valorem* Tariff taxes people not according to their ability to pay, but according to their power of consumption. Mechanics under this Tariff are taxed on the necessities of life. A week ago the Tariff of New South Wales contained 49 taxable articles; to-day it contains over 1,000 taxable articles, most of which are consumed mainly by the masses of the community. We find from this list that high taxation is imposed upon food, apparel, machinery, building material, and upon nearly everything that goes to make the surroundings and the comfort of the mechanic, as well as of the ordinary citizen of the community. The *ad valorem* taxes in their incidence press equally upon the mechanic and upon the millionaire. Most

Mr. Wilks.

millionaires at the present day have attained their position by the most rigid and austere principles of life. If a millionaire does not consume high class wines, and does not indulge in the highest class of narcotics, it is more than possible that under the Tariff of the Barton Government, brought in by the Minister for Trade and Customs, who has been represented by his friends to be the leading radical in Australia, he will not be more highly taxed than the mechanic. I will also bring another point under the notice of the House. It is that the bachelor, under this Tariff, will pay less than the married man with a family. These taxes fall purely upon the artisan and his family; and in a country like New South Wales where the taxation has hitherto been only £1 6s. 6d. per head, it will be in the future £2 7s. 6d. per head—an increase of £1 1s. per head. According to ordinary statistical authorities, we may accept the average family as consisting of five. In my own electorate people are not generally so delicate-looking as I am, and have larger families than that. You are aware, Mr. Speaker, with your political knowledge and your business experience, that when taxes are imposed upon goods imported into a country, not only are imposts levied upon the people through the Custom-house, but additional charges are made in respect of those goods by the middlemen and merchants. But taking it simply according to the extra amount paid through the Customs, this Tariff means to every family in the community, and especially in New South Wales, where they have hitherto had an equitable adjustment of taxation, an additional burden of from half-a-crown to three shillings per week. That may seem to be a small sum, but later on I shall ask honorable members to compare that half-a-crown or three shillings with the extra cost of living, as against the wages rates as cited in this House last night as a reason for adopting the Victorian policy. I am not one of those who would say that taxation is a crime. We know that we must have taxation. We also know that the free-traders of New South Wales had to make a sacrifice on coming into the Federation. They themselves knew that. But they did not believe for one moment that a Tariff would be introduced that would to such a great extent tax the masses. Hitherto, it must be remembered, New South Wales has been one of the least taxed

communities in the world, and the incidence of its taxation has been the most equitable in the world. But New South Wales stands to-day, owing to the tabling of the Tariff resolutions, as the third highest taxed State in Australia; and as far as the incidence of taxation is concerned her people will be amongst the most highly taxed people in the world.

Mr. ISAACS.—Did not the leader of the Opposition tell the New South Wales Assembly that there must be a high Customs Tariff?

Mr. WILKS.—He said there must be high duties relatively to the duties in New South Wales, which were low. He said that there must be a revenue Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—He said a very high Tariff.

Mr. WILKS.—I shall show that this Tariff, instead of being, as it is represented to be, a revenue producing Tariff, will be in many directions a revenue destroying Tariff. I believe that some of the Victorian advocates of protection, who favour the fiscal policy of this State, will be only too glad to discover that it is not revenue producing but revenue destroying. The Victorian politician in this House who believed in the fiscal policy of this State in the past will not be satisfied, according to his own admissions—we have the admissions of the honorable member for Gippsland, and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports to that effect—with the duties as they stand, but will desire in committee not to decrease those duties, but to increase them. They do not regard the Tariff as sufficiently protective for them. I believe that if amendments are carried in the direction they desire, the Tariff will become less and less revenue producing and more and more revenue destroying. If we are to have a protective policy for Australia, I would rather have the issue stated plainly in favour of protection. If the issue were put plainly before the people of Australia, I do not think it would require either speeches in this House or from the platform to prove to the people that their interests do not lie in the direction advocated by the high tariffists, but in that recommended by those who favour low tariff inclinations. I suppose that under this Tariff the Treasurer hopes to get revenue from those articles that are in general consumption and demand by the

mass of the people. It is a peculiar commentary upon the policy of the Government that the reasons given by the advocates of indirect taxation are that money can be more easily extracted from the people by indirect taxation than by a more open course, or by a low Tariff and an equitable adjustment of taxation. I am not making an attack upon the Treasurer. The position he holds, and the financial requirements of the country have, to a great extent, forced him into the present position. But if we find on both sides of the Chamber that there is an opinion that the constitutional requirements and the financial machinery of the Commonwealth require that the Government should extract a higher revenue from the people than is required for the purposes of the Commonwealth, then it may be considered whether it is not our duty to remove this machinery which compels the Government to take that course of action.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If New South Wales would vote with us we might get the country to do it, but it could not be done by this Parliament.

Mr. WILKS.—If New South Wales is shown that it is because of that financial machinery that excessive taxation has to be wrung from the people of Australia, and that the Tariff is made higher than is required for the purposes of the Commonwealth, it would not require much persuasion to induce the whole people, not only of that State but of the Commonwealth, to cast their vote in favour of removing that constitutional objection.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I should be very glad to see it done.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member for North Sydney, with infinite credit to himself, has presented to the House not a mere collection of statistics compiled by others, but a scheme which is the result of his own commercial training and knowledge of finance. Taking the estimated revenue as presented by the Treasurer he has adjusted the burdens of taxation more equitably than the Government have done. Under his scheme a smaller demand is made upon the people, and he shows that a smaller revenue will be sufficient.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member would leave the States insolvent under his scheme.

Mr. WILKS.—No, he provides against that. I am glad the right honorable and

learned gentleman has referred to that matter. When the honorable member for North Sydney was speaking he forgot to explain his scheme for making good the shortage which might exist for one year under his proposals. It occurred to me at the time that he had omitted to make reference to that provision, and he explained to me afterwards that the £900,000 shortage which would result from the calculation of the normal as against the abnormal year, would be met by a primage duty of 5 per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But the shortage of £900,000 occurs every year. In the first year it would be double that amount.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member proposes to meet that shortage in the way I have stated. That is the explanation he has given to me, but he has a better knowledge of the subject than I possess, and I do not intend to pursue the matter further. I wish to drive home the point that not only the artisans, not only the industrial classes, but the commercial classes of New South Wales also will suffer under this Tariff. With the exception of one or two peculiarly interested protectionists, it would not be possible to find one elector in New South Wales ready to say a kind word for the Government proposals.

Mr. CHANTER.—Why, the secretary of the National Protectionist Association of New South Wales sent over a telegram of congratulation.

Mr. WILKS.—The interjection made by the honorable member reminds me that I have not yet seen on the table of the House a copy of the figures presented to the Government by the secretary of the National Protectionist Association of New South Wales as the result of the deliberations of the Chamber of Manufactures in Sydney. Those figures were sent under seal to the Collector of Customs to assist him in framing the Tariff. I urge respectfully that they should be laid on the table of the House. We must admit that the Ministry have given us an enormous amount of data to enable us to follow their proposals, and deal with them in debate. They have omitted, however, to lay before us the recommendations not only of the Chamber of Manufactures of New South Wales, but of the Chambers of Manufactures of the whole of Australia, representatives of which met at Sydney and forwarded to the Government an intimation of their desires. I should like to have them before us so that I might

be able to deal with them in the interests of the public. No matter how this Tariff may be twisted about, whether it is disguised by high-sounding phrases, or whether it be the Minister for Trade and Customs who speaks upon it or not, one cannot fail to learn from it, and the speeches and demeanor of those who support it while honorable members are fulfilling their duties as representative men, and keeping in view the national idea, they do not neglect the interests of their respective States. I am sent here with others to watch over the interests of my State, as well as those of Australia generally. The people of New South Wales are so much incensed that I question whether the Prime Minister could obtain a favorable hearing in any part of New South Wales.

Mr. CHANTER.—Oh!

Mr. WILKS.—I make that statement for what it is worth.

Mr. CROUCH.—The honorable member is inciting that feeling.

Mr. WILKS.—The people are so incensed by the character of the burdens proposed to be placed upon them, that they require no incitement. People who have been accustomed to have just and equitable taxation placed upon them will not readily take upon their backs such enormous burdens as this Tariff will impose. The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, says, that, drawing a black line across New South Wales, the other States receive an advantage.

Mr. CROUCH.—Does the honorable member say that the desire for free-trade destroys the desire for free speech?

Mr. WILKS.—I say that the burdens of taxation are so overpowering, and that the Prime Minister has departed so seriously from the pledges which he made when seeking the suffrages of the electors of New South Wales, that the people there are incensed. From whatever point we may view the Tariff, it will be found that it is simply one of "Pay, pay, pay." It does not require those to pay who should do so, but makes demands on those who are not entitled to carry the heavy burdens of taxation which it imposes. Although this argument applies with greater force in regard to the people of New South Wales, it is equally true of the electors of Australia as a whole. It has been said that certain industries of to-day must not be destroyed.

If it is right that certain established industries—I will not say staple or strong industries—should be assisted by means of taxation imposed on the people of Australia, I should like the Minister for Trade and Customs to say why other industries which are likely to be created should not also receive similar consideration. The Government have simply provided for what is termed the vested interests of to-day. That fact appeals to my mind with great force. There is a deliberate disregard of those industries which may and will be established under this federal union. Only the industries and energies of to-day receive attention. In reply to statements which have been made by certain honorable members, I should like to show the House that we have espoused free-trade in New South Wales as the result of tests that are undeniable. If we are looking round for tests, there are many which will occur to us. There is the population test, the wages test, the income test. If I can establish the fact that the population of the State from which I come has always increased under free-trade at a much greater rate than the population of Victoria under protection; if I can show that the wages in New South Wales are higher, that the purchasing power of wages is greater; and that incomes are greater, then I think I shall have shown sufficient justification for adherence to that policy under which New South Wales has become the premier State. No better example of the advantages of a free-trade policy can be afforded than that which is supplied by the comparative progress made by New South Wales and Victoria. The people of these States have the same aspirations and the same interests. Yet, what do we find? In 1871 Victoria boasted a population of 250,000 in excess of that of New South Wales. In 1881 that excess had diminished to 110,000, whilst in 1891 it had decreased to 8,000. A decade later—and during this period New South Wales enjoyed six years of the most absolute free-trade—that State had not only made up the deficiency in her population as compared with that of Victoria, but had actually outstripped the latter by 300,000. During the period referred to many thousands of Victorian artisans, operatives, and business men settled in New South Wales. After a brief residence there, they are endowed with the franchise. Is

it not reasonable to suppose that if protection had been such a beneficent policy as was represented by the honorable member for Gippsland, these people would have exercised their influence through the constitutional medium of the ballot-box in favour of the adoption of that fiscal faith? They have had the power of so doing, but, notwithstanding this fact, year by year the free-trade majority in the mother State has become stronger and stronger.

Mr. KINGSTON.—They went down like skittles at the last election.

Mr. WILKS.—The last election was not decided on fiscal lines. I wish that it had been. During a period of 30 years, on two occasions only has New South Wales for a very brief period departed from her free-trade policy.

Mr. KINGSTON.—She has only had two lucid intervals.

Mr. WILKS.—In both instances that departure was the result of a political accident. On one occasion the Ministry, of which Sir Patrick Jennings was the head, fastened upon the country behind the backs of the people a Tariff to which they were opposed. As a result, popular indignation was so thoroughly aroused throughout the entire colony that a dissolution of Parliament was forced, and the country upon being appealed to declared unmistakably against the Government. The second departure from free-trade lines was made in 1892, when the Dibbs Government, of which Mr. Barton was the Attorney-General, imposed a much lower Tariff than the one under discussion. It was a Tariff such as the Minister for Home Affairs recently declared himself in favour of at Cootamundra—namely, a 10 or 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. In that electorate the Minister told the people that he could not advocate a higher Tariff than that which I have indicated. Yet, despite that distinct and definite declaration, the same honorable gentleman, in referring to this Tariff the other day, said that it was not high enough.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member is misquoting the Minister. I would not interject but that the Minister is absent.

Mr. WILKS.—I will wait till the return of the Minister, and then question him upon the matter. In 1892, I repeat, the people again declared against protection. The Minister for Trade and Customs says that the electors of New South Wales had two lucid intervals. This noble radical

has the effrontery, when an honorable member is defending the policy which has been adopted in the State from which he comes, to retort in the *debonaire* air of the aristocrat, that the people have had "two lucid intervals." This is an age in which the people enjoy the advantages of an enlightened press, and in which avenues of instruction are freely open to all. Yet, I am told by this boasted radical that the people whom I represent have "lucid intervals." The only possible inference is that the electors of New South Wales were in ignorance when they voted for the policy of free-trade. Let me assure the right honorable and learned gentleman that they are equally as acute as he is upon political matters. Indeed, the masses of Australia are more educated, politically, than are the leisured classes. It is well known that when a man, even of the highest attainments, addresses the electors, he always finds that their political education is so advanced that it is impossible for him to talk above their heads. I am glad that they have such a keen appreciation of their duties as citizens. It is because of this that I believe the battle which has been started in this Chamber will be taken up throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth, and I am sanguine that the result in the near future will be the displacement of the present Ministry and the adoption of a just and equitable system of taxation. It is because of the political training and knowledge of the masses that I believe they will exercise their power in regard to Tariff reform in the direction of free-trade.

Mr. KINGSTON.—They did it at the last election.

Mr. WILKS.—I wish now to deal with the New South Wales factories. I find that during the six years in which that State has enjoyed the benefits of a free-trade policy, which was to destroy industry and drive capital out of the country, there has been an increase in the number of hands employed in her factories of 17,000.

Mr. POYNTON.—And that is during six years of the worst drought, too.

Mr. WILKS.—Yes. In 1895, which was a year before the Reid Tariff was introduced, 43,000 artisans were employed in manufacturing industries. At the end of 1900, there were 60,000 persons so employed. That was the result during this dreadful period of free-trade, which was to destroy all the industries and emasculate

the energy and enterprise of the people. In Victoria, in the year 1889, ten years before, with all the assistance of the encouraging and invigorating policy of protection there were 5,000 more males employed in the factories than in 1899. These figures are taken from their own Statistical Register. I am talking about the same period for the operation of one policy and of the other, and these are the results.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—These are the figures up to date?

Mr. MAUGER.—They are not up to date, and the honorable member is not comparing like with like.

Mr. WILKS.—I now take the exodus of the population of Victoria for the last three years. Surely, this is up to date, and I am speaking practically of the period in which we are living? In Victoria, during the last three years, the number of departures exceeded the number of arrivals by 117,000 souls. People left Victoria in spite of all the benefits and inducements of the industrial policy of protection,

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—For the last three years! The figures are only 111,000 for the last ten years.

Mr. WILKS.—Yes, for the last three years.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Will the honorable member give us the figures for each year that we may be able to check them?

Mr. WILKS.—I have given the figures. We know the statistical factory has been working night and day, and I need not give details. I give the broad statement. Take now the census returns, and surely the member for Melbourne Ports and the Treasurer will not dispute the census returns?

Mr. MAUGER.—It all depends.

Mr. WILKS.—Am I to understand that the census returns taken by Coghlan are not to be accepted, while the census returns taken by the Government Statistician of Victoria are to be accepted? I assume that the census returns compiled in one State are as reliable as those compiled in another. There is no inducement or desire to mislead in these matters. We find from the census returns that the population of Sydney and district increased during the ten years from 1891 to 1901 by 100,000 souls. They retained the natural increase of births over deaths, and had more arrivals than departures.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There were 800 more arrivals in New South Wales in the ten years.

Mr. WILKS.—I repeat that there are 100,000 more souls in Sydney and district to-day than there were ten years ago—while in Melbourne and district—and I say this without any desire to gloat over the fact, but simply as a test of the efficiency of their policy—there are only 3,000 souls more than there were ten years ago. It must be remembered also that in the case of Melbourne and district there is an area of something like 75 square miles upon which to make the calculation, a very much larger area than the area of Sydney and district. Fancy a city of about 490,000 souls only increasing her population by 3,000 in ten years!

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Does not the honorable member see that he is unfair in comparing with 1891, which was just the height of our boom?

Mr. WILKS.—We had our boom and troubles in New South Wales also, and I shall come to that directly. Here is a city with 490,000 people, which only increases her population by 3,000 in ten years, and does not even keep up the natural increase of births over deaths, while in Sydney and district the population in the same time has been increased by 100,000. I do not gloat over these figures, but if the policy of New South Wales is a destroying one, how is it that the people stop there and increase; and if the policy of Victoria is so good, as has been suggested, why is there not a different result in the great city of Melbourne? I shall now deal with the matter of wages, and in doing so I shall endeavour to introduce fresh light and shall not follow on the lines taken by other honorable members. In dealing with the question of wages, surely it will be admitted that the wages of Government operatives or semi-Government employés are greater than the wages of persons employed by private individuals?

Mr. MAUGER.—They are lower. Our engineers on the railways only get 9s. per day, while engineers outside get 10s.

Mr. WILKS.—I am proposing to deal with persons in a more humble rank than that of engineers, and I am taking my figures in this instance from the *Age*. The figures are for the 10th June, 1896, in the case of Sydney, and 7th July, 1896, in the case of Melbourne. I think that will be considered recent enough. Honorable members will admit that aldermen can exercise power to increase wages, and are asked to do so more frequently and effectively than is the case with

private concerns. I am referring now to the wages of municipal labourers, and I should like the radical representative of South Australia, the Minister for Trade and Customs to hear that, according to the *Age*, the ordinary municipal labourers in Sydney at that time received 43s. per week, while in Melbourne the ordinary municipal labourers received only 28s. 6d. per week. These are not my figures, or the figures of a statistician. They are the figures of the directing organ of the protectionists, the *Age*, of Melbourne. The same authority adds that the wages in Sydney for a man with a horse and cart were 10s. 6d. per day, while they were only 7s. 8d. in Melbourne. Now, I test the question in the matter of incomes. I am taking the last returns up to about three months ago. With a total population of 1,300,000 in New South Wales, the total incomes were £63,500,000, or an average of £47 7s. In Victoria, with a total population of 1,170,000, the total incomes amounted to £48,900,000 or an average income per person of £42 5s. So that the average income in New South Wales, the country of low wages and distress, and which has been destroyed and ruined by free-trade, the average income per head is £47 7s., as against £42 5s. in Victoria.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is because your importers make such immense profits.

Mr. WILKS.—The right honorable gentleman speaks of our importers making immense profits, but I am going to give the figures also with respect to incomes under £200 per annum. Surely the right honorable gentleman will not call £200 per annum enormous importers' profits? That is about the wage which an artisan ought to receive, and the minimum which the member for Melbourne Ports should advocate. In New South Wales, the incomes under £200 a year amounted to £45,500,000, and in Victoria they amounted to £39,750,000. In New South Wales 38·14 per cent. of the population were receiving incomes of under £200 a year, and in Victoria 36·13.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who has worked out this information?

Mr. WILKS.—It is taken from *Coghlan's Seven Colonies*.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—*Coghlan* points out that a great deal of the New South Wales incomes belong to Victoria and South Australia.

Mr. WILKS.—I might go a little further and say that a great deal of the Victorian incomes belong to Great Britain; and when

honorable members talk about the great losses of Victoria when the boom burst, I might say that the loss of Victorians was nothing compared with that of the British investor. Coming to the statistics relating to Savings Banks, which are a test of the prosperity of the artisan class, because they rarely are able to save enough to be able to deposit their money in the ordinary banks, I find that in New South Wales the increase of depositors between 1891 and 1899, a period of ten years, was 102,400, and in Victoria 74,280 persons, while the increase of amount of deposits in New South Wales came to £4,727,000, and in Victoria to £3,295,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—In New South Wales the Savings Banks were paying interest at the rate of 4 per cent. while we gave only 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., because we found the money coming in too fast.

Mr. WILKS.—The interjection does not affect the fact that the deposits in the Savings Banks are a test of the financial position of the poorer classes of the community. In New South Wales the average per head of new deposits during the period I have mentioned was £46, and in Victoria £44. The honorable member for Gippsland spoke in defence of the position of the Victorian farmer, and he wishes to apply the Victorian protective system to all Australia. I would, however, draw his attention to the wages which, according to the Victorian *Statistical Register* for last year are paid to agricultural employes in Victoria: In 1889, a Victorian ploughman received 22s. 3d. per week, while in 1899 he was receiving 17s. 8d. a week, or 5s. a week less, and less than is received by a ploughman in Scotland, who in 1892 was receiving an average wage of 18s. 10d. a week.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Where does the honorable member get that information?

Mr. WILKS.—From table 2, part 7, of the Victorian *Statistical Register* for 1899-1900. I could give fuller information in regard to the wages of other farm employes, but I do not wish to unduly take up the time of the House. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports last night contrasted the number of unemployed in New South Wales with the number of unemployed in Victoria. There is no one but must feel sorry that so many persons are out of employment in New South Wales, Victoria, and every other part of the globe. But the honorable member occupied a dual position. As secretary

to the Protectionist Association, we find him one day advocating the benefits of protection, and extolling the encouragement which it gives to capital, while the next day we meet him as the secretary to the Anti-Sweating League, pointing out that, without the assistance of the wages boards, operatives can obtain only miserable wages. There has been in this discussion, I will not say a concealment of facts, but a neglect of them, and the honorable member forgot to inform the House that in 1899 he was president of a board appointed to inquire into the unemployed question in Victoria. When the Victorian Government Statistician was under examination by that board, he, in answer to questions by the Rev. A. R. Edgar, a member of the board, gave the following astounding information:—

Is it not a fact that 1891 was a very prosperous time, that is when the census was taken?—Yes, fairly so.

It was about the time that the boom ended?—I take the collapse of the land boom to have been about the end of 1888, but we did not suffer much from the effects of it till about 1893.

Do you think there is very much difference between the colony to-day—that is, 8th June, 1899—

and in 1891?—Yes, in the economic conditions.

If there were 23,000 unemployed in 1891, would there not be a greater number of the same class to-day?—Most decidedly. I fancy the unemployment would be greater in the cities, say, in the number of clerks, for instance, and I do not think it would be less in the country, considering, of course, the numbers thrown out by a stoppage of railway work.

So, in your opinion, the number announced—20,000—as being out of employment at the present time is well within the mark?—I think there are at least as many as at the census. We must remember that a great many have gone to Western Australia, which has, to a certain extent, reduced the number.

That is the evidence of a witness who was a Government official, who was not moved by political bias, or affected by fiscal views. In case that may not be reason enough, I would like to give the honorable member some information from the *Age*, of the 28th June, 1901, and surely he will never accuse the *Age* of being biased in favour of free-trade doctrine, and inclined to represent the figures in stronger colours than ought to be done. On that date the *Age* published an article headed "Distress in Sydney; Nearly 10,000 unemployed; Appalling destitution."

The only facts revealed in the article were that, from September 1, 1900, to May 31, 1901,

i.e., nine months, 9,328 persons had registered at the Sydney Labour Bureau as wanting employment, of which 2,381 had registered during the last three months. On the same day an inquiry made at the Labour Bureau, Melbourne, showed that during the same nine months no less than 14,402 persons had registered there as unemployed, and of these, 4,940 registered during the last three months. Fifty per cent. more unemployed, and their number increasing, while in Sydney their number fell off.

That is not the remark of a biased advocate of free-trade in New South Wales, but the remark of the *Age* on the 28th June of this year, admitting that the unemployed in Melbourne, regretful as it is, exceeded by so many thousands the unemployed in Sydney. It would not paint Melbourne in its worst colors. It simply presented the culled statements from two labour bureaus, which showed that Melbourne had 14,000 unemployed as against 9,000 unemployed in Sydney. There is another test which we can apply in industrial struggles, and which was referred to by an honorable member. No one can blame the citizens of Victoria, simply because their lot was so hard, and work so difficult to obtain. But on every occasion on which we have had a strike in New South Wales the men to supply the places of the strikers have been culled from the ranks of the unemployed here. I do not place any stigma on the citizens of Victoria, because it was simply their hard lot which compelled these men to take that course. The same thing occurred in the Broken Hill strike, the boot strike, and the Lucknow strike in that State, and in the strike in Queensland. It is a remarkable fact that every time there has been an industrial difficulty in the mother State, Victoria, by reason of her surplus of unemployed, has always been able to furnish labour to take the place of the strikers. As if the comparison were not sufficient between New South Wales and Victoria, with comparatively equal conditions, and peopled by men of similar nature, the honorable member for Melbourne Ports has on the other side gone further afield. He asked us to look at the position of Great Britain and that of the United States. He quoted from official literature of the society of which he is the secretary, and in support of the doctrine of protection he quoted from the Fabian essays, when, as a matter of fact, there is not one Fabian essayist who is not an avowed free-trader. Every one of them, though lamenting the conditions in Great Britain, in the most recent work, *Fabianism and its Empire*, has refused to revert to the

protectionist doctrine. The honorable member cannot cite one Fabian essayist who is a protectionist.

Mr. MAUGER.—I did not quote them as protectionists.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member cannot show me in the Fabian writings one suggestion that the people of Great Britain, or of any other country, should adopt a protectionist policy.

Mr. MAUGER.—I never said so.

Mr. WILKS.—Then why did the honorable member quote them?

Mr. MAUGER.—To show the condition, and the number of paupers, in London.

Mr. WILKS.—I shall show the honorable member directly the condition of paupers in protectionist America. The inference to be drawn from these leaflets issued to the electors of Victoria and to honorable members is, that because the Fabian essayists have said that certain doctrines and pauperdom, which we are all ashamed of, have existed in England for a great many years, it was owing to the fiscal policy, and that the way to cure the evil was protection. Why did the honorable member make the quotation if he had not that idea in his mind?

Mr. MAUGER.—I said distinctly that it was not quoted for that reason.

Mr. WILKS.—I shall make one or two quotations from men who are not professors of economy, but who are professors in regard to matters of industrial trouble, and represent the artisans of Great Britain. I know it is not palatable to honorable members opposite, but I intend to quote Sir William Vernon Harcourt, a well-known liberal, Mr. Thomas Burt, a labour member in the House of Commons since 1874, Mr. John Burns and Mr. Keir Hardie. If we are asked by honorable members to reverse the policy that exists in New South Wales and which obtains in Great Britain, I look not to narrow statistics but to the custodians and guardians of the interests of the workers of Great Britain to see whether they advise me, by the light of their own experience, to adopt the policy of protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the honorable member about to quote from?

Mr. WILKS.—From speeches in the House of Commons, from the secretary to a Miners' Mutual Provident Association, and from the *Age*.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is good.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member was in doubt when I said that I was going

to quote from a House of Commons report. The noble defender of the unions and wages boards was in doubt when I said I was going to read the official letter of the secretary to a labour organization. But immediately I said I was going to quote from the *Age* he was no longer in doubt.

Mr. MAUGER.—We have heard that letter read so often.

Mr. WILKS.—We shall hear it read again. We have not heard it read so often as we have had the honorable member's pamphlet presented here. In June, 1897, Sir William Vernon Harcourt made these remarks in the House of Commons:—

I can remember when the people of this country were neither prosperous nor contented—when disorder was rife amidst the masses of the people, who were impatient, suffering, and intolerant at their miserable lot. Any one who knows the social history of this country, I should say, in the first six years of the Queen—from 1837 to 1843—can remember what sufferings there were in the great towns, and perhaps still more in the rural districts, and will be able to form some conception of the marvellous improvement that has taken place in the condition of the nation—in the growth, not only of its numbers, but in the health and wealth, in the moral no less than in the physical fibre of the people. That is the general distinct feature, to my mind, of this auspicious reign. The people are better fed, better clothed, better housed, better educated—crime diminished, taxes decreased. These form the solid basis on which this Empire rests.

Under this Federal Tariff people of New South Wales will not be better housed. It imposes such an enormous tax on building material that the artisan who to-day has the greatest difficulty to obtain a home, will be absolutely prevented from doing so; the speculative builder will not be able to pursue his operations, and in their turn the building trades which never can receive protection, will be unable to follow their occupations. The carpenter, the brickmaker, the stonemason, and the plasterer cannot receive any benefits from the Tariff, but they will feel the full disadvantages of a Tariff under which building material is taxed. This is what Mr. Thos. Burt says with reference to the effects of the free-trade policy in England—

For myself, I am a convinced free-trader, believing that such a policy is advantageous, not only to the community generally, but especially to the workers. On the Tariff controversy now proceeding in Australia, I offer no opinion.

Mr. MAUGER.—He is quite right.

Mr. WILKS.—Then why did the honorable member offer any opinion as to the condition of affairs in Great Britain?

Mr. MAUGER.—I offered no opinion.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member said that certain conditions in Great Britain were the direct result of the fiscal policy in operation in that country. Mr. Burt proceeds—

But when opponents of free-trade refer to the abject poverty of the wage earners of this country as being due to free-trade; and when, as in the extract from a newspaper leading article which you enclose, they cite the Cradley Heath workers as being typical of the workers of this country, they are simply indulging in grotesque caricature, and are presuming upon the ignorance of those whom they are addressing.

Could any one speak in stronger terms? This testimony does not come from a capitalist, but from a man who has represented the working men of Great Britain in Parliament for 27 years.

Mr. MAUGER.—That statement was made in response to a letter from the Free-Trade Association of New South Wales.

Mr. WILKS.—Does the honorable member wish it to be inferred that a gentleman of the character of Mr. Burt would draft his reply according to the letter he received?

Mr. MAUGER.—Let me send him a letter and I will get a different answer.

Mr. WILKS.—Would the honorable member have us believe that Mr. Burt would shape his reply in accordance with the letter he received? Am I to understand that the honorable member has the indecency to insinuate that Mr. Burt, the secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, representing hundreds of thousands of men, would shape his reply according to the desire conveyed to him?

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not say that.

Mr. WILKS.—Am I to accept the testimony of this representative of the working men of Great Britain for many many years, against whom not one word can be said, or am I to reject it because doubts have been thrown upon the accuracy of his statements by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports?

Mr. MAUGER.—I did not say that I doubted his statements.

Mr. WILKS.—Now, I have a statement by Mr. Keir Hardie, who is not a professor of economics, but a trusted representative of the workers of Great Britain. He writes from his knowledge of the workers of America as follows:—

I have had an opportunity of studying the condition of the American workman on the spot.

He has not derived his information from books or from letters sent by such people as the honorable member for Melbourne Ports,

but gives us the results of his observation after studying the American workmen on the spot. He says—

And I unhesitatingly declare that in spite of his protection—perhaps because of it—his condition is immeasurably worse than that of the British worker. The position of the workers of this country has improved considerably since the inauguration of the free-trade policy.

There is a powerful sentence—there is a sentence that I should like the protectionists to answer.

MR. TUDOR.—That was not the case when I worked there, and that is not many years ago.

MR. WILKS.—The *Age* of December 6th, 1894, contained the following cablegram:—

Mr. John Burns, M.P. for Battersea, made some candid remarks on the condition of the poorer classes in New York, when addressing a mass meeting in that city yesterday. In the course of his address, Mr. Burns told his hearers that his observations in New York had shown him that the houses in Whitechapel itself—the poorest quarter in London—were clean, wholesome, and luxurious compared with the horrible tenements in which lived the workers of the chief city of the United States.

I would like the honorable member for Gippeland, who referred to the tents and hovels of New South Wales, to note these words, written by a man who has a thorough knowledge of London, and who has fought his way from the humblest position in the ranks of the workers of Great Britain. He says that, bad as the conditions were in London, they were far worse in New York. Now, I desire to quote a statement made by Mr. Sidney Webb on the 1st November, 1900. Surely the protectionists will not doubt what he says. He writes:—

Your inquiry as to my opinion upon the results of free-trade in England comes at an appropriate moment. We are just completing ten years of the greatest material prosperity that this country has ever known in all its history. We have been pursuing a free-trade policy (that is, Tariff for revenue only, without protection to native industry) for over half a century. During that time (as I have described in detail in my little book, *Labour in the Longest Reign*) the condition of the wage-earners has greatly and persistently improved.

This House was led to believe that pauperism was caused by the free-trade policy of Great Britain. He continues—

Wages have risen, food and clothing have become cheaper, the working day has become shorter, and employment has become more regular. There is not the ghost of a chance of the English trade unions asking for a protective tariff.

There is a fine sentence for use in fiscal controversy. Mr. Webb is an advanced

thinker, who is in a position to speak on behalf of the English trades unions, and yet he says that there is no disposition on their part to ask for the protection which is said to be so necessary for the operatives and artisans in Victoria. In Great Britain, where the conditions of labour are well known, and with Germany on the one side and France on the other, it is said on behalf of the great trades unions, that there is not the ghost of a chance for protection. I take the trouble to place these facts before the House, because the honorable member for Melbourne Ports one day advocates protection from the side of capital and the establishment of industries, and the next day runs round the streets saying that there must be anti-sweating leagues and wages boards. I admit, with the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, that protection does not begin and end at the Custom-house. I know, as a free-trader, that it begins at the Custom-house and follows a man to the grave. It touches a man in his home, and in his hour of distress, and when he is buried, the monumental mason, in consequence of a protective Tariff, is able to put a further burden on the dead citizen's family. In regard to this battle of direct and indirect taxation, I would like to point out that if a Custom-house officer stood at the door of the grocer's shop or the draper's shop, and told the artisan's wife that she had there and then to pay him 5s. in the pound for governmental purposes the people of Australia would soon be keenly awake to the disastrous effects of legislation of this character. In the past strength has been given to protection, because in their incidence the imposts were not in many cases traceable. But now the public are being made well aware of the fact that a visit to the grocer's or draper's means a demand of 5s. in the pound on behalf of the Government. As to the United States, I would like to read the following extract from the *New York World* of 19th June, 1894—

The census of the tenement-house districts of the city has just been completed by the Health department. It shows a population of 1,332,773 living in 39,138 tenement-houses, of which 2,346 are rear houses. Of this swarming population, 180,359 are babies under five years of age, of whom nearly 9,000 live in rear houses.

I read this in order to show that protection does not raise men in the social condition, even in the boasted high-taxed country of America. Statistics show that

in the United States, with a high system of fiscalism, customs and excise took from the people last year a total sum of £70,000,000 in duties mainly imposed on articles from Great Britain. That is an enormous sum, but even more than that was paid by the people of the United States in the increased cost of the articles.

Mr. TUDOR.—That is about £1 per head.

Mr. WILKS.—Is that not an enormous amount in a country where the McKinley Tariff, which is the highest in the world, is supposed to build up industries? The figures I have quoted show that this high protective policy of America does not keep out the manufactures of Great Britain, but does cause the people to pay £70,000,000 in customs and excise. The *New York World*, in the same article, proceeds:—

Do our readers know what a "rear" tenement house is? A building shut in by other buildings, without sunlight, without fresh air, without proper ventilation, without proper drainage, subject to the foul odours and nuisances of its neighbours as well as its own, and crowded with the poorest of the poor tenement house population. An average of a little over 34 persons to each house, and about five babies under five years old among them.

That is not a description of abject free-trade Great Britain, but of America, where the boasted policy of protection is in force. I make these facts a present to the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, who last night tried to induce the House and the country to believe that, in consequence of free-trade, the social condition of Great Britain was very bad. We find, however, that the conditions I have described prevail in America under the McKinley Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—Terrible!

Mr. WILKS.—It is terrible, and it proves that protection is not a cure.

Mr. RONALD.—Neither is free-trade.

Mr. WILKS.—No man contends that free-trade is a panacea; but I do contend that a low Tariff enables the masses to better fight the battle of life. That is the position taken up by free-traders in New South Wales. Free-traders do not advance the idea that a mere revenue reform is a moral force, but they do say that an equitable adjustment of the burdens of taxation is the correct policy. When the masses are freed as much as possible from taxation, they are so far freed from obstacles which prevent them fighting more easily the battle of existence. The protectionist policy is in the interests of a few, only one out of ten receiving any benefits from such legislative assistance. That fact has been shown

by the loss of population in Victoria, and by every test that can be applied. The establishment of wages boards is an admission that protection is a failure. It was once said that when protection was installed the demand for artisans would be so great that wages would be kept up. But, as a matter of fact, in Victoria the supply of labour has been far greater than the demand, and now further artificial assistance is asked for. Those engaged in the building trade, clerks, and thousands of others cannot receive any benefit from protection; and, after all these years, the only result of this fiscal policy, for which the people have paid, is that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports has to agitate for wages boards. It is a remarkable fact that in New South Wales, without the assistance of those wages boards, the wages of the workmen, even according to Victorian statistics—I cannot be more generous than that—are only a few pence per week lower than those paid in the trades of Victoria for which wages boards have been appointed. Furthermore, the artisans of New South Wales have the advantage that they are the most lightly taxed men on the face of the globe, and are able to obtain the necessities of life at lower prices than the Victorians. Even in the city of New York, according to Professor Felix Adler, writing in the *New York Times*, there are thousands of children living in tenement houses who perish annually during the summer months owing to the miserable condition in which they live. I could give a great many more facts of the same kind, but I think I have quoted sufficient for my purpose. I would say to the Prime Minister plainly that, at the federal elections in New South Wales, with which he had a great deal to do, the strength of the free-trade party was best shown in the Senate elections. Not only the city of Sydney, but the whole population of the State demonstrated, not the popularity of any particular candidate, but of free-trade principles. Only one candidate who was an official protectionist was returned to the Senate from that State. I refer to the Honorable Richard O'Connor, the representative of the Government in the Senate. I am simply showing that this House has an unmistakable mandate from New South Wales of the belief of that State in a free-trade policy.

Mr. HUME Cook.—Take the mandate of all Australia.

Mr. WILKS.—Those honorable members who talk so much of a wider horizon simply wish us to direct our attention southwards to Victoria. Although apparently we may now be in the toils of Victoria, it will be found that the free-trade party in this House will not only fight here, but will continue to fight in the country, and that the interest of Victoria will be made subservient to the interest of Australia. We have had an experience of free-trade in New South Wales, with the result that the protectionist Ministry recently returned to power there takes care not to reverse the fiscal policy of that State.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They have pledged themselves not to.

Mr. WILKS.—Yes; they have pledged themselves not to do anything of the kind. The Prime Minister may talk sentimentally about the development of Australian ideas and a national life, but he knows as a constitutional lawyer, and as a parliamentarian, that although we are sent here with Australian ideas and desires, we have at the same time to give representation to the fiscal views of the various districts we represent. I honestly believe that if to-morrow an election took place in New South Wales, there would not be more than two or three Bartonians returned. It is of course a matter of opinion, and I state my view for what it is worth. I do not wish the right honorable gentleman any harm personally, but I think that he has made revenue subservient to protection. When the right honorable gentleman speaks about the destruction of Australian industries by free-trade, let me remind him of industries like the Mort's Dock Engineering Company in Sydney, which employs 2,000 men. Is not that an Australian industry? Is it not an industry to be proud of? It has not been built up at the expense of the people. It has not taken one farthing out of the pockets of the taxpayers. I would also suggest enormous chemical works, which Victoria cannot equal—works like those of Elliott Brothers, and oil works, like those of Lever Brothers, who employ 400 people, and whose capital, I suppose, represents £140,000. These are powerful industries. When the right honorable and learned gentleman talks about destroying protected industries, I ask him why his love and attachment are not as great towards free-trade industries like those? The Minister for Trade and Customs has practically invited a fight in

regard to the Tariff, and the Treasurer has also encouraged it. They have practically invited the protectionist members to increase duties in committee. But I ask the Prime Minister, who poses as an Australian, and appeals for an Australian field in politics, whether he is going to murder and throttle the free-trade industries of New South Wales? I am not speaking on behalf of the commercial classes of that State. Their position has been ably represented by the honorable member for North Sydney. The moderation with which the New South Wales representatives have addressed themselves to this question is remarkable. The Prime Minister, whose memory is good, remembers the fate of the Dibbs Government, and I am satisfied that the people of New South Wales will not be content with a Tariff for the benefit of Victorian industries, but will fight for a Tariff for Australia.

Mr. McCOLL.—How does supporting one industry destroy another?

Mr. WILKS.—Let these industries establish themselves without State assistance, as they have done in New South Wales. It is a remarkable thing that in Victoria, after 30 years of assistance from the taxpayers of that State, the protected industries should desire the taxpayers of the whole of Australia to support them. The New South Wales industries have flourished without State assistance, and do not ask for Commonwealth assistance. That is my opinion. Dealing with the sugar duties, I must say that so far as I am concerned, I do not see why any provision should have been made for the differential treatment of the sugar grower in order to buy off the kanaka. I am prepared to vote for the abolition of kanaka labour, because it is objectionable to the people of Australia; but I am not prepared to vote for the differential treatment of the sugar grower proposed by the Government.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Then the honorable member will not vote with his leader.

Mr. WILKS.—I am free to vote as I like. I am not like the honorable member who spoke in one way on a certain question and voted in another.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member's leader did that, but I am too clever to let the honorable member get over here.

Mr. WILKS.—It is remarkable that while the Government propose to pick out an industry to the north of

New South Wales as well as the industries of Victoria for Commonwealth assistance, they neglect the industries of New South Wales. If the removal of protection will be injurious to the manufactories of Victoria, the imposition of protection will certainly be injurious to the manufactories of New South Wales. Some honorable members say that commerce and shipping will be affected, and I would point out there are industries on Port Jackson which depend mainly upon the shipping trade for their existence. A great deal has been said in regard to the exchange of goods, and it is a remarkable fact that, while Australasia purchased last year £3,000,000 worth of goods from pauper-labour countries, she sold them £9,000,000 worth. In New South Wales, we not only preach the doctrine of free-trade, but we practice it, and it is strange that after all the years during which there has been every opportunity for the dumping down of goods produced by foreign pauper labour, no injurious results of that policy are to be found. The people of New South Wales are, therefore, much concerned in fighting for their policy. I know that I have occupied the attention of the House for a considerable time, but I knew that the Government would, in all probability, allow the next speaker to move the adjournment of the debate, instead of calling upon him to go on at this late hour, and I thought that it would not be a matter of much concern, if I did keep the attention of the House for a few minutes longer than I intended, in order to place my views fully before honorable members. On an occasion such as this, no apology is needed for making a long speech. The fight is a strong one, and we should have every opportunity for presenting our arguments before the House. I have presented, as strongly as I can, the views of the people with whom I have lived all my life.

Mr. BARTON.—Does it hurt? The honorable member looks as if it does.

Mr. WILKS.—The Government policy will hurt the people, and although the people of New South Wales would not do any personal injury to the Prime Minister, they will hurt him in a political sense.

Mr. BARTON.—I will take my chance of that.

Mr. WILKS.—I know that in the districts around Sydney where mechanics predominate, I have the confidence of the people. I have been returned to this House,

and in the past to the State Parliament, not by chance votes, but by absolute majorities. I was returned to this House, notwithstanding the strong opposition offered, not personally, but politically, by the Prime Minister, then in the heyday of his popularity; but with all the power at his back he could not manage to direct the artisans and mechanics of Dalley to vote against me.

Mr. BARTON.—I never troubled myself about the honorable member, either one way or the other.

Mr. WILKS.—I am not putting this forward in a personal sense. The people of New South Wales will not accept this Tariff, and I am satisfied that it will be fought more vigorously than any of the State Tariffs have been. There is one other matter to which I should like to refer before I close my speech. The Treasurer said that he did not believe in the inflation of the Defence Estimates, and I think it is for the committee to reduce that inflation. I believe that under the complicated financial sections of the Constitution, the defence expenditure will be used in the near future as a pretext for securing a higher Tariff. The necessity for expensive fortifications and such works will be urged, as it has been urged before in protectionist countries as an excuse for more taxation.

Mr. BARTON.—All the guns will be like free-trade maxims; they will not go off.

Mr. WILKS.—Whether that will be so or not, I am satisfied that the people will not have this Tariff. If the Prime Minister could only realize the rebellious spirit which has been aroused in New South Wales by his Tariff proposals, he would be very much concerned, not only for the condition of the people of Australia, but for his own political welfare; he would not take matters so calmly as he pretends to do. I regret that it is proposed to impose upon Australia taxation which, I fear, will not be of a temporary character. I entertain that fear because, in 1886, after the Victorian protectionist Tariff had been in operation for some time, the Commissioner of Customs made 300 distinct applications for new duties. I am afraid that after these iniquitous proposals have been in force for three years—if they do come into force—there will be more than 300 applications for increased duties to assist various industries.

Debate (on motion of Mr. JOSEPH COOK) adjourned.

House adjourned at 11.9 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 18 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. POYNTON.—I notice from the Adelaide telegrams in this morning's newspapers that the Premier of South Australia denies a statement made by me in the House on Wednesday night. I do not wish to do any person an injustice; at the same time I must justify, if possible, my statement, and I shall proceed to show that wherever the fault lies it is not with myself. The telegram in the *Argus* is as follows :—

In the House of Assembly the Premier denied that he had suggested holding a meeting to protest against the Federal Tariff as stated by Mr. Poynton in the House of Representatives. He merely advised that if such meetings were held resolutions should be sent direct to Federal members instead of being mentioned in the local Legislature.

In the *Age* this telegram appears—

In the Assembly to-day the Premier denied that he had suggested a meeting to protest against the Federal Tariff as alleged by Mr. Poynton in the Federal House of Representatives. He had merely advised that if such meetings were held the resolutions should be sent direct to the Federal members instead of being mentioned in the local Legislature.

The telegrams are practically the same. Now for my authorities for making the statement. In the *Argus* of Wednesday last the following telegram appeared, under the heading of South Australian Parliament :—

The Premier, in response to a request, declined to set apart a day for the discussion of the Federal Tariff. He stated that personally he was opposed to increasing the cost of living, but he recognised the impossibility of framing a Tariff to satisfy everybody. He advised that meetings be held to protest against the new duties, and send the resolutions direct to the Federal representatives, who would bring them before the Government.

The telegram in Wednesday's *Age* was as follows :—

The Premier declined to set apart a day for the discussion of the Federal Tariff. He stated personally that he is opposed to increasing the cost of living, but recognises the impossibility of framing a Tariff to satisfy everybody. He advised people holding meetings protesting against the incidence of the new duties to send the resolutions direct to the Federal representatives, who would bring them before the notice of the Government.

In the face of those telegrams I think I was perfectly justified in the statement I made here on Wednesday night. I am not responsible for the error. I do not wish to do the Premier of South Australia or any one else an injustice. At the same time, I feel that it was only due to myself that I should make this explanation.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 17th October, *vide* page 6196) on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the Financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (New South Wales).—The remarks of the honorable member who has just resumed his seat serve to indicate, if that were requisite, the widespread feeling of anxiety, disappointment, and alarm which exists over the whole of this continent regarding the proposals of the Government in relation to the requirements and needs of the State. There can be no doubt that there is a great deal of feverish anxiety all over the continent concerning the Tariff. There is a great deal of anxiety as to how it is to operate, both from a revenue point of view, and in its effect on the industries of the States. There is a feeling of intense disappointment throughout the whole of my own State at the proposals of the Government. They amount—not in my judgment alone, for I am glad to say that there is complete concurrence on this point—to the political deception of the people of New

South Wales on the part of some of her leading men.

Mr. THOMAS.—They were told by those who opposed the Commonwealth Bill that they would have a Tariff like this.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Had the Prime Minister told the people of this country that he would impose duties ranging from 15 to 100 per cent. on many of the main lines of consumption in New South Wales, he would not be here to-day to tell the tale.

Mr. THOMAS.—What did the honorable member tell the people of New South Wales at the first referendum?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is the honorable member a protectionist? Have I to fight him this morning as a protectionist?

Mr. THOMAS.—The honorable member does not know what I am. I am talking about what he said.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is only doing this for the purpose of interrupting. He knows there is no sense in it. I shall be glad to hear him justify the Prime Minister after I have finished.

Mr. THOMAS.—I do not think he wants my defence.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I repeat that if the Prime Minister had told the people of New South Wales that he would impose duties ranging from 15 to 100 per cent., he would not be here to tell the tale, let alone to impose the Tariff. At that time the people of New South Wales took as much notice of the Minister for Home Affairs as of the Prime Minister, and the former repeated the statement wherever he spoke that the duties this Government would introduce would be similar to the duties which would have to be imposed by the leader of the Opposition if he came into power—10 or 15 per cent. That statement was repeated throughout the length and breadth of New South Wales. Strange to say, the moment the honorable gentleman is ensconced in his office he turns round and complains that the duties are not high enough for him, although, at that time, he was strong in his statements that they would not be more than 15 or 20 per cent.

Mr. WATSON.—Has he said that they are not high enough?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes. When interviewed the other day, he complained that they are not sufficiently protective for him.

Mr. WATSON.—That, as I understand, was a complaint against the revenue duties.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The complaint was that the duties are not high enough for him. Had the two Ministers made these statements on the hustings in New South Wales neither of them could possibly have been returned for a seat in this Legislature. I am not narrow-minded enough to believe that it would be a good thing if these two honorable gentlemen remained out of public life, but I think they ought to have been more frank than they were with their own people when they were seeking their suffrages from the hustings. They ought to have told the people what they meant when they were advocating moderate protection. Surely the Prime Minister does not attempt to say that the duties which are imposed under the Tariff are moderately protective, as that term is understood in New South Wales? There can be only one opinion there, namely, that the duties are stiff in the extreme, and if the Tariff introduced by the Government is a moderate Tariff in the eyes of the rest of Australia, all I have to say is that there is a great difference of opinion among the States. We, in New South Wales, think that the Tariff is absolutely oppressive and destructive, and it is a pity that Ministers did not tell the people more frankly what they intended, after they had succeeded to power and office.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Do I understand that the honorable member accused me of saying that the duties are not high enough?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is reported in the *Age* as having stated in a recent interview that the duties were not high enough.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I never said anything of the sort.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then the honorable gentleman is misreported. Will he deny, however, that he told the people in his own State at the last election that he would propose a Tariff with duties ranging from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent., and that if the leader of the Opposition had the arrangement of matters he could not manage with any smaller duties?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—What I said was that the average, taking out narcotics and stimulants, with no free list, would not exceed 15 per cent. or 30 per cent.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman attacked the leader of the Opposition when he proposed a purely revenue Tariff, and said that it was impossible to derive the necessary amount of revenue with a Tariff of less than 10 per cent. or 15 per cent.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has no right to misquote what I stated.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am sure there is no mistake about the matter.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am sure there is.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The question arises as to whether these high duties are necessary—whether we require to pile the duties up in order to get sufficient revenue to make ends meet, so far as the different States are concerned. The Treasurer in his opening remarks made a very sensible observation, and it is a great pity that his subsequent statements did not support it. He said we had a grave responsibility at this particular time, and should take the utmost care to prevent extravagant expenditure. But not many minutes later he told us that he had to deal with inflated Estimates—Estimates which had been piled up and sent over to the Federal Government, and which under the ordinary State Parliaments would not have been allowed to mount up as high as they are to-day. He stated that he had been perfectly bewildered, and that he was going to see if he could cut the Estimates down. As a matter of fact we have the Treasurer promising retrenchment after the Tariff has been framed, but I contend that his duty was to cut down his estimates of expenditure before any attempt was made to impose duties in order to produce the revenue necessary to meet the Government obligations. The Treasurer pointed out that, in the Defence department alone, from 1896 to 1901 there had been an increase in the expenditure of £360,000. He knows this is due to extravagance, and he told us of the ruthless way in which he used to cut down defence expenditure in times gone by. Now he says that he will not touch the expenditure until the military commandant comes out. Yet he had been telling us just previously in a most emphatic way of the trouble he had had with

these Imperial commandants before. It is these Imperial officers who keep piling up expenses, who will not look with sympathy upon our colonial lines of defence, but who increase their own emoluments, and cut down the purely volunteer forces. What possible chance, therefore, is there of an Imperial commandant vigorously enforcing the stern necessity for retrenchment? He will probably begin to revolutionize our forces to bring them into accord with Imperial notions and ideas, and the Estimates will very likely be swollen rather than curtailed. The Treasurer knows this himself as well as I do, and there will be a feeling of intense disappointment that the Treasurer should have taken up such a feeble attitude with regard to the necessity for retrenchment at the present time. The Prime Minister told the people of New South Wales—“I give you the name of Sir George Turner as a guarantee of sound and careful finance,” and yet here we have this same Sir George Turner submitting Estimates which he knows are inflated—which are 50 per cent. higher than they ought to be—and telling us that he does not feel any obligation to cut them down until the new commandant arrives. What is the result of all this? He proposes to pile up the revenue to an amount which will represent an increase of £1,200,000 over the revenue for the year 1899. I will not believe that this continent cannot be governed upon the 1899 basis, if a vigorous attempt at retrenchment is made. My belief is founded upon my own experience as a member of the Government of New South Wales for five years. I know that the Commonwealth can easily be governed upon the 1899 basis if we set ourselves strongly and resolutely to do it. If the Treasurer took in hand my own State of New South Wales and kept down the expenses there a little he could not do a better thing for the people of that State. What is happening over there? They are piling up the expenditure at the rate of nearly £1,000,000 a year. They are spending £2,000,000 a year more to govern that country than was necessary three years ago. Will the Treasurer tell me that there is no room for retrenchment there? He could not have done better service than to set himself resolutely to cut down these swollen Estimates. Two or three years ago New South Wales was governed on

£9,500,000 a year; but to day the Estimates involve an expenditure of £12,000,000, in addition to the expenditure of £3,000,000 of loan moneys this year. If the members of the Government will tell me that it is absolutely necessary in order to keep New South Wales solvent that there should be £15,000,000 of money provided for her, I will concede that the Tariff is justified. Surely the Treasurer knows what is going on in New South Wales. He is aware that it is revelling in perhaps the most fruitful revenue it has had for very many years past—a revenue which has come in under a free-trade Tariff, which is ample for all purposes, and which could readily be curtailed without the slightest injury to that State. To say, therefore, that the Treasurer is under an obligation to find the States of the union as much revenue as they have hitherto been receiving is to absolutely shut his eyes to what is going on. We were promised by all the advocates of federation that the first effect of its accomplishment would be to bring about cheaper and more economical government. Yet there is not the slightest sign of anything approaching economy up to the present moment. Whether it will result in effectiveness in administration remains to be seen. But, so far, the only result of the amalgamation of the various departments has been to bring about a less effective administration. That, of course, is susceptible to remedy, and I am not putting it as an inherent defect of federation. I am merely speaking of the actual result of federal union up to the present moment. The amalgamation of these departments has made the transaction of ordinary business almost impossible. On the top of all this we are piling up the cost at an alarming rate—a rate which the people of the Commonwealth will not tolerate very long. In New South Wales we are supposed to get back over £1,000,000 of the surplus from the Federal Treasury. The Estimates for next year have been already submitted, and, strange to say, every penny of that amount is mopped up by the ordinary services of the year. The Treasurer told us that we might do many things in New South Wales. For example, he said that we might cut down railway fares and freights by the application of the surplus, when, as a matter of fact, that surplus is already absorbed in the Estimates for the year. With all these facts patent to him,

Mr. Joseph Cook.

will the Treasurer tell me that there is no room for retrenchment in regard to those items which belong peculiarly to his own domain, and that there is therefore the necessity, which he affirms, of raising this huge amount of revenue? He tells us that it is necessary to raise £9,000,000. The honorable member for North Sydney informed the House yesterday that £8,000,000 would be sufficient. That is my firm belief, although I do not pretend to be a financier. I want to know why, since £7,500,000 was sufficient in 1899, and there has been piled up so far as federation is concerned less than £300,000 additional expenditure, £9,000,000 is required to meet the obligations of the States to-day?

Mr. PIESSE.—The balance of the transferred departments has to be made up.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The estimates of the transferred departments have been loaded up and handed to the Federal Government in an inflated condition. The Treasurer knows that those estimates are extravagant.

Mr. EWING.—Does the honorable member admit that £8,000,000 are required?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I should say that £8,000,000 ought to be sufficient with rigid economy, but it will not be adequate if we allow the States to make the demands which they would like to make, or if they are going to spend money in the way that many of them are spending it. Surely this is the Parliament of all others that ought to inaugurate an era of stern retrenchment, both in the finances of its own administration and in those of the States. I wish to quote a statement from an authority which I do not think will be questioned. I refer to an excellent article written by the Speaker of this House as late as April last, upon the subject of the Tariff, and the best means of raising the necessary revenue. The writer points out that £8,500,000 can be raised with 15 per cent. duties, allowing for a free list of £8,500,000. That statement was made by the Speaker of this House when he was Treasurer of South Australia, when he had access to all the figures of the continent, and after an experience in finance ranging over at least nine or ten years in his own State. It was written after a special study of the finances of the Federation, as was evidenced by the careful statements which he made in the Convention from time to time.

Mr. MAUGER.—That was pretty close to the amount now proposed to be raised.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Getting pretty close to it! I was under the impression that there were duties in the Tariff under discussion ranging up to 100 per cent. and over. If the basis adopted by Mr. Speaker had been adhered to, and a free list of £5,000,000 had been allowed for, I venture to say that the Tariff would have shown a reduction to 12½ per cent. at least. We have it from the writer of the article in question, who is one of the best financial authorities in Australia, that a Tariff of 12½ per cent., with a £5,000,000 free list, would give us ample revenue with which to run the States and the Commonwealth. It is idle for the Treasurer to get up and feebly declare that he is bound to give the States all the revenue which they have hitherto been receiving, when he knows full well that there is gross extravagance going on in connexion with the transferred departments. He tells us that he will not touch them until the new commandant arrives from England. That is a very poor beginning for a man with the political reputation of the Treasurer. What is the motive of it all? I fear that the motive is to increase the cost of government, so that the Ministry may pile up the Tariff. All the authorities who have investigated this financial problem are agreed that these extravagant sums are not required to govern the country. Therefore, there is no need to raise them. What did Sir George Dibbs say in New South Wales when he introduced his protectionist Tariff? He said that he wanted to raise the customs duties in order that the money derived from them might be expended upon public works. Similarly we are told by the Government that they must have this money, because it is needed by the States. I repeat that it is not needed by the States. In my judgment all these estimates could be cut down with infinite advantage to the States, and without the slightest risk of impairing their efficiency in the matter of government. This matter must be met, and how do the Government propose to meet it? That is the main question which this Parliament has to face. The Minister for Trade and Customs swept away all considerations of finance, and left them to be dealt with by the Treasurer. He said in a straight-out, clear, ringing, militant tone—"We believe in protecting our industries, and we are going to do it. We challenge the Opposition to fight us upon this question."

That was the attitude of the right honorable gentleman, and immediately he went on to give reasons for the imposition of many of these duties. For instance, he told us that in regard to apparel there were three protections desirable: one to the maker of yarn here, one to the maker of the cloth, and another to the maker of the clothing. I am told that the manufacture of yarn here is represented by the large number of one maker, and that he is out of work just at present. I am told also that there is no such thing as a yarn industry in Victoria. There was one, but there is not one now. The manufacturer, we are informed, has gone home to secure new plant on the strength of the promise of this duty by the Minister for Trade and Customs.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is importing some very fine yarns from New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This is what the Minister went on to say—

Looking at our pastoral industry, is it not preposterous that the wool which we grow should be sent away to the other side of the world, for the purpose of being turned first into cloth, and afterwards into garments to be sent back across the seas?

Does he not know that this is precisely what is being done with American cotton? Is it not preposterous that they should do that in America in spite of their Tariff? Everything which the right honorable and learned gentleman said in regard to our woollens would apply with equal force to American cotton. Yet, in spite of her scientific protectionist policy, America sends to England every year £66,000,000 worth of raw cotton to be made up there. What should we do with the clothes if we made up all our wool here? We could not wear them all ourselves?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member's wits are now going wool-gathering.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am taking the statement made by the right honorable and learned member, and I may well be pardoned if I may seem to be wool-gathering when I quote his remarks. They are so extraordinary and so absurd, that no one could repeat them without being suspected of wool-gathering.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I never made such a statement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This statement appears in *Hansard*. Does the right honorable and learned gentleman deny it?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—We might as well be told that we ought to eat all our own meat.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There is no equivocation about the statement that we should turn all our wool into garments.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is absolute nonsense to say that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I agree with the right honorable and learned gentleman, but here is his own statement that it is preposterous that we should send our wool away instead of making it up ourselves. Of course, it may be said that we could export the garments if we made them up. I understand that protectionists believe in exporting their surplus stock to other countries, no matter how poor those countries may be.

Mr. BARTON.—If they are rich enough to pay for the goods we send them, we do not object.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But the right honorable and learned gentleman is constantly telling us that we cannot compete with these people abroad. How then can we export our goods and compete with them in their own markets. Why does America send over her cotton to England? Simply because England can make it up better than she can. While England is making up cotton for America, America is growing corn for England. Each specializes in that industry for which it is best adapted. The result of this exchange is in the aggregate an advantageous bargain for the people. There are woollen mills existing in the Commonwealth, and paying dividends without the assistance of a duty. In my electorate there are two. One of them is conducted by a proprietary and another by a company. The company pays 6 per cent. dividends. It has just doubled its plant, and it is making cloth which, of its kind, is equal to anything produced anywhere. The Minister of Trade and Customs will not say that that industry is decrepit, and cannot get along without assistance. Then, the right honorable and learned gentleman has made certain statements as to the iron industry. So far as I am aware, the only place in which iron is being made up within the Commonwealth is in my own electorate. Here again I pretend to know a little of what I am speaking about. When Minister of Mines in New South Wales, I despatched a special officer from the geological survey

branch to inquire into and to prepare a memorandum on the iron ores of the State and the possibilities of iron production in New South Wales. He made an investigation which is admitted to be a very faithful and full one. And what does he say?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Who was the officer?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Mr. Jaquet. He makes it plain in his report that at Lithgow, in New South Wales, iron can be produced from the ores of the State at a cost below that at which it can be produced at Middlesborough at the present time.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Are they producing any iron at Lithgow at the present time?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They are not making up native ores. They are simply rolling iron, but they employ about 300 men in the works. The industry has done well, altogether.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Are they using imported iron?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Scrap iron.

Mr. BARTON.—Under special concessions made by the Railway department.

Mr. MAUGER.—Under railway protection.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Even if they had no railway protection they could continue as at present. I know the proprietor better than the honorable member does, and I know that the better he does the harder he grumbles. If any one deserves to get on, however, that man does. He has fought a hard battle, and he has succeeded admirably. To day he is comparatively a rich man, and he has succeeded without any Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—But he obtains railway concessions.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The railway concessions are a matter of business between the Commissioners and the proprietor of the mill.

Mr. MAUGER.—What else is protection?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The proprietor pays the Commissioners for the scrap iron which they send up to him, and they give him certain reduced rates of carriage.

Mr. BARTON.—He gets relatively lower rates than those allowed to any other person.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If he was not allowed those lower rates he could get on just the same.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Then why are the reductions made? It is squandering money.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The rates have been in existence for 20 or 30 years.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member was in the State Government during some portion of that time. Why did he not do away with them?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The right honorable and learned gentleman must be very ignorant of our method of dealing with these matters.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am. I understand, however, that the proprietor is in the honorable member's electorate? He need not answer the question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Of course he is. I have to fight him at every election. He spent £4,000 over the election for the Federal Parliament in his opposition to myself. But he did not succeed.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I wish he had succeeded.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have no doubt the right honorable gentleman does wish that my opponent had succeeded, but he did not, in spite of the Prime Minister promising that there should be jam factories, canning factories, and I do not know what industries besides, established there.

Mr. BARTON.—I do not conduct elections in that way.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is what the Prime Minister said, at all events.

Mr. BARTON.—I never promised anything.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Prime Minister told the people that they had only to put him in power in order to have jam factories and canning factories established at once. However, that is by the way. Here we have hard figures, which show that iron could be produced in Lithgow for 12s. a ton less than in Middlesborough, in England, at the present time.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Why does some one not do it?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The right honorable gentleman knows, or ought to know, if he has any acquaintance with the subject at all, that to produce iron in a modern up-to-date fashion requires the expenditure of huge capital. If an up-to-date plant were put down at Lithgow, as much iron could be produced in a month as the State of New South Wales would consume in twelve months. There was no demand for the output of a modern mill of that description; but now that federation has opened the

markets of the whole of Australia, those interested in the industry in Lithgow are taking steps, and have been doing so for some time past, to extend their operations. Irrespective of any duty—because no duty is proposed—there will very soon be a plant in New South Wales capable of supplying the continent with iron. In this connexion I should like to refer to a remark made by the honorable member for Gippsland, who, in speaking of England, declared that it is a country of unrivalled natural resources in the way of raw materials. The honorable member cannot know very much about England, or he would not talk such stuff. As a matter of fact, England to-day is severely handicapped in the matter of the raw materials she requires for her manufacturing industries. The honorable member ought to be aware, when he starts out to discuss England, that coal there is more difficult to get than it is almost anywhere else in the world. The mines in England are deeper and more dangerous, and, therefore, more expensive to work, than elsewhere, and the cost of producing a ton of coal is much greater than in America. The coal in England has to be worked in many places at a depth of 3,000 feet, under the most dangerous circumstances it is possible to imagine, and the expense of winning raw materials in England is increasing. Does the honorable member know that in Cornwall tin ores are being brought from 3,000 feet below the surface, and that men are working under conditions almost impossible to conceive, all in order to win the raw materials which he imagines are lying about over the surface? Does the honorable member not know that every pound of raw cotton has to be imported from America before there can be any manufacture of that commodity in England? He ought to know that, on some of the larger estates in England to-day, more is being paid in the shape of royalties on coal and other minerals than is paid in the aggregate in wages? Yet, with all these drawbacks, England, owing to her free ports, which enable her to get her raw materials wherever she can under the most favorable conditions, keeps the nation going at a pitch of happiness and comfort not equalled anywhere else in the world. To say that England is privileged by the possession of raw materials is quite beside the mark; the very contrary is the case. It is a well-known fact that the production of

coal per head in England is less than in New South Wales, America, or Germany ; and this argues the severity of the conditions under which coal has to be won there.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And the profits are so great that an export duty is put on it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes ; the profits are so great that, notwithstanding the fact that coal is so much harder to win than in Germany, the average wage of the miner in England to-day is £2 per week, as against less than £1 in some of the continental countries. I hope the Minister for Trade and Customs will look into these figures when he discusses iron, coal, and similar products. But why, if the Minister is going to protect iron, has he not the pluck to put a duty on it ? It is said that the manufacture of iron ought to be encouraged ; and yet the Government have not the pluck to put a specific, percentage, or some kind of continuing duty on it, instead of a bonus. The reason is very simple. Iron is the raw material of so many other manufactures throughout the continent, that it is undesirable to impose a duty on it. Yet iron is the finished product so far as the ironmaker is concerned. Mr. Sandford, in Lithgow, is turning out angle and bar iron in great quantities, and he regards that as his finished product ; but the Minister has not the pluck to give him a duty, for the simple reason that even protectionists in the other States are opposed to such an imposition on what they regard as raw material. This brings to view one of the difficulties in discussing the Tariff—the difficulty of deciding at what point the raw material becomes a finished product. I should now like to say a word or two in regard to the condition of things in America. Only about 5 per cent. of the raw cotton produced there is manufactured. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports gave us some harrowing descriptions of life in London.

Mr. MAUGER.—I gave the honorable member's own description.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I will come to that in a moment. The honorable member ought to be the last to emphasize any one else's inconsistencies, in view of the manner in which he has "jumped Jim Crow" in the space of two days. But the honorable member is just fitted to do that.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is too stale, and it is untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports must withdraw that statement.

Mr. MAUGER.—I withdraw it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is recorded in the pages of *Hansard* that the honorable member declared his intention of voting one way, and voted another.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Parramatta must not refer to a debate on another matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was, I think, in this debate.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I understand the honorable member to refer to an occasion when, he says, the honorable member for Melbourne Ports spoke one way and voted another. That has certainly nothing to do with this question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I thought it was in this debate. The recent experience of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports ought to make him the last to point out anybody else's inconsistency ; and I hope he will listen to a description of life in America which is of much more recent date than the musty, ancient statistics he cited. I propose to read a quotation from a New York newspaper called *The People*, and not something that a great dead cardinal said years ago. This is written by a man who investigated the industrial condition of the town of Birmingham, in Alabama ; and he says—

The miners and railroad boys of Birmingham, Alabama, entertained me one evening some months ago with a graphic description of the conditions among the slaves of the Southern cotton mills. While I imagined that these must be something of a modern Siberia, I concluded that the boys were overdrawing the picture, and made up my mind to see for myself the conditions described. Accordingly I got a job and mingled with the workers in the mill and in their homes.

He did not get his information from a book, but went into the mill, and into the homes of these people. He goes on—

I found that children of six and seven years of age were dragged out of bed at half-past four in the morning when the task-master's whistle blew. They eat their scanty meal of black coffee and corn bread, mixed with cotton-seed oil in place of butter, and then off trots the whole army of serfs, big and little. By 5.30 they are all behind the factory walls, where, amid the whirr of machinery, they grind their young lives out for fourteen long hours each day.

That is taking place in America at this moment.

We stopped at twelve for a scanty lunch and a half-hour's rest. Half-past twelve we were at it again, with never a stop until seven. Then a dreary march home, where we swallowed our scanty supper, talked for a few minutes of our misery, and then dropped down upon a pallet of straw, to lie until the whistle should once more awaken us, summoning babes and all alike to another round of toil and misery. I have seen mothers take their babes and slap cold water in their faces to wake the poor little things.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Oh!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro laughs. It is just an honorable member like the Government whip whom we might expect to laugh at human misery of this description—not taking place in ancient days, before civilization and science had attained their present position, but taking place in America today.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Does the honorable member seriously accept that as a statement of the true condition of the workers in America generally?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No, I do not. In that respect I am infinitely more fair than honorable members opposite. They are constantly representing extreme conditions as the ordinary conditions of the British workman. I am putting a case parallel to anything they can show as happening in England.

There was once a law on the statute-books of Alabama prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age more than eight hours each day. The Gadston Company would not build their mill until they were promised that this law should be repealed. When the repeal came up for final reading, I find by an examination of the records of the House, that there were 60 members present. Of these, 57 voted for the repeal, and but 3 against. To the everlasting credit of young Manning, who was a member of that House, let it be stated that he both spoke and voted against the repeal. I asked one member of the House why he voted to murder the children; and he replied, that he did not think they could earn enough to support themselves if they only worked eight hours.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Who gives that account?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—A writer in a paper called *The People*, published in New York.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does he sign his name?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have not the name here, but I will tell the right honorable gentleman who has given me this authority. I have it from the editor of an eminent labour paper published in New South Wales.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Then the writer is anonymous?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He writes under the *nom de plume*, "Mother Jones." He is a constant writer who signs himself by that name. A great deal has been said about America, and American progress is always attributed to protection. Here, however, is a statement to the contrary. I hope honorable members will pay attention to this statement, because it goes right to the core of the matter, so far as American industry is concerned—

Any one familiar with conditions in American mines, mills, factories and workshops, and with the statistics of production in this country, must admit that the British workman is quite right. The American workmen produce more profits for the employer in proportion to the wages they receive than the workmen of any other country. They do this by tending more machines, running them at a higher speed, working harder and faster and more unrelentingly. As a consequence, they work themselves to death, or to a condition of premature old age earlier than their British fellow workmen. As a further result, they set the standard of employment higher, make it harder to "hold a job," throw a larger proportion into the ranks of the "out-of-works" or "casuals." And finally, they enable the American capitalists to invade and conquer the foreign markets in competition with those of Europe, and thus to build up "America's economic supremacy," of which we now hear so much.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Who writes that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is a leaderette of the same paper, so that I cannot tell the right honorable and learned gentleman the name of the writer. But let me tell honorable members this, on the authority of a man who is in Australia at the present moment. Although I cannot give his name, I can get it for the Minister if he desires to have it. Some time ago, the representative of certain pneumatic tube works in America—I believe it is a huge monopoly—was travelling from Hobart in the company of myself and Mr. Sandford, who will bear out my statement. He told us that in connexion with the contracts of his firm sold in Australia, he had to figure on a basis 20 per cent. higher than the basis upon which he had to figure in New York. When asked why that was so, he replied—"Because the American workmen bustle so much more than the workmen anywhere else." In other words, he said—"They do not work only eight hours a day; they do not stop for lunch, except for just a snack; they work all the week, week in and week out; and they

work at a tension and strain that no workmen anywhere else approach." It is possible, as the history of the world proves, to build up a condition of wealth and comparative civilization upon a basis of slavery. Some of the most magnificent countries in the world have been built up upon such a basis. But rather than that we should build up our States upon a condition of economic wage slavery, such as obtains in America at the present moment, I would prefer that our nation should be a little less rich, and that the great bulk of its workers should be a little more comfortable in their home lives. Honorable members may talk of national prosperity as much as they like, but it is not on the amount of the wealth possessed by a nation, but on the distribution of that wealth, that the prosperity of the people depends. All the statistics that can be produced, and all the writers of note who have observed things in America, are emphatic on this point: that the worker there does not get nearly so much comfort and happiness out of his existence as does the worker in any other part of the world. I tell honorable members again that it is possible to produce iron in Australia without the help of protection, by means of the natural resources which we possess in an almost unrivalled degree. We have the cheapest coal in the world in New South Wales. That may seem to be a big statement to make, but I repeat that in the western district of that State we have the cheapest coal in the world. The cost of the coal which goes into the production of iron at the present moment is 2s. 6d. per ton delivered at the works. The right honorable gentleman cannot find coal as cheaply wrought as that anywhere else in the world. The honorable member for Gippsland talked about the raw materials of England. Is the honorable member aware that for the manufacture of iron and steel alone England has to pay to foreign countries £10,000,000 a year for fluxing? Her limestone bill comes to £10,000,000 a year, and all that money is sent out of the country at the present moment. We have our limestone, and our coal and iron all in proximity to each other, and therefore have conditions for manufacture which cannot be surpassed anywhere else. All that we have wanted has been a market, and now, with the opening up of the Inter-State markets by federation, iron can be produced, and will be produced

Mr. Joseph Cook.

whether there be a Tariff imposed or not. I should like to say one other word about these duties. I notice in the list that the right honorable gentleman has provided for duties on cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. Do we import many of these to Australia? I always believed that we were exporting cattle largely.

Mr. POYNTER.—We only import prize cattle, and they are exempt.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes, they are exempt. It does seem to me to be a magnificent piece of bluff to put duties upon something which we never hope or expect to import.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The honorable member will see a good many such items on the Tariff.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes. I should have thought that in the arrangement of a scientific Tariff such as this the right honorable gentleman would have known better than to play this game of bluff upon the unsuspecting people. What is the good of a 20 per cent. duty upon cattle when we are sending them away to the value of millions of pounds every year? What is the good of an import duty upon sheep, when we can breed more than we know what to do with here? The same remarks apply to many other items, and, therefore, I say that many of these duties constitute a piece of bluff. The duties can have no effect upon the articles upon which they are levied. We have, of course, had the usual statement made in this debate—by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports I think more frequently than anybody else—that protective duties do not raise the price of commodities. The honorable member has repeated that statement at least half-a-dozen times. I wonder why a duty is put upon eggs. Is that intended to increase their price? If not, why has that duty been put on? Is the intention to protect our fowls here against the pauper fowls of China? I wonder in what way the China fowl differs from our own. Is it in laying capacity, or what is it?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Longer hours, perhaps.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Apart from that, the question is, who pays the duty? would rather take the resolution put into hard cold type the other day by the manufacturers of Sydney, than the incessant statements of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports on this question. The

answer to the question who pays the duty is given by Mr. J. P. Wright, boot manufacturer, when at a conference in Sydney the other day, he moved that resolution—

That in the opinion of this meeting it is advisable that the price of boots and shoes should be immediately advanced.

Now to whom are we to pay attention, the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, who tells us that protection does not increase the price of commodities, or to Mr. Wright, who moved that resolution?

Mr. CONROY.—And Mr. Wright is a protectionist manufacturer.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I travelled with the manager of a small station the other day, and here is a statement which he made to me: He told me that, anticipating the duties, and in fear of them, not knowing what they would mean, he purchased £106 worth of goods in Sydney. Since the imposition of the duties a new price list has been submitted to him, and if he had to buy those goods now, a fortnight later, he would have to pay £129 for them, an increase of £23.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Can the honorable member give us a list of the goods? They may come under revenue duties.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not know what they are, but we are told that the putting on of duties is not going to make things any dearer.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There is a clear distinction between protective and revenue duties.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall come to that point in a moment. I should like to refer to a statement made in the train the other day. I would rather take these statements direct from the people themselves than read from books upon the question. Here is a statement made by a Victorian farmer: The honorable and learned member for Parkes can corroborate the statement, because he was present. A farmer was coming down from Wangaratta, and we were discussing the labour problem. Of course he was in favour of the Chinaman. He did not see how we could clear our land at all, unless we introduced the Chinaman to do it. I asked how that could be, and he said—"It is because of the minimum wage" I asked—"What wages do you pay?" He said—"Well, I have paid up to as high as £1 per week, and board." I asked—"What does that mean—about 30s. a week?" He

replied—"Yes, and you cannot pay more for your labour." I said—"Not under protection? I thought that under protection you were enabled to pay good wages and make good profits." In answer to that he made this frank statement—"The duties are no good to us; our prices are ruled by the London market. We are exporters; our protection is no good, and we cannot afford to pay these wages."

Mr. MAUGER.—I think I have heard this before.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—A similar statement, according to the *Age* of 13th July, 1899, was made by the honorable member for Gippsland, who, in introducing a deputation to the Premier of Victoria, asking for a reduction of the railway freights on grain, said—

Grain values here, as well as in New South Wales, were regulated by the prices ruling in the London market, and it did not matter what expenses were piled on, all that the farmers could get was the value of the wheat in Mark-lane. They could not get a better price here than could be got by the New South Wales farmers.

Now, about these protective duties. Here is a statement for the honorable member interested in the matter. The Minister for Trade and Customs, the other day, sent round some of his officers to Bennie, Teare, and Co., who are importers in Melbourne and in Sydney.

Mr. MAUGER.—A good firm.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I believe they are agents for Tangye's productions. Here are some prices which the Minister must know about, because his officials were sent out to inquire the difference between the prices, if any, in Sydney and Melbourne. This is apropos of the statements about reapers and binders. Here are some quotations sent to the Minister which he has never used: Bennie, Teare, and Co. state that the price of a vertical boiler in Sydney is £90, and in Melbourne £110.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is an imported article.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I presume it is an article on which there is a good stiff duty here. A vertical boiler—

Mr. MAUGER.—Which we could make here.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What has that to do with it?

Mr. MAUGER.—Everything.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is another point. I want to pin this slippery member

down to the point that protection does not increase the price of goods. Here is a fact, that a boiler which costs £90 in Sydney, is priced at £110 in Melbourne. The price is $18\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. cheaper in Sydney, while it is $22\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. dearer in Melbourne.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is a funny way of putting it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the Minister will look at it he will find that it is perfectly correct. Again, for another vertical engine the price in Sydney is £107 10s., and in Melbourne £129.

Mr. MAUGER.—Will the honorable member give us the price of a vertical engine made in the country?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I cannot; but what has that to do with it?

Mr. MAUGER.—Everything.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member mean to say that the price of the Melbourne article is quoted lower in Melbourne than the price of the imported article?

Mr. MAUGER.—Most decidedly.

Mr. CONROY.—Then what becomes of the contention that protection gives higher wages?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—They have to import these engines and boilers in spite of the duties.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Of course they have; they do not make many of this type. For a colonial engine the Sydney price is £79, and the Melbourne price £95. For another boiler the Sydney price is £165, and the Melbourne price £198. Here is the statement, which the Minister can check if he cares to. It has come to me as from that firm, and is in response to a request made by his officials as to the prices ruling in Melbourne and Sydney for specific articles. We are told that the cost of living is cheaper in Melbourne than in Sydney, a statement which the *Age* is constantly making, and which is backed up every day by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. For Queensland arrowroot, on which there is a duty of 33 per cent., the price at Lassetter's, in Sydney, in May last was 4d., and the price at Moran and Cato's, in Melbourne, was 6d., a difference of 2d., the duty here being 2d. per lb.

Mr. MAUGER.—What about the arrowroot made here?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall come to that directly, if the honorable member will wait. The price of milk was 5d. a tin at

Lassetter's in May last, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Melbourne. The price of corn-flour was 3d. at Lassetter's in May last, and 6d. in Melbourne. The price of sugar was 12s. 6d. in Sydney and 14s. 9d. in Melbourne.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What is the honorable member quoting from?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The price lists of Lassetter and Co., of Sydney, and Moran and Cato, of Melbourne. According to the price lists of John Connell and Co., of Melbourne and Sydney, the price of arrowroot was 3d. in Sydney, and 5d. in Melbourne; imported candles, $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Sydney, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Melbourne; rice, per cwt. 14s. 6d. in Sydney, and 21s. in Melbourne.

Mr. MAUGER.—There was no duty on rice.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Only 6s. 8d. per cwt.! The price of salmon per dozen tins was 7s. in Sydney and 10s. in Melbourne; salt, per cwt., 45s. in Sydney and 75s. in Melbourne; cornflour, Wother-spoon's brand, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Sydney and $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Melbourne; Sunlight soap, per box, 14s. 6d. in Sydney, and 24s. in Melbourne, the duty here being 8s.; Monkey soap, per box, 14s. 6d. in Sydney, and 17s. 6d. in Melbourne; cement, on which there was a duty of 60 per cent., 15s. in Victoria, and 11s. 3d. in New South Wales. According to the commercial columns of the *Age* the other day, in August, 1901 the Sydney price of cement was 11s. 3d. to 12s., and the Melbourne price, 14s. 3d. to 14s. 6d. In September, 1901, the price had lowered in New South Wales by 6d. but it remained the same in Melbourne—14s. 3d. to 14s. 6d. There are specific statements which can be proved to be either true or false, but they are taken from the price-lists of the firms who sell the goods, and that, I think, is about the best testimony we can have.

Mr. MAUGER.—I can give the honorable member lists that vary month by month.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have no doubt the honorable member can vary his lists.

Mr. MAUGER.—I did not say that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is an easy thing to vary the lists if the honorable member wants to do so.

Mr. SALMON.—The honorable member started out to prove that the cost of living is higher in Victoria than it is in New South Wales, and then he quoted the rates for imported goods—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I started to quote the rates at which these goods are sold

Mr. SALMON.—Imported articles.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member suppose that the firms keep these goods here without selling them? Do they keep their houses open merely to look at Victorians selling goods made here? The honorable member cannot put that nonsense into our minds.

Mr. SALMON.—The honorable member ought to know that the prices are quoted of many things which are not sold.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Are all these things that are quoted not sold? Here is a list which embraces nearly everything used in every man's home. The honorable member knows that there are importations into Victoria, just as there are into New South Wales—not perhaps to the same extent, but sufficient to show that there is a great difference in the cost of articles brought about by reason of the duties. The honorable member for Gippsland made special reference to England and its relations to the other nations of Europe, and he gave us some statistics from *Mulhall* to show that England was the most prosperous nation in the world prior to the year 1840, but that since then she had fallen behind in the race for supremacy. I think it was Macaulay who said that if the law of gravitation infringed some people's interests numerous arguments would soon be found against it, and it seems to me that the honorable member for Gippsland was attempting to bolster up his arguments in favour of protection by doing his best to prove that England is in a state of decay. That is a libel upon England, and it is very far from being correct. But the honorable member only quoted just such figures as would suit him. Now, I want to quote a few facts from *Mulhall* which will show a very different state of things. When the honorable member for Gippsland was referring to the condition of things in England in 1840 the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, asked what was the condition of the workers in England in 1840. I ask what was the general condition of England then—why did they introduce free-trade? The honorable member for Gippsland told us that it was because they were ready to compete with the whole world, but surely the honorable member must have known that it was the grinding

misery of the people that compelled the Parliament to abandon protection. However, upon this point I prefer to rely on the statements of those who lived at that time, and among those moving scenes.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—1840 was only a few years after the Reform Bill.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Here is a statement by Mr. Gladstone, who lived through that epoch, and whose powers of observation were at least equal to those of the honorable member for Gippsland. He says—

That word “protection” is a miserable misnomer; call it oppression, call it delusion, call it fraud. I wish I could supplant that name “protection,” and find some name for it that is nearer the truth.

That is the statement of a man who was in England in 1840, and who had seen all the supposed benefits of protection.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And who at that time was a protectionist?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But Mr. Gladstone changed his mind—the logic of facts compelled him to. No one upheld these duties more than Sir Robert Peel, but the logic of facts compelled him to change his mind, too. Sir Robert Peel lost his position over this matter, and it could not therefore have been the logic of the majority which forced him to take the step he did. He paid the penalty of his life for it, and he went to his grave sooner than he otherwise would have done by reason of it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What nonsense the honorable member talks. He was killed by an accident.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I can quite understand the indignation of the right honorable gentleman, who appears to be utterly ignorant of the history of those times. What I am stating can be found in any school history at home or abroad. The historian says so; it is not my statement. Here is what Sir Robert Peel says: Will the honorable member listen to this?

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is not worth it, but I will listen since the honorable member asks me.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I suppose the honorable member thinks Sir Robert Peel was rather a fool.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, I do not think Sir Robert Peel was a fool.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The right honorable gentleman will be a very fortunate man if he finds as high a niche in the

temple of fame, even with the aid of protection, as Sir Robert Peel did. Sir Robert Peel says—

So far from thinking the principle of protection is a salutary principle, I maintain the more widely you extend it the greater injury you will inflict on the national wealth, and the more you will cripple the national industry. I boldly maintain that the principle of protection to a domestic industry—meaning thereby legislative encouragement for the purpose of protection—duties on import imposed for that purpose, and not for revenue, is a vicious principle.

Now, here is an American—Sir Benjamin Franklin—who, no doubt, had seen a good deal of what he speaks about. He says—

I have seen so much embarrassment and so little advantage in all restraining and compulsive systems, that I feel myself strongly inclined to believe that that country which leaves all her ports open to all the world on equal terms, will by that means have foreign commodities cheaper, sell its own productions dearer, and be, on the whole, the most prosperous.

The honorable member for Gippsland has spoken about the splendid conditions that existed anterior to 1840, but in preference to the random statements he may make off-hand, I prefer to take the testimony of eye-witnesses. They are not my statements, but those of the brainiest men of our race. Now, the honorable member for Gippsland quoted *Mulhall* to show how England has been distanced in the race for supremacy by such countries as France and Germany. As a matter of fact, those countries had not begun to manufacture in Germany in 1840. Their manufacturing industries were at their lowest ebb. They had not awakened to the necessity of competing in the world's markets; neither had the other nations. England was manufacturing for the whole world.

Mr. SAWERS.—That is why she went for free-trade.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It does not necessarily follow that England was injured because those nations awoke. Was that anything for her to feel jealous or alarmed about? Does it follow that England is any worse off because they are better off?

Mr. SAWERS.—Would they have developed if they had not adopted protection?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—England maintains her position under free-trade, and I am going to give the honorable member the evidence of that. I am not going to quote the national wealth in the aggregate, although that would support my position; I prefer a better test. We were told about

the sweated labour of the old country, and I propose to compare the conditions in England, France, and Germany. In both France and Germany, the educational equipment of the people is better than those of the workers of Great Britain, and yet with the vigour and virility of the Germans, and the ingenuity of the French, and with all the splendid training and education of both, here is the result. These are the figures which the honorable member did not quote. Mr. Nash, the financial editor of the *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney says:—

The conditions of the people of three old world countries may be taken to illustrate the point. How do the people of the United Kingdom under free-trade fare in the matter of food consumption in comparison with those of France and Germany under protectionist systems? *Mulhall* in his statistics gives the following figures as the cost of food supply to the people of each—

| | United Kingdom. £ | France. £ | Germany. £ |
|---|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Average annual cost of food | 14.24 | 12.22 | 10.92 |
| Ratio of cost to earnings | 42.2 | 44.0 | 49.1 |
| Days' earnings equal to annual cost of food | 127 | 142 | 148 |

Though the people of the United Kingdom spend £2 per head more for food than those of France, and over £3 per head more than those of Germany, the amount represents a smaller portion of their earnings. It absorbs the fruit of only 127 days' work in the year, as compared with 142 days and 148 days which the people of France and Germany respectively have to labour for each year to give them the means of subsistence.

Here follows a very peculiar thing. It is a strange coincidence. The other night we were told that the consumption of potatoes in Victoria was very much in excess of the consumption in New South Wales. Strange to say, in both Germany and France the consumption of potatoes bears pretty much the same ratio to that of England as does the consumption in Victoria to that of New South Wales. It is an exceedingly strange coincidence, and one which I do not pretend to explain. In Germany there are 1,020 lbs. of potatoes consumed per head of the population, and in France, 520 lbs. as against 380 lbs. in the United Kingdom. But while this is so, there are 109 lbs. of meat per head consumed in the United Kingdom as against 77 lbs. in France and 64 lbs. in Germany. More potatoes are, therefore, consumed in Germany and France than in England, but those countries consume far less meat than does England. Altogether these figures show that, whether England is

in a state of decadence or not, her workmen live better and expend less effort in the production of their living than do the workmen in the protected countries of the Continent. Here is another statement from *Mulhall*. In England the average wealth production for a family of five is £168 per annum, but in France it is only £139, whilst in Germany it is £111. All that is claimed for a protective system, so far as I can gather, is that it will increase our production. But have we to face the problem of production anywhere in Australia? In New South Wales the production per family of five is £250 per annum. I suppose that the production in Victoria is not quite so much, but it is very nearly so. Why should we be straining every nerve to invent some artificial means to produce more wealth, when, as a matter of fact, we are the richest country in the world at the present time? Our problem is mainly one of distribution, and not one of production. If the distribution problem could be better solved by a protective system there would be some profit in adopting it, but all the statistics in the world upon this point go to show that the producers of wealth obtain more of it for themselves in free-trade countries than they do in protectionist countries of which we have any knowledge.

Mr. SAWERS.—Turkey, for example, is a free-trade country.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why does the honorable member rush away to Turkey? I have just been telling him about France and Germany? Let us confine our attention to countries which are similar and whose people live under like conditions. That was the point upon which the honorable member was so strong the other night. The people of Turkey do not live under conditions similar to ours any more than do other aliens. I am not comparing ourselves with aliens. Why does the honorable member wish me to do that? I am comparing people who live under like conditions. But even if the other nations of the world have increased their productiveness, how can it harm a country to trade with a rich consumer in preference to a small one? Let us apply that principle to our own business concerns. Will honorable members tell me that they would prefer to have a small or poor customer to a large and rich one? The thing is preposterous! If what I say be true of the individual, surely it is equally true of a nation! Mutual trade with a

powerful ally can only lead to mutually good results. Some honorable members suppose that Germany is beating England out of her own market. They never made a bigger mistake. The figures for last year show that the exports from England to Germany are in greater ratio than are the exports from Germany to England.

Mr. HUME COOK.—In all colonial markets Germany is beating England.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—From Australia at the present moment we are sending £9,000,000 worth of goods per annum to Germany and France, and we are taking only £3,000,000 worth from them. What is happening in England at the present moment? The workshops were never more crowded! The sources of employment were never more than they are at present. Why, Mr. Seddon who sent home the other day for some locomotives and rails had to tell his own people that he could not get his orders fulfilled in England, and had consequently been compelled to place them in Germany. Is that a sign of England's decadence? Is it a sign of the decay of British trade that Germany gets trade which England cannot take? At the present time, the shipping trade of England is booking orders for three years ahead. Tangye Bros. will not accept an order for a less term than two years ahead. Yet we are told that England is declining because she cannot supply the requirements of the whole world. The fact remains that she is keeping her people to-day in greater comfort and happiness than any other country in the world except Australia.

Mr. SAWERS.—What did the *Times* say in a leading article recently?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is wonderful how the honorable member goes to an old tory paper for his statistics.

Mr. SAWERS.—Lord Rosebery says the same thing.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I now come to the question of exports and imports. The honorable member for Gippsland gave us a new version of the relation between exports and imports. He told us—and I think it was the first time I had heard it said—that importations had no relation to exportations, and *vice versa*. He told us, for instance, that when we send our goods abroad we sell them, that when we get goods from abroad we pay for them, and that if we buy more than we sell we must be the losers. When

probed upon that point, however, he had to admit that to the extent that exports and imports balance they are paid for by each other. Over and above that he says there has to be a movement of gold to make up the difference. In reply to his assertion, I want to give the honorable member a fact which, perhaps, he will be able to get over, although I confess that it is puzzling to me. It is taken from the *Bankers' Magazine* for July. In that issue Mr. W. R. Lawson, who writes in a strain certainly not favorable to Great Britain, after dealing with the anomaly referred to by Sir Robert Griffin, that the imports of England are so persistently in excess of her exports, makes this statement in regard to the movements of trade between the United States of America and foreign countries:—

Our own paradox has an equally interesting counterpart in the foreign trade returns of the United States. They, too, are very lopsided, but in the opposite direction to ours. They exhibit excesses of exports over imports almost as large as our excesses of imports over exports. In the month of April last the respective totals were 120,780,000 dols. exported, and 76,751,000 dols. imported—excess of exports 44,000,000 dols. For the ten months of the current fiscal year (1900-1) the aggregate excess was 584,212,000 dols., which by the end of the year will probably have grown to 684,000,000 dols., or £135,000,000 sterling.

£135,000,000 represents the difference between the exports of America and her imports.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The excess of exports.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes. According to the honorable member for Gippsland, gold ought to be flowing into America from England and elsewhere in payment of the difference between her imports and exports, and as England imports annually £170,000,000 more than she exports, her gold ought to be flowing all over the world in payment for them. We find, however, that this writer continues—

Notwithstanding the enormous foreign credits which these figures, if perfectly correct, ought to give to the United States, foreign exchanges are as steadily against New York as they are in favour of London. Just now the Americans are shipping gold two or three times a week to Europe, and they seem to get very little of it back.

That is a fact which I put before the House in answer to the statements made by the honorable member for Gippsland, that if we import more than we export we have to send gold out of the country in order to pay for the balance. Here is the fact, that in one

year America has sent 135,000,000 worth of goods away from her shores in excess of her imports, and that, in order to satisfy her creditors abroad, she had in addition to send out in gold many millions sterling. England, on the other hand, receives annually £170,000,000 worth of goods more than she exports, and yet other countries are sending in their gold to her.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is not that explained by the respective relations of debtor and creditor?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the point. America is becoming a rich nation. She is paying off her indebtedness very rapidly, and that accounts for her excess of exports over imports. All debtor countries are constantly sending away exports in excess of their imports. If that were not the case there would have to be an approximate balance between their imports and exports. England's wealth per head is accumulating every year of her existence, and yet she is receiving £170,000,000 worth of imports in excess of what she sends out.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is simply the interest on her capital.

Mr. McCOLL.—She is the great pawn-broker of the world.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I wonder would the honorable member like to be a pawn-broker in the same way. I should like to say a word or two about the protection of native industries. Covered up as they are by the language employed, one does not see at first sight what these duties mean. Let us take cement for instance. On that article there is a duty of 60 per cent. The cost of importing it to this country is 4s. 2½d. per cask.

Mr. McCOLL.—What is the price of cement?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The price of cement where no duty is paid is about 5s. 6d. on the manufacturers' premises abroad per cask. I believe it is about 14s. per cask in Melbourne. The duty amounts to nearly 60 per cent., while the cost of bringing it here is equivalent to more than another 60 per cent. Clearly, therefore, the natural and proposed protection on this one article alone amounts to considerably over 100 per cent. of its value. We are supposed to require protection in order to shield our labour from the pauper labour of other countries. Will honorable members tell me that 100 per cent. does not represent more than the total cost of the

labour involved in the production of the article? It does not make up merely the difference between the cost of labour here and elsewhere; it represents more than the total cost of the labour employed in producing it. And so with many other items. In the case of glassware, the duty, roughly speaking, amounts to about 75 per cent., while the cost of importing glassware to this country is about 90 per cent. That makes 165 per cent. I venture to say that the glassblowers do not receive one-sixth of that percentage for the labour they perform in producing the finished article. It is the same in regard to furniture. The cost of importing furniture to Australia is equal to 45 per cent., and the duty is 20 per cent., making a total of 65 per cent. I wonder whether the furniture maker gets 65 per cent of the total cost of producing the article. And so with pottery. Household ware costs from 75 per cent. to 116 per cent. to import, and sanitary ware from 21 per cent. to 29 per cent. Taking pottery as a whole, we find that it costs about 33½ per cent. to bring it out here, while a duty equal to 53 per cent. is imposed, making a total of 86½ per cent. I venture to say that the potters who make the article do not get 25 per cent. of its final cost. What preposterous nonsense it is to say that this duty is only to make up the difference between the cost of labour in the countries where these articles are produced and the cost of labour in Australia. So I could go through the whole list, showing that the duty in nearly every case does not merely level up the difference between the wages earned here and the wages earned elsewhere, but that it amounts to more than the total cost of the entire production of the article. A complaint that may fairly be made is that only a few items of production are protected, and that whatever protection is given has to be borne and paid for by those engaged in industries which cannot be protected. According to Coghlan's last figures, the total value of our production from pastoral pursuits is £41,000,000, and from agricultural pursuits £18,000,000. Will anybody tell me that agriculture can be protected now that our State borders are free? The honorable member for Gippsland, as I have already pointed out, when on a deputation in 1899, told the Victorian Premier that our grain had to compete with the prices in Mark-lane, and that, therefore, an import duty was no good. Coghlan shows that our mining

pursuits represent an annual production of £22,000,000. That is a total of £81,000,000 per annum; while the same authority shows us that the value of our manufactures is £28,000,000 per annum. It must be remembered that only a slight proportion of that £28,000,000 can be protected, and to protect or encourage—or, as it is said, to “stimulate”—that slight proportion, it is proposed to tax the industries producing £81,000,000. How the taxation of the people engaged in producing £109,000,000 worth of wealth can make a country richer I should like to have explained? In order to put the matter in another way, I have here a statement taken from Coghlan's figures a little while ago. The census of 1891 had to be used, because the last census had not then been completed. We find that there were then in Australasia 1,614,000 bread-winners, males and females, made up of 1,295,000 males, and 318,000 females. The primary producers—those engaged in pastoral, mining, and similar industries—represented, together with our commercial classes, 1,341,000 people out of the 1,614,000, leaving only 273,000 engaged in manufacturing. Only a slight proportion of those engaged in manufacturing can be affected by duties, and yet we have 1,341,000 people, who cannot possibly benefit, forced to pay duties on all they require, in order, according to the tenets of protectionists, to “stimulate and encourage” the production of 273,000 people. How a process like that can lead to the enrichment of a nation I have yet to learn. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports referred the other day to the fact that I was once a protectionist; and, like my friend the honorable member for Gippsland, I admit the statement. I was a protectionist for about twelve months, sixteen years ago.

MR. CROUCH.—A lucid interval!

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—I was just as simple at that time as the honorable and learned member is now. Sixteen years ago I had not studied economics, and never dreamt that I should be in a Federal Parliament, or any other Parliament.

MR. KINGSTON.—The honorable member gives no outward visible sign of having studied economics now.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister for Trade and Customs has already said to-day that Sir Robert Peel was a simpleton, and

that it is nonsense to quote that statesman.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did not say anything of the sort.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No other inference could be drawn from the right honorable gentleman's remarks; and he and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports have had nothing but sneers for the quotations which I have made from eminent statesmen who are of world-wide fame. It is only fitting that the Minister for Trade and Customs should sneer at me after what he has said this morning. When I was a protectionist, for the short space of twelve months, I was working in the coal-mines, and the coal dust must have clouded my brain, because from the moment I began to study fiscal matters, I reasoned myself into the acceptance of free-trade; and I was a free-trader for five years before I entered political life. I do not contend that free-trade is a panacea for all the ills of the globe. I do not make the same pretensions for free-trade that others do for protection; but I say that of the two systems, that which lends itself to the greater comfort of the producer and to the better distribution of national wealth—the system which leads to the enrichment of the nation and the betterment of the individual—is unquestionably that which inclines to the freedom of exchange.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Average wealth is better than aggregation of wealth.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Precisely; and because the average wealth in England is greater than that of every protectionist country in the world, the honorable member ought to be a free-trader. We have heard a great deal about what other honorable members have said at one time and another on the question of protection; let us hear what the Prime Minister said about free-trade. It may not be known that the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition were old political "pals" at one time, and used to meet on the same platform, advocating the same fiscal opinions. On one occasion, during an election for East Sydney, the Prime Minister proposed a vote of confidence in the leader of the Opposition, who was then a candidate for that constituency.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And the leader of the Opposition returns the compliment by moving a vote of no-confidence in the Prime Minister.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Here is just one sentence from the speech of the Prime Minister on that occasion—

I believe in Mr. Reid—

The Prime Minister does not believe in Mr. Reid now.

Mr. REID.—Yes he does, just the same!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Prime Minister said—

I believe in Mr. Reid, because he is a man who will ever strive to wreathe the fair brows of New South Wales with the garlands of free-trade, and will not shackle her shapely limbs with fetters of protection.

Mr. KINGSTON.—How long ago was that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The speech was delivered in the eighties.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Antediluvian history! Good gracious!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But my little period of aberration was equally ancient. While the right honorable gentleman was looking up these inconsistencies he might have told us about the time when the honorable member for Bourke was a most vigorous and pronounced free-trader, and, I have been told, an ardent advocate of the single-tax.

Mr. SALMON.—I think the honorable member is wrong; I have known the honorable member for Bourke for years.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not think the honorable member will deny it if he is asked about it. Of course this is all ancient history. I certainly am not ashamed of having altered my opinion 15 years ago, but I did it as the result of careful observation, and no other motive impelled me to change, as at the time I was working in a coal mine, and never expected to emerge into Parliament. My political career, I hope, has been as consistent as that of any other honorable member.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member did all his underground work before he came into Parliament!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There are other considerations which are high and important in connexion with this question. In connexion with England's policy I would point out that one cannot separate the fiscal policy of a country from her general relationship to the world at large. In my opinion there is nothing which so enters into the relationships which affect nations as this question of trade and of the Tariff. Will honorable members tell me, for instance, that England would have been

allowed to stretch her hands all over the globe, as she has done, and to scoop up vast rich territories, if there had not been the feeling amongst the other nations of the earth that in consequence of her doing so they would be helped instead of hindered? Wherever she has gone she has invited the whole world to trade with her on peaceable and amicable relations. I do not hesitate to say that, but for the attitude adopted in this respect, she would not have been able to extend her world-wide empire to the extent to which she has done. We were told the other night by the Attorney-General, while the honorable member for Gippsland was speaking, that England had had no wars while this battle of trade was going on. It is true that she had no wars like the Franco-Prussian and the Russo-Turkish wars. But why is that? Why is not England squabbling with the other nations in the way they squabble among themselves? Because she has motives for peace which they have not. The commercial and trade relations of the great countries to-day are keeping the peace of the world, and not the huge armaments which are being built up. We are told by some honorable members that they want free-trade between people of like conditions and like civilization. But I ask, how is it, if we want protection against the low wage countries of Europe, that American grain is beating Russian grain out of the market? In spite of the fact that the price of labour is, I suppose, about four times as great in America as in Russia, American grain beats Russian grain every time in the markets of the world.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—They plough with balloons in America!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The cost of production in America to-day is less than it is in England and in many of the continental nations of Europe. Her rates of wages are higher, but her cost of production is less. Surely that fact tells against honorable members opposite. Their argument is that it is impossible to produce unless wages rates are equalized. But I point to America, where the wages rates are higher than in continental nations, and where, in spite of that fact, production is cheaper. Therefore, it cannot be the wages rates of a country which determine the cost of production.

Mr. SAWERS.—America has more machinery and cheap land.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Machinery, I believe, is the product of brains, not the creation of a Tariff. There is no doubt that America has a people fertile and inventive to a greater degree, perhaps, than any others in the world. She has this advantage in conjunction with her unrivalled natural resources, which have given her the leading position she occupies to-day. Let honorable members take a map of America and look at it. Can there be any question as to her advantages compared with any other place in the world? Take her great areas of virgin soil. Take her great inland seas. If America had been subject to irrigation for millions of years she could not have done this work for herself as well as nature has done it for her. These facilities for the transaction of her internal business have given her the unequalled position she occupies to-day. A comparison has been made between New South Wales and Victoria. I am not going to detain the House at length with that matter, but I want to mention one or two points, and then leave the subject. The honorable member for Gippsland spoke of the greater territory possessed by New South Wales as compared with Victoria. But I believe sincerely that the smaller territory of Victoria has been an advantage up to now. We are twitted about the cost of governing our State, and about the revenue from our land sales. Here is a fact or two which honorable members will do well to keep in mind. I say that our land revenue is more than swallowed up in the increased cost of governing our territory. To begin with, we have but a few more people in New South Wales than there are in Victoria, but we have double the amount of pay for taking our mails across our huge tracts of territory. We have a thousand more postal hands. The cost of telegraphic installation in New South Wales has been over £1,000,000, while the Victorian telegraphs have cost but £300,000. Our Lands department takes at least £200,000 a year to govern it; the cost of the Lands department in Victoria is but little; it is very little indeed. Public works to keep open our means of communication cost us at least double what they cost in Victoria. One could go on multiplying these instances to an extent which would make the

£1,000,000 a year we get from land sales look very small, indeed, beside the added cost of governing that huge territory.

Mr. EWING.—We get £2,100,000 of land revenue.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Not from land sales. The honorable member must know that as well as myself. I am speaking of land sales, and I have yet to learn that land revenue must not be taken into account. When I leave Sydney to go to Lithgow, a place in my electorate, 100 miles distant, I have to travel over barren mountains the whole way, except for one stretch of country. No production can go on there. But one cannot find around Melbourne 100 miles of country subject to a condition of barrenness like that. We have to carry our means of communication a distance of 100 miles in almost every direction before we get into fertile country. Here the fertile country reaches right down to Melbourne. Again, with regard to minerals, we are told that we have an advantage in point of mineral production. I believe we have, and will have from this on. But here is a simple fact. The Victorian gold production represents more than the whole mineral production of the continent since it has been settled. With these facts in mind, and in view of the possibility of concentrating the system of Government and making it more economical and cheap, to tell me that we have the advantage in New South Wales over Victoria is to say something which I do not believe squares with the facts of the case. Yet in spite of all the drawbacks we have had in New South Wales up to the present—I admit that the extent of territory will begin to tell from now on—in spite of the fact that the disadvantage, and not the advantage, as honorable members have alleged, has been with us, our production last year was £2 per head more than the total production of this protected State of Victoria. If it is not distributed as it ought to be, certainly that is due to no Tariff. I would rather take my own observations of the two States than all these statistics, and they lead me to the conclusion that the people of Victoria are not as well off as the people of New South Wales. I say that the struggle for existence in Victoria to-day is much keener than in New South Wales. I say that life in Victoria is subject to greater rush and strain than in New South Wales. That can be added up in percentages by those who care to make the

calculation. The conditions in the two States are not comparable from the point of view of the happiness and comfort of those who produce their wealth.

Mr. McCOLL.—A fairy tale!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Echuca laughs, and we shall probably hear his fairy tale directly, stretching no doubt to about three hours. I venture to say that the tale I tell is not a fairy tale. It is reducible to figures. It has been proved that the cost of living is cheaper in Sydney than in Melbourne, while the remuneration for the people as a whole is much greater than it is in Victoria. The Victorian workmen have not the same devotion to their trades organizations that ours have. The trade organizations of Victoria are not nearly so alive as ours. If I am asked for facts, here they are. Where did we get free labourers to compete with our miners at Lucknow?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The old gag.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We got them from Victoria. Who are taking the places of the coal lumpers at Perth now? Labourers from Victoria.

Mr. McCOLL.—More slandering of Victoria. That is all the honorable member can do.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—These are facts. I should be very sorry to reflect on the trades organizations of Victoria. Those within those trades organizations are as good as they are anywhere. They are good loyal men, and always have been; but I am speaking of the greater amount of labour which is not organized here, and which seems ready to go to the other end of the continent to take the places of trades unionists when on strike. These are facts given to me by an honorable member of the labour party in this House. They are not my own statements, but I believe them to be true, and hence I utter them here. Therefore I say that in all that makes for the welfare of the worker of the country, in all that makes for the aggregate production of wealth, in regard to everything which enters into the home life of the people as a whole and tends to that ideal state which every man is seeking, the advantage is on the side of free exchange of commodities. We believe it makes labour more efficient and comfortable. It leads to infinitely cheaper production and greater returns, and it is the ramification of

this principle through the industrial conditions of our life as well as through the domestic circle of our existence which tends to make the people of free-trade countries happier, better, and more contented than those who have to struggle under this grinding load of tyranny which protection creates.

Sir JOHN QUICK (Bendigo).—The honorable member who has just resumed his seat has followed the example of some of his colleagues on the opposite side of the House in delivering a very lengthy speech in support of the cause of free-trade. I do not desire to say a single word against the length, and even tediousness, of the speeches which have been delivered in support of that cause, because I consider that this debate ought to be regarded as a great safety-valve for the expression and development of public opinion upon this question. I should like, however—I hope without giving any offence—to say that the length and volume of some of the speeches which we have been delighted to hear are rather significant. It appears to me that our friends of the free-trade party are really now uttering the last despairing cry of a lost cause. Honorable members can see the hand-writing on the wall, which says that the cause which they represent has been tried in the balance, and found wanting. No wonder, therefore, that they are properly using their constitutional rights to express their views, and fight for their cause. At the same time, I should like to remind honorable members on this side, and members of the Ministry also, that it will not be at all advisable to allow the whole volume of debate to be contributed by members of the opposite side of the House. We must admit the tenacity and pertinacity with which the cause of free-trade has been fought, and I hope the cause represented by members on this side will not be lacking in debating power or argument.

Mr. WILKS.—Why does the honorable and learned member want to defend a cause that is so strong?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I would like to invite attention to a short analysis of the motion, which is practically one of want of confidence. There is a considerable amount of padding, particularly in paragraphs (a) and (b). They are mere make-weights, and the main subject of the attack is to be found in paragraph (c), which relates to the question

of free-trade or protection. In my opinion, the right honorable and learned member, in his very able and lengthy speech, failed to sustain the indictment which he submitted. He did his best, with his usual oratorical power and capacity, and he has been ably backed up, but still he has not advanced his cause substantially in the House, or in the country by any of these deliverances.

Mr. WILKS.—What is the use of the honorable and learned member replying, then?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—We are replying, because we do not wish the debate to go by default. It would be a very great mistake if it did.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That was not the decision in the first instance. The honorable and learned member did not think so the other night.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Paragraph (a) contains the allegation that the finances of the Commonwealth are upon an unsound and extravagant basis. I listened with great interest to the speeches made, and I fail to see that any substantial ground has been alleged to support the view that there are any unsound principles in the Budget, or that it stands on any extravagant basis. So far as expenditure is outlined in the Budget, it has been based on reasonably economical and frugal lines. I have not had my attention directed to any item of expenditure which is open to attack on the ground of extravagance. Undoubtedly, I have heard claims put forward in the House for the expenditure of money in certain parts, but we have invariably found Ministers putting on the brake. I think they are to be commended for their endeavour and their expressed intention to keep the expenditure of the Government as low as it can be kept without being reduced to niggardliness. I should hope that it is not the desire of any honorable members to see our departments beggared or in any way impaired in their efficiency by a lack of enterprise, or by an undue restriction of expending power. I fail to see that any evidence has been produced or any argument advanced in support of the alleged unsound or extravagant basis of the finances. Paragraph (b) of the motion alleges that the burdens of taxation have been imposed to press heavily upon the necessities of life, and upon appliances used in farming, mining, and industrial pursuits. That, of course, if reasonably sustained,

and not capable of any reply, would be a very serious indictment, and no doubt it would tell heavily in the country against the Ministry. It seems to me, however, that the paragraph is directed against certain features of the Tariff with the intention to arrest attention in the constituencies, and to excite suspicion in the minds of the people without any tangible proof being brought forward in support of the indictment. Not only in that paragraph, but in the speeches made in support of it, suggestions have been made that duties should be removed and taxation abolished on the necessities of life, raw materials, metals and machinery, apparels and textiles, mining and agricultural appliances, and so forth. It seems to me that if effect were given to the whole of these complaints we should have nothing left to tax; we should have no sources from which to derive the revenue necessary to carry on the business of the country. Complaint is made against every item in the Tariff.

Mr. REID.—Every item?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Complaint has been made, not against every item, but against every division, and allegations have been hurled at proposals of taxation under the various headings. If the necessities of life, raw materials, metals and machinery, apparels and textiles, mining and agricultural appliances were placed on the free list, where would our revenue come from? No doubt, it may be a very undesirable thing that we should have taxation of any kind on necessities of life or raw materials, on metals or machinery, or anything of that kind. Taxation in every form is objectionable, and often injurious and calamitous to a country, but it is a necessary evil. We have honorable members embodying in motions and speeches suggestions to put this thing, that thing, and the other thing on the free list. But if the whole of these suggestions were carried out we should not have a single area of taxation left, except intoxicants and narcotics, and so on. Those articles have been taxed up to the hilt, as far as they reasonably can be taxed without absolutely destroying the sources of revenue. Honorable members who bring forward charges wholesale against the Tariff, ought to pause and consider the financial exigencies, not only of the Commonwealth, but also of the States before they make such sweeping suggestions. Whilst I shall vote against this motion and use every

endeavour to defeat it, I admit that many of the details of the Tariff are open to discussion and to differences of opinion, and I reserve to myself a free hand in committee to discuss every item on its merits. At the same time, I shall join in no such denunciation as is embodied in this motion.

Mr. REID.—Bendigo expects nothing else from the honorable member.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I refer to items which are open to debate. The Treasurer admitted yesterday that anomalies have crept in, and that honorable members generally would have the opportunity of debating them, and he said that if a good case were made out against any proposal, the Government would give fair consideration to every motion which was made, as I apprehend, not only to increase a duty, but also to reduce or to abolish it.

Mr. WILKS.—To make it more protective.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Before I pass to paragraph (c), as the representative of a constituency partly mining and partly agricultural, I would like to draw attention to a reference in the motion to the oppressive duties laid on appliances used in mining and agriculture.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; and on mining appliances especially.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Protectionist as I am I should be very sorry, indeed, to vote for any system of taxation that would injure the mining or agricultural industries with which my district has been closely identified for many years past. I think I can pledge not only my word, but also that of the Attorney-General, who represents Ballarat, that we would not knowingly vote in favour of imposing taxation that would injure the great industry of mining. There recently appeared in the newspapers a telegram from Mr. A. E. Morgans, M.L.A., of Perth, in which he raised a great outcry against the Tariff, on the ground that it would seriously cripple mining operations in Western Australia. The same point was, in another form, referred to by the honorable member for West Sydney, who the other evening made a comparison between the mining machinery of Victoria and that of Western Australia, and stated that the mining machinery imported into Western Australia was four or five times as efficient as that in operation at Ballarat, and impliedly in other parts of Victoria. I was very much struck by that statement, and I

immediately placed myself in communication with the leading ironfounders of Bendigo, Messrs. Roberts and Sons, whose works are well known, and who have manufactured machinery and sent it to all parts of Australia, and also outside of Australia. I directed their attention to the statement of the honorable member, and yesterday I received the following telegraphic reply:—

Crushing batteries can be made in Victoria equal to imported; Western Australian batteries cost considerably more, and crush 20 per cent. more stone; but their quartz is much softer than ours. This mainly accounts for difference.

To-day I received a further communication in the shape of a letter from the same firm, who say—

We have to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 16th instant, and in reply we have to confirm our wire of this day, as follows:—

“Crushing batteries can be made in this State equal to imported; Western Australian batteries cost considerably more and crush 20 per cent. more stone; but their quartz is much softer than ours. This mainly accounts for difference.”

From this you will understand that we desire to state that all the engineers and ironfounders who make mining machinery as a speciality can make crushing batteries equal in every detail to the imported ones, and we ourselves have done a large export trade to Western Australia, and other parts of the Commonwealth, and have sent batteries to Singapore. We also know that other firms have done the same.

With regard to the crushing capacities of the imported battery, compared with what is at present in use on the Bendigo and Ballarat fields, we desire to state that the imported ones are capable of crushing 25 per cent. more stone in Western Australia than what we can do, but it must be borne in mind that the quartz in those parts is not so hard or so difficult to crush as it is here. With the batteries as constructed now, with all modern improvements of the local manufacturers, the average quantity of ore per stamp per 24 hours is slightly over three tons, and all the imported ones in Western Australia crush close on four tons.

With regard to the assertion, that the imported batteries will crush five times as much, this is absolutely absurd and incorrect.

There is also another point which must not be disregarded, and that is, taking the batteries in Western Australia as a whole, they have been erected in the last four or five years, and have everything modern and up-to-date in every detail, whereas the majority of batteries working in this State were built and erected some 25 or 30 years ago, when this class of machinery had not attained such a high standard, but nevertheless we desire to state that we could manufacture a battery to treat the same quantity of ore for 24 hours as good and equal in every way to the imported, and at a cheaper cost, as the Western Australian ones cost considerably more than those manufactured in this State.

Now there is a challenge to the whole of Australia.

Mr. THOMAS.—They do not need any protection for their machinery.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—No, apparently they do not, because they say they can make the same article more cheaply than it can be imported. I would remind the honorable member, however, that the present efficiency of this firm is the result of many years of protection. When the iron foundries of Bendigo, and other parts of Victoria, were started a number of years ago, the protection they first received was limited, but it was afterwards increased. I remember the outcry that was raised in some quarters against that protection, on the ground that it would be a burden upon the mining industry. It might have been a temporary burden on the mining industry, but the result is this triumphant assertion that the ironfounders of Victoria are able to compete with the whole world. That is the result of the protection they have received in the past, and of the accumulated experience they have gained on the gold-fields, where they have had special opportunities, no doubt. But what becomes of the complaints received from Western Australia? What becomes of Mr. Morgans' letter, and the assertion of the honorable member for West Sydney, that Victorian mining machinery is inferior to the imported article? We have the authoritative evidence of a substantial firm, which, no doubt could be supported by testimony from the Phoenix foundry at Ballarat, from Thomson's foundry at Castlemaine, and from Martin's foundry in South Australia. All these would no doubt be able to say that the assertions in Mr. Morgans' letter, and also the honorable member's statements are not true. Therefore, the apprehensions of gentlemen in Western Australia, that the duty on mining machinery will crush or injure the industry, are groundless.

Mr. FOWLER.—Then they do not know their own business?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Apparently not.

Mr. THOMAS.—Where is the necessity for the duty?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The duty is necessary no doubt in order to steady the market, and prevent it from being disturbed by shipments from other countries. The revenue will not be very large. This mining machinery can be procured in various parts of Australia as cheaply as it could be imported, and it will do as effective work.

Therefore, there will be no necessity for the mining companies of Western Australia to talk about reducing wages. It is suggested in Mr. Morgans' letter that, on account of this increased duty on mining machinery, the miners' wages may have to be reduced, and I would ask the miners to note that this is stated in the face of the fact that mining machinery can be obtained within the limits of the Commonwealth as cheaply as it can be imported. What then becomes of Mr. Morgans' suggestion about the wages? Of course there may be a certain explanation. I am told that some of the mining companies of Western Australia have their head offices in the old country. Their highly paid mining directors, their secretaries, and the bulk of their shareholders are located there, and those managing bodies may feel a little interested in giving the orders for their mining machinery to firms in the old country. I am informed that they have given a preference to the English as against the Australian article. The old prejudice which existed for many years against colonial wines and beer exists to some extent against machinery. No doubt in time it will wear off, and we shall feel a community of interest and a common pride in patronising and supporting our local industries. I have examined the Tariff very carefully, to discover how it imposes the burdens which some allege that it imposes upon the mining industry. It has been suggested that, in its incidence, this Tariff will tell heavily against that industry, and, as a matter of fact, the motion under discussion alleges that it will do so. So far as I am able to gather, there are only three or four trivial imports upon which taxes are imposed by this Tariff which will exclusively affect the mining industry. No doubt that industry—like every other—will be indirectly affected by the general scheme of taxation; but it is hardly fair to allege that every duty upon every article is a direct burden upon that particular industry. I have seen it suggested, for instance, that the tax on matches is a burden upon the mining industry. It may be a burden upon the community generally, but it is not a burden on the mining industry in particular.

MR. BARTON.—The honorable and learned member must not forget the poor swagman's milk.

SIR JOHN QUICK.—It is a wonder that honorable members opposite have not

dragged in the poor swagman. I notice two or three items in the Tariff which, it may be contended, affect the mining industry. It has been pointed out that the duty upon candles in Victoria has been increased by a halfpenny per lb.. Formerly the duty was 1d. per lb. It is now proposed to increase it to 1½d. per lb. By the way, the duty upon candles in Western Australia, whence the wail comes about the contemplated ruin of the mining industry, was formerly 2d. per pound. Therefore, Mr. Morgans again lacks support. No doubt the increased duty upon candles is a matter for consideration and inquiry. I should certainly like the Minister for Trade and Customs, when we get into committee, to give some information regarding this item, and to tell honorable members why the Victorian duty has been increased, and whether the course taken has been adopted for revenue purposes or for protective purposes. The Victorian Parliament thought that 1d. per lb. was sufficient protection for candles, and I am not aware of any altered circumstances that justify the proposed increase. However, I am quite prepared to hear what the Minister has to offer in explanation of that increase. But whether the duty upon candles is 1d. or 1½d. per lb., the burden will not be very heavy, because I find that the imports of candles into Victoria last year were not very considerable. Most of the candles used are locally produced, and consequently the duty collected upon them in Victoria for the year 1900 was the magnificent sum of £1,168 12s. That is not a very large amount. At the same time, I admit that this proposed increase of duty should be inquired into. No doubt the Minister will be able to give some explanation of it later on. Another item of taxation which is said to oppress the mining industry is the duty upon rails which are used for mining tramway purposes. I have been informed that that will be a tax upon mining to some extent. A duty of 15 per cent. has been imposed upon these rails, which, in most of the States, were formerly exempt from taxation. I think that the advisability of retaining this tax is open to argument. It is questionable whether the revenue to be derived from such a source would be sufficient to justify the imposition of the tax. I am not aware of any other items in connexion with the Tariff which will press on the mining industry to any material extent.

Mr. POYNTON.—What about timber?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I am told that the mines of Victoria can be supplied from within the Commonwealth with all the timber which they require. No timber will have to be imported into Victoria for mining purposes, and the same remark is applicable to Western Australia. It is said that it is necessary to import oregon into Broken Hill for the protection of the mines there; but, probably, experiment and an honest trial of Australian timbers will lead to the discovery that they are quite as capable of protecting the mines in question as are the imported timbers of Canada. On that point, however, I shall suspend judgment until I am in receipt of further information. I repeat that the tax upon timber will not in any way affect the Victorian mines, and the Minister for Defence declares that it will not affect the mines in Western Australia. A great deal has been heard in this House and in the press of the manner in which the Tariff will oppress the agricultural industry. It has been made the subject of a special reference in the indictment which is now under consideration. The proposal to reenact the Victorian law by imposing a duty of 15 per cent. on agricultural and horticultural implements, it is said, means a tremendous pressure of taxation upon the farmer. I think that there is a sufficient number of farming representatives in this House to vindicate and protect the interests of farmers. The farmers of Victoria are as much—if not more—interested in this matter than are the farmers of any other part of Australia, because there are more of them. Hitherto the Victorian import duty on agricultural implements has been 15 per cent., that duty being imposed partly for protective and partly for revenue purposes. I think I can safely say that, so far as the protective incidence of the duty is concerned, its result has been to create a large number of local factories in which agricultural implements are produced. As the outcome of that duty, a very large quantity, in fact, the bulk of the agricultural implements used in this State are, I believe, produced in Victoria. It is true that a quantity of agricultural implements have been imported into Victoria from beyond the Commonwealth, and particularly from the United States of America. During the last twelve months, however, the imports have been comparatively limited

in comparison with the number made and used here. I have obtained a return from the Customs department which shows that on the 15 per cent. basis the amount of duty collected last year upon agricultural implements imported into Victoria was only £9,206. There are 40,160 agricultural holdings in Victoria, and this sum of £9,206, spread over those holdings, represents about 4s. 6d. per holding. That is the tremendous burden which has to be borne by the Victorian farmers as the result of this duty on agricultural implements. We are asked to believe that that 4s. 6d. per head has constituted a tax under which Victorian farmers have been groaning for many years past. So far as the burden of taxation is concerned, its amount is absolutely insignificant when spread over all these holdings. Four shillings and sixpence represents the tax which the Victorian farmer has had to bear under the State Tariff, and it is the same trifling tax which he is asked to bear under this Tariff. And what does he get for it? As the result of this protective duty new factories have sprung up, and the agricultural implement makers of Victoria have been placed on their mettle. They have invented several very useful and valuable agricultural implements, of which the farmer has received the benefit. I should like to draw attention to the prices paid for some imported agricultural implements.

Mr. POYNTON.—Many of the implements to which the honorable and learned member refers are not used on every holding.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I refer only to agricultural holdings, not to squattages, and the information I have given in respect to those holdings I obtained yesterday from the Victorian statist. I secured yesterday from a leading Victorian firm information as to the prices ruling for some of the imported agricultural implements, in order that I might be able to draw a comparison between them and the prices paid for the local articles. I was informed that in 1900 the price of reapers and binders in Victoria was £50 each, and £52 10s. in New South Wales, although they came in free in both States. I should like honorable members from New South Wales to explain that anomaly. The sum of £2 10s. was the extra price charged by the New South Wales importers. This year the

charge for imported reapers and binders in Victoria is £35, while in New South Wales the charge is £47, although they still come in free in both States. Those are the prices current at the present time.

Mr. BARTON.—The price in New South Wales represents a revenue duty in the wrong pocket.

Mr. POYNTON.—Do those figures relate to the same machine?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—To substantially the same machine.

Mr. EWING.—Absolutely the same machine.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The merchant would not have given me these prices if they had related to different machines. If the honorable member can obtain information to contradict my statement, let him do so.

Mr. SALMON.—The Massey-Harris reaper and binder is still cheaper in Victoria than in New South Wales.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—A desperate effort is being made to capture the agriculturalists on this occasion, and I think it necessary to give some attention to this matter. The prices for other imported machinery are as follow:—Mowers, to cut hay, £18; hay-rakes, horse, £10; seed drills, grain and fertilizer drills, £32; ploughs, from £2 to £30; wind-mills, £25; chaff cutters, small, from £3 to £25; cultivators, spring tooth for tilling, £18; harrows, £2 to £7; disc harrows, £6 to £18; thrashers, from £300. That is a list of agricultural implements, which for the most part are imported. Now, I shall give a list of agricultural implements which are generally made in Victoria, and their prices. The list is as follows:—Strippers, £40; winnowers, £27 10s; combined harvesters, £80. These, I am told, are three classes of agricultural implements which have been specially developed—I will not say absolutely invented—but developed and made in Victoria, as the result of the inventive and improving faculty at work in the various agricultural implement manufactories. They are all of Australian production; none of them have been imported. They have been made here as the result of our local conditions. They are local productions pure and simple, and it cannot possibly be said that the duty has in any way affected their prices, because there are no imports whatever. In Victoria ploughs have been made a class of themselves. Two-furrow ploughs cost £18, 3-furrows £25, and 4-furrows £32. I am

told that the imported article does not in any way come into serious competition with these Victorian ploughs. Disc harrows, at least 70 per cent. of which are made locally, sell at prices ranging from £5 to £35 according to the number of discs employed. The next item is that of seed and fertiliser drills, which are made here to a small extent. The prices of harrows, spiked-tooth, range from £3 to £12. I am told that 50 per cent. of these harrows are made locally. Another agricultural appliance which is locally made is the travelling chaff-cutter, at a price of £100 to £140. Portable engines, of which about 10 per cent. are locally made, are sold at £345 and upwards; and horse-gear machines, 50 per cent. of which are locally made, are sold at from £10 to £30 each. With reference to the list which I have just read, I wish it to be distinctly understood, in order that there may be no misapprehension, that the same prices are charged in New South Wales as in Victoria, notwithstanding the fact that there is a 15 per cent. duty in the latter State, as against free importation in the former. I am told that that is an absolute fact beyond contradiction.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It cannot be challenged.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—It cannot be challenged; and the gentleman who gave me the information assured me, in reply to a question, that the statement I have just made can be sustained on oath. The information I have given came from a reliable and responsible source, which I have no reason to doubt; and as an example, my informant quoted 10-foot wind-mills, which are sold at the same price in each State, namely £25. The reason is that the competition in Victoria, caused by the local factories, which are stimulated by a Tariff preference, has had the effect of causing the price to be kept down, whereas in New South Wales the merchant and the importer have had the benefit of enormous charges. Yet we are asked to say that the particular duty which it is proposed to continue, will have a crushing, demoralizing, and injurious effect on the farmer. But the figures I have given are sufficiently eloquent in themselves to show that the result predicted will not be in any way realized, and that the indictment of this Tariff, founded on the expected oppression of the farmer, ought to be dismissed by this House. It is a mere sham cry—a mere

party cry got up for the purpose of "gulling" the farmer. But I believe farmers are sufficiently sharp and intelligent to know the effect of the inclusion of this general allegation in the notice of motion. The farmers of Victoria have spoken with no uncertain sound on the fiscal question, both at the federal elections and at the previous State elections.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Why does not the honorable and learned member propose to double the tax, so that the farmers may thank him more?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The farmers and their representatives in this House know what they are about. In the honorable member for Gippsland and the honorable member for Moira we have two practical representatives, who are thoroughly conversant with the interests of the farmers, and quite capable of defending them, and the information I have given is merely to supplement that already laid before the House by those honorable members. The attempt to capture the farmers will not come off. The time is not far distant when those who speak about, and pretend to be friends of, the farmer will probably have an opportunity of showing in a practical manner in this House whether they will assist him. Not long ago there was a motion before the House for the establishment of a National Department of Agriculture, for the protection and assistance of the farmer. Where was the enthusiasm with reference to that proposal? It was quite true that the honorable member for Macquarie supported it very earnestly and enthusiastically; but there was opposition from the Opposition corner.

Mr. FOWLER.—The honorable and learned member is a little "previous." We have not had a chance of speaking on that motion yet, and he is doing his cause no good by his present attitude.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I know that on a recent occasion hostile remarks were made from a certain part of the House.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Which part?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—From the opposition corner, on the last occasion of the debate. Although the farmer may be called to give 4s. 6d. or 5s. a year, under this taxation, what is that in comparison with the manner in which this Federal Parliament may assist him practically and directly? The only proposition the Opposition have put forward as a body

is to take off the small duty of 4s. 6d. per holding. There are plenty of methods in which the House can at no distant date promote the interests of the farmer. If there has been any decay in farming in Victoria and Australia, as indicated by an extract from the *Age*, read, I think, by the leader of the Opposition the other day, I venture to say it has not been on account of any small duties which have been referred to. Those duties would not be sufficient to cause the decadence of agriculture as an art or as a science. There are other causes at work which will account for the extract read by the right honorable member.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Can the honorable and learned member show anything in this taxation of £9,000,000 to assist the farmer in the direction indicated?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The farmer knows that although he may have to pay a small duty in reference to these protected manufactures, wherever factories are established and allowed to exist large clusters of population grow up and are maintained. Centres of population are created; it may be, coastal cities like Melbourne and Sydney, or inland cities like Ballarat and Bendigo. The farmer knows that these industries attract round them groups of population and consumers of agricultural produce. Where would the farmer, orchardist, or fruit-grower be if there were no local consumers and local markets providing outlets for agricultural produce? Is this country to be converted into a heep-walk or a mere agricultural domain? Is that what is intended? What would be the position of the farmer if it were not for the great centres of population, where ready markets are found? I would like honorable members who have been so strongly advocating the free-trade cause to point out to the farmer what would have been his position if there had been no cities and towns where he could find a market. In addition, it is well known that where manufactories are established, skilled workmen grow up in connexion with them. The inventive faculties are developed and encouraged, and farmers and others who require mechanical appliances have the benefit of that development. New inventions are continually being brought forward where there are manufactories, and of these inventions the producer of the raw material reaps the benefit, and has the

further advantage of local workshops, where machinery worn out or disabled may be repaired. Are we to have no repairing shops or no manufactories in which full scope can be given to the inventive faculties? The farmer knows the advantage of these establishments, and that is the reason protection has to some extent been supported by farmers in Victoria, and why farming constituencies have sent so many members to this House to represent and vindicate their principles. There are other causes of the backward state of agriculture, independent of the possibility of any connexion with the fiscal question. It is well known that one of the causes of the agricultural industry being so backward at the present time is that there has been over-production. What is wanted is the discovery of fresh and improved methods of cultivation. Either the Federal or the State Government should take action for the purpose of improving the education of those who are planted on the soil, and giving them the opportunity of obtaining better, more enduring, and substantial results. Another way in which the farming industry can be promoted, is by providing new markets for the produce of agriculturists. Agriculture is developed in this country, and in various parts of Australia, to such an extent that production has, to a great extent, exceeded the local powers of consumption, and what is wanted is Government action to provide for the expansion of our foreign markets. The farmer cannot be expected to go afield and look after markets in foreign countries. Therefore it is the duty of the Government to endeavour to provide markets, and to do what is done by other countries—provide facilities for the transport of his produce. What do other countries do? Germany has recently decided to grant enormous subsidies to steamers for the carriage of German produce all over the world. Look at the vast steamers that we see periodically invading Australian waters. The *Grosser Kurfurst* and some of the finest steamers in the world have been built to be emissaries of the German nation. They are subsidized to the extent of thousands of pounds. In the same way, the French Government, by laws recently passed, has granted enormous subsidies for the promotion of French trade and commerce, and the transportation of French produce. A sum of from £3,000 to £4,000 per annum is

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granted to every one of those big French steamers in the way of subsidy. That is an enormous assistance to French industry and manufactures. It is the same with Italy. I saw in a recent issue of the *Board of Trade Journal*, that the Government of Italy had decided to follow the example of other countries in the construction of steamers, and in granting them big bonuses for every voyage made—bonuses quite as substantial as those granted by the German and French Governments. That is the way these countries are promoting agriculture. It seems to me that the Federal Government can, by a system of bonuses and bounties, for which provision is made in the Constitution, render substantial aid to the agricultural industry, which is the backbone of Australia. I could go on with this subject, but I think it is not necessary to elaborate upon that branch of the question any further, because I do not wish to take up too much time, notwithstanding the importance of it. I come now to the third paragraph of the first clause of the motion of the leader of the Opposition; I allude to paragraph (c). I invite the attention of honorable members to this paragraph. On the face of it, it does not appear to contain any direct allegation in favour of free-trade. Certainly the right honorable member who framed it deserves great credit for the skilful manner in which he has almost concealed the free-trade current of that paragraph. I say "almost concealed," but not quite. The right honorable member and those associated with him knew that they could not come down to this House and table a resolution in favour of absolute free-trade. They could not with any show of conscience or any show of legality or constitutionality suggest a policy of absolute free-trade—or of general free-trade if honorable members prefer that term.

Mr. POYNTON.—What is that?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I leave the honorable member to define it. It is well known what is meant by general free-trade. I direct his attention to the definition of the Constitution, which says that—

On the imposition of the uniform Tariff trade commerce and intercourse among the States . . . shall be absolutely free.

We know what that means, and we know what absolute free-trade means according to the Constitution. It is well known, however, that general free-trade would be

impossible for Australia. I find that the leader of the Opposition, in a speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, on the 21st February, 1889, said—

We all know that whatever Government is in power there must be a high Customs Tariff. I frankly admit that if I stood up before the House and said anything else, I should simply be speaking against my own knowledge. I admit it and give it for what it is worth, that there must be a high Customs Tariff under federation, and that is one of the sacrifices that some of us are prepared to make for federation.

Mr. THOMSON.—He did not say a Tariff as high as this.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Then, at Launceston, on the 11th January, 1901, the right honorable member said—

He must tell them, however, that he was not pledged to a free-trade Tariff. Any Tariff adopted for the Commonwealth must be a revenue-earning Tariff.

At Hobart on 13th January, 1901, the same right honorable member said—

As I recently said in New South Wales, we cannot expect to have a free Tariff in face of the requirements of the States. I said in New South Wales “if you want to continue the Tariff now in operation you had better vote against me because such a Tariff is not possible.” Therefore, I do not wish to push my free-trade opinions further than this—whatever your Tariff is, let it be a revenue Tariff.

What, then, is all the outcry? After all, then, it is not a question so much of principle as it is a question as to what items taxation should be raised from. We cannot expect free-trade, and what, then, is the use of all the arguments which have been paraded here? What is the use of the avalanche of arguments we have had during the last few days in its favour from the advocates of free-trade? What is the use of all their eloquent speeches and perorations in favour of free-trade if they are not fighting for free-trade?

Mr. POYNTON.—Yet the honorable and learned member has just condemned the leader of the Opposition because he did not come down with a free-trade policy.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I did not. I was drawing attention to the adroit manner in which this motion was framed. The right honorable gentleman confesses that he could not table a motion in favour of free-trade, but he tabled a motion which indirectly attacks the proposals of the Government, because they would make “imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries,

at the expense of the whole community.” There is no allegation there in favour of free-trade, yet the whole of the right honorable gentleman's arguments, and the whole burden of the arguments of the Opposition, have been based upon a policy of free-trade, and not upon a revenue Tariff. If they wish to argue only in favour of a revenue Tariff, why did they not submit proposals in the direction of a revenue Tariff?

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member for North Sydney did so.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The whole of the criticisms have been directed against certain duties, because it is alleged that those duties will result in undue profit to a few individuals and to a few favoured industries. Let us examine the nature of that allegation. It is rather to be regretted that the right honorable the leader of the Opposition has seen fit to deal with Victorian industries, Victorian assets, and Victorian vested interests in the somewhat reckless and flippant manner in which he has dealt with them. What good, I ask, is to be gained by referring to Victorian industries as “shivering mendicants” and “a few favoured industries”? What good is to be gained by these somewhat insulting references to the vested interests of this important State—interests and industries which have grown up under the protection and encouragement of the Victorian law?

Mr. THOMSON.—There has been no consideration given to New South Wales industries.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—These industries are now the assets of the whole of Australia, and it is the assets of the federal union that are being denounced as a few mendicants and a few favoured petty industries. Numerous industries have sprung up in Victoria under the fostering care of protection in times past, and a statesman of broad Australian views should be prepared to regard these industries and rights with, at any rate, a certain amount of generous and respectful consideration, instead of holding them up to obloquy and contempt. There are at present upwards of 127 separate and distinct industries, represented in 2,645 different establishments in Victoria. These are the “mendicants” referred to. At the present time there are employed in these industries 44,541 males, and 18,415 females; the total number of persons employed in these mendicant industries being 62,956. That is the

number of persons dependent for a livelihood on these industries which have been so lightly spoken of. The value of the machinery and plant invested in them is £3,531,689, the value of the land used is £2,654,722, and the value of the buildings and improvements is £2,914,851, making the total value represented by these industries which have been so much denounced is £9,101,262. The value of the work done in these various factories is estimated as follows:—In 1881 the estimate was £5,461,000, in 1891 it was £10,694,000, in 1899 the estimate was £15,000,000. These are property rights in Victoria that our friends on the other side of the House now wish to see practically confiscated, because that is what their contention amounts to. I tell my honorable friends opposite that such a view as that is regarded in Victoria with the greatest amount of disfavour and the greatest amount of indignation. Even free-traders in Victoria condemn what has been said. Mr. Robert Reid says that free-trader as he is, he will be no party to the destruction or confiscation of Victorian industries that have grown up under the protection and encouragement of Victorian law.

Mr. THOMSON.—Quite right, too.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Yet the honorable member advocates a free-trade policy which would have the effect of closing up a large number of these factories.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Nine-tenths of those industries would be there if you had no Tariff.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—As a proof of that I will draw attention now to this fact. This Tariff contains a large number of reduced duties.

Mr. THOMSON.—And a larger number of increases.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—No; I think the reductions are in excess of the increases, and I have prepared a list of them. Honorable members, who no doubt read the papers, and see the evidence of what is going on around them in this great city, will have noticed that various agitations have already started up against the proposed reductions. In many cases already appeals are made to us by persons interested in these protected industries, who say that if these reductions are carried their industries will be ruined.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—There was the same cry 30 years ago, when they asked for protection.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I find that there have been reductions made in the following substantial items:—In the case of mantles and cloaks, articles of apparel containing silk, and velvet plush, there has been a reduction of from 35 to 25 per cent.; there have been reductions on felt hats, low-class hats, umbrellas, and dress hats.

Mr. POYNTON.—Do they affect the poor?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—They get reductions on these items, and yet honorable members opposite laugh. Woollen materials have been reduced, horse-shoe nails have been reduced, barbed wire has been reduced to 20 per cent. from £3 per ton, bolts and nuts have been reduced from 30 to 20 per cent., boots and shoes have been reduced in the case of the cheaper articles, the duty on hops has been reduced by 2d. per lb., the duty on casks has been reduced from 35 to 20 per cent. Isinglass, on which there was a duty of 20 per cent., has been placed on the free list. The duty on doors has been reduced from 10s. and 5s. to 7s. and 3s. 6d. The duty on wire nails has been reduced. Leather-dressing machinery is now free, and a proprietor of leather-dressing plant is complaining about being ruined. Leather belting has been reduced from 35 per cent. to 20 per cent.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—And a duty put upon the raw material.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—On hosiery, there has been a reduction from 35 per cent. to 25 per cent., with 15 per cent. on yarn. Glass has been reduced from 30 to 20 per cent., and soda crystals from 2s. to 1s. per cwt. The duties on a large number of other items have been reduced in connexion with protected industries. The Government have done much in making reductions in various directions, but I am not prepared at the present time to say that they have made these reductions in the right direction. Undue reductions are complained against. I do not say that the Government are wrong in making these proposals, because I am not sufficiently conversant with them at present; but I invite attention to the fact that this so-called protectionist Tariff, which is howled down by free-traders throughout Australia, contains a large number of substantial reductions in protected industries.

Mr. CAMERON.—Give us a few reductions on articles of food?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—The Government have shown a considerable amount of courage in what they have done, but instead of getting the smallest grain of credit they have been denounced right and left; no consideration has been given to them for the courage they have shown in endeavouring to make reductions.

Mr. THOMSON.—Courage in interfering with the Victorian Tariff?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—My honorable friends are not satisfied with substantial reductions, but want the Government to launch into a crusade of reduction which will practically annihilate the bulk of the Victorian industries. They are not satisfied with this instalment, so to speak. I admit that the time may come when some of these industries may become like the manufacture of mining machinery, which has been established on such a substantial basis that it can now fight against the world—

Mr. THOMSON.—Still they keep the duties on.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I would not care if the duties on mining machinery were taken off to-morrow. They do not do the foundries any good; they do not do them any harm. The only thing which may be said in their favour is that they help to steady the market, to prevent Australia being swamped, periodically, by cargoes of machinery. The duties cannot have any effect on existing prices. Free-traders are altogether too exacting. They are not content with remissions by gradation from time to time; they want to sweep away the duties on protected articles right off the reel. I submit that is not reasonable, and that they must be content to go on step by step, to allow these industries to have a fair trial under the new conditions.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Another 30 or 40 years.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I admit that under the new conditions, with the Australian markets open to them, a large number of the industries now protected ought, in a reasonable time, to be able to stand further reductions. I wish to say a few words in favour of the principle of protection. I do not think honorable members should be satisfied to come down and indulge in platitudes, without putting forward some concrete arguments in favour of the principle for which they contend. Revenue duties, no doubt, tend to increase the price of the commodities. But as a

general rule I think protective duties, when they are sufficient to promote local production, invariably cheapen the cost of goods. That has been the experience of Victoria, and it has been the experience in most countries where protection has been tried.

Mr. SPENCE.—What do they want a Tariff for then?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—To cheapen the cost of production.

Mr. HUME COOK.—To break down the importing rings.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I intend to present a piece of evidence in support of that proposition. It is not merely the opinion of what are called rabid protectionists—it is not even the opinion of the *Age*. I invite the attention of honorable members to an extract from the *British Board of Trade Journal* of 25th April, 1901. This is an up-to-date publication; it is not ancient history. There is a surprising freshness and force in the extract which is taken from a report to the Foreign-office by His Majesty's consul at La Rochelle, in France. Referring to the gradual decline of British imports into France, and pointing out how these imports are gradually being elbowed out by protective duties, the consul says:—

This is the prevalent feature in nearly all cases where British goods are still sold. The existing duties are too high to allow them to compete with French goods, when once a native firm finds it worth while to lay down machinery and make any particular article in the country. Unless this occurs, the English do business in it; but as soon as native manufacturing begins, the French can under-sell them from the first, owing to the Tariff, and make good profits. After that, it frequently happens that competition sets in within the country itself, and brings prices as low as they would have been if no Tariff barrier existed, because when once a maker has laid down machinery with the object of taking advantage of the protective duties, and is seen to be making money, others rush in to share in it, and then over-production ensues with the inevitable reduction in prices.

There is the protectionist whole argument boiled down into a short extract. It is not only an argument, but a demonstration. It is particularly powerful, and ought to be very influential, considering the quarter whence it comes. It does not come from any professional advocate of protection or any protectionist organ. It comes from the British consul at an important town in France, who has noticed a decline of British trade on account of protective duties, and he affirms there that, wherever protective duties are put on, the result is that local

native manufactures spring up, and the competition amongst local manufacturers results in the price being reduced, even below that of the imported article. There is one of the strongest arguments in favour of protection which I have come across for many years. It is up-to-date and confirms my previous opinion in that direction. I think it ought to strengthen and give fresh courage to protectionist members of the House, seeing that our views are supported, not merely by theory but by actual experience, and the observations of influential men in the employment of the British Government in various parts of the world. The experience of France, Germany and America in the direction of protection shows that free-trade as a fiscal creed is on the down grade. The only countries in the world, that I know of, where free-trade is popular are the United Kingdom and New South Wales. All the civilized countries in the world have, within the last few years, been moving consciously, intelligently, and systematically in the direction of national protection for their national industries. They have, one might say, formed a world-wide coalition against England, and are endeavouring to cut into British commercial supremacy. The result has been that British commerce has been seriously invaded, and these countries are still pursuing their protectionist principles and their determination to have a share of the world's markets.

Mr. CAMERON.—At the expense of those who live at home.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—In the September number of the *Board of Trade Journal* I notice two extracts which show the drift of events in foreign countries, and give us the very latest examples of the national movement in the direction of protection. The first extract refers to Austria-Hungary. The United States Consul at Rotterdam calls the attention of his Government to the inducements which are now being held out by the Government of Hungary for the encouragement of the establishment of local industries in that country. This information is taken from an official and not an inspired source, and as such will, no doubt, have great weight with the House. The report in the *Board of Trade Journal* states—

It appears that the Hungarian Government is anxious to interest capitalists in establishing manufactories of various kinds, and will grant valuable concessions to investors in order to

promote a revival of the industries and the prosperity of the business world of Hungary. Among the enterprises for which the Government will grant subsidies are stated to be a barrel factory, an asbestos factory, an establishment for the manufacture of articles of lead, zinc, and tin by electricity, a silk factory, a cotton-spinning and weaving factory, a woollen yarn mill, and an agricultural machinery factory. The paper quoted also states that the Hungarian Government is planning to expend a considerable amount of money in the irrigation of various parts of the country, and that capitalists and manufacturers will find it to their advantage to pay attention to the present industrial and agricultural condition of affairs in Hungary.

That shows that free-trade is not very popular with the Hungarian Government, and that they are determined to utilize the full power and strength of the national Government for the promotion and encouragement of national industry. This may be accepted as another piece of evidence showing the drift of events throughout the civilized world in favor of protection. In the same volume of the *Board of Trade Journal* I find another extract at page 530, which gives evidence of further determined efforts on the part of the Government of the United States to promote their local industries, not merely by the imposition of protective duties at their ports, but also by direct assistance in the shape of bonuses and bounties. In a despatch dated 15th August last, received at the Foreign-office from the British Embassy at Washington, it is stated:

Under the appropriation made in the last session of Congress to assist investigation by the Pomological Bureau, the Secretary of Agriculture is making an arrangement by which the Government enters into co-operation with dealers and exporters whereby a minimum net return per package is guaranteed on all fruit shipped and sold under the direction of the Pomological Department. Under this arrangement the exporter would receive the net proceeds of the sales, that is, all proceeds after deducting freight and other charges.

This may be said to be the action of a paternal Government, but it is the action of a Government that is determined to do its very best to find new outlets and new fields for the extension of American industry—of a Government that views sympathetically American industries, and is resolved to take them by the hand and promote and encourage them in every way possible. This Government can, and I hope will, in time to come, also take in hand the matter of assisting the fruit-growers and agriculturists

of Australia. I have noticed an undue hesitancy on the part of our newly formed Federal Government to favorably consider the question of assisting our agriculturists, and I invite them to seriously take the matter in hand, and not regard it as one that may be left to the States. I contend that the Federal Government ought to grant direct assistance to the agriculturists and the fruit-growers. They have the power, and I feel quite sure, from the manifestations of sympathy that have been given in this Chamber, I hope that when they have fully developed their policy they will proceed with the establishment of a federal organization that will give direct assistance to these branches of industry, in the same way as is done in the United States. There are other matters which might be dwelt upon, but I do not wish to follow the example of others who have wearied the House with long speeches. I view these Tariff proposals generally with favour. The Government have had a very difficult task, indeed, to perform, and it is not a matter of surprise that little anomalies have crept in here and there. Probably it would have been better for the Minister of Trade and Customs to have constituted himself a Royal Commissioner for the purpose of taking evidence in the various States regarding the possibilities of an Australian Federal Tariff before he proceeded to frame this Tariff. He would then have had a free hand to make inquiries. I would point out, however, that if any mistakes have been made through haste or want of time and want of opportunity for the preparation of a scientific Federal Tariff, the result has been largely owing to the action of the Opposition, because it was the leader of the Opposition who first suggested that the Federal Tariff should be framed in the first session of this Parliament. On the launching of our Federal Constitution I never anticipated that the Federal Tariff could be settled in the first session, but the hands of the Government have been forced by the action of the leader of the Opposition. If the Ministry had had longer time and better opportunities for investigating the various details of the Tariff, they might have avoided some of the mistakes which have admittedly been made. It has been said with regard to the mistakes and anomalies that may exist in the Tariff, that every opportunity will be given for their free discussion. I shall do all I can

to assist the Government to improve the Tariff, and make it a good, consistent, and workable one, which will lay a solid and enduring foundation for Australian commerce and Australian industry.

Mr. CAMERON (Tasmania).—On previous occasions when I have had the pleasure of addressing this House I have invariably found that my opinions were at variance with those of a majority of honorable members. In this instance, however, I occupy a very different position. I find myself supported by a body of men whose sole desire is to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. They are opposed by honorable members who, it seems to me, entertain one wish only, and that is to confer good upon a certain class, altogether regardless of the claims of the rest of the community. As honorable members are aware, I was returned as a free-trade representative of the State of Tasmania. It may be news to some to learn that I am engaged in pastoral and farming pursuits. I was not elected, however, by the votes of the pastoralists or farmers, but by those of the working classes of Tasmania. They elected me because I told them that I honestly believed in free-trade with—I was reluctantly compelled to add—a revenue Tariff. When the first federal referendum was taken in Tasmania, federation was carried almost entirely by the votes of the working men in the cities and the towns. If they had not believed that they were going to derive some substantial benefit from federation they would never have voted for it. But holding that they would never reap any benefit from Australian union, I opposed the movement from start to finish. When, however, federation became an accomplished fact, I had to bow to the inevitable, whether I liked it or not. In support of my statement that I was returned by the working people of Tasmania, I wish to recall what was said a few weeks ago in this House by the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley. There can be no doubt that that honorable member was returned by a section of the Tasmanian workers. He asserted that I was elected by his surplus votes. As the votes which he received were cast entirely by the working classes, it follows—if his statement is to be credited—that I was returned by the working people of Tasmania. I wish to draw attention to a curious circumstance in connexion with this matter. The honorable

member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley, is a protectionist, and a very large number of people voted for him. It seems to me that they were afflicted with the same madness that affected Queen Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It will be remembered that when reason returned to Titania, and she perceived that she was in love with Bottom the weaver, in the guise of a frequently-mentioned quadruped, her affections returned to her former lover. So it was with the public of Tasmania. When they discovered the manner in which they had been deceived, their affections returned to the doctrine of free-trade. Upon no other hypothesis could they have voted for a protectionist first and a free-trader afterwards. I wish to impress upon honorable members that I am speaking, first of all as a free-trader, and secondly, as a man who is intimately acquainted with the farming industry in Tasmania. I trust, therefore, that honorable members will give due weight to what I have to say. Before going into the question of free-trade *versus* protection, I should like to call attention to certain statistics which the honorable member for Gippsland presented to us the other evening. I wish at once to acknowledge that I place no reliance upon statistics, even if they be in favour of the views which I advocate. I prefer to be guided by common sense. But if statistics must be quoted, I prefer to compare countries which are, as nearly as possible, equal in area and production. I notice that there is a great disposition on the part of honorable members opposite to compare England with America. To my mind, any such comparison is false and misleading. If we want a comparison that will carry weight, we ought to compare England with other countries of nearly the same area, the same population, and the same conditions. Then we should be able to decide under which fiscal policy countries make the most rapid progress.

Mr. WATKINS.—It is unfair to compare New South Wales with Victoria, then.

Mr. CAMERON. — Undoubtedly. I would never dream of doing such a thing. Indeed, I should never dream of instituting a comparison between countries from a statistical stand-point unless they were equal in area and every other respect. But inasmuch as some honorable members upon the opposite side of the House have done otherwise, I ask them in fairness to

compare the statistics which relate to countries that approximately resemble each other. In pursuance of that course, I intend to take the figures of *Mulhall*, and to compare free-trade England with protectionist France and Germany.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not fair.

Mr. CAMERON.—I think it is. If there is any argument in the honorable member's interjection, I say that the mere fact of having in a country a number of men who consume, but do not produce, is certainly an advantage to the producers of protectionist France and Germany. Taking the latest statistics, what do we find? I may say that England and France are comparatively speaking nearly alike both in area and population. England may have a slight advantage in the shape of her coal and mineral wealth, but France possesses almost an equal advantage in the fact that she has a very fertile soil, and is able to produce wine and various other articles that are not produced in England. We find according to *Mulhall* that England's wealth at the present time amounts to £11,000,000,000 as against £8,500,000,000, which represents the wealth of France. Germany comes considerably lower in the scale, because her wealth is only £7,400,000,000. In round numbers the population of the United Kingdom consists of some 30,000,000; France has a population of 38,000,000, while Germany has a population of 48,000,000. In other words, when we take the respective size and population of these countries, we find that England under free-trade has progressed very much more rapidly than either of the other two countries has done. As regards the interjection made by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, that conscription is in force in Germany, if any argument is to be drawn from that in favour of protection, the fact remains that these men should afford a better market and increased wealth for the rest of the population, because they are consumers and not producers.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The honorable member is comparing the respective positions of these countries at the present time. He should compare them at two different periods.

Mr. CAMERON.—Objection has been taken to opinions expressed by some honorable members upon returns covering

a period of years, in view of the fact that some of the countries referred to were under free-trade but have turned to protection. I do not think that has the slightest relevancy, because the conditions have altered totally since 1840. I may pass briefly on to one other point, of which a great deal has been made. Honorable members who support protection have invariably compared England with the United States. I hold that comparison to be utterly false and misleading, because, in the first place, the United States of America have nearly double the population which England possesses. In addition to that fact the United States have an area of 3,580,242 square miles as against an area of 121,112 square miles possessed by the United Kingdom. When we remember also that America has a vast area of productive virgin soil, that she has immense gold mines, and that she is able to produce various things that mankind consume, which cannot be produced in the United Kingdom, while England possesses land which has been tilled for the last 1,500, 1,600, or 1,900 years, and that she has no gold mines, does it appear to be in accordance with the principles of fair play to make a comparison between the two countries? But, notwithstanding the disparity between the area and the population of the two countries, we find that the wealth of America amounts to a little under £13,000,000,000 while England's wealth amounts to £11,000,000,000, so that I do not think England, despite its disadvantages, comes out badly in the comparison. With regard to the question of protection and free-trade, I am going to argue, in the course of a few minutes, that protection is not for the benefit of the farmers. I have some figures here, which honorable members should consider seriously, showing that in the State of Kansas, in America, 60 per cent. of the taxed acreage is under mortgage.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Would the honorable member kindly read again his figures, showing the total wealth of the United States of America?

Mr. CAMERON.—The wealth of the United States of America is a little under £13,000,000,000.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—*Mulhall's* latest figures show that the wealth of the United States is £16,350,000,000, and that the wealth of England is £11,806,000,000.

Mr. CAMERON.—I have got the figures here. The honorable member can have them for himself.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—They are old statistics.

Mr. CAMERON.—I have taken them from *Mulhall*.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—But not from *Mulhall's* latest work.

Mr. CAMERON.—There was one edition of *Mulhall* in the Library, but some protectionists seized it, so that the free-traders might not have any benefit from it. When I was interrupted I was pointing out that in protectionist America, in the State of Kansas, 60 per cent. of the taxed acreage is under mortgage. In the State of Iowa, 47 per cent. is under mortgage, in Nebraska 55 per cent., and in Missouri 25 per cent. One might readily imagine that, if protection was the wonderful benefit that some honorable members are trying to persuade the people to believe, these farms would not be mortgaged up to the hilt as they appear to be. I am going to deal with this protectionist Tariff from a farmer's point of view. Let me say here that during the last twenty years I have been engaged in farming pursuits. I admit freely that if this Tariff is passed, I, with a few other farmers, will derive an undoubted advantage at the present time. The benefit may continue for a long or a short period. Everything depends upon whether New Zealand comes into the Federation, or whether an agreement is arrived at between the Commonwealth and New Zealand for a mutual interchange of products. If that agreement is arrived at then the protection which I and a few other farmers will receive under this Tariff, upon two or three items which I intend to enumerate, will fall to the ground. If reciprocity between the Commonwealth and New Zealand is established, those benefits must disappear. Speaking as a free-trader, I am not prepared to advocate a protective policy, because I myself and a few others are going to benefit under it, when I consider that it will impose immense disadvantages upon the rest of the community. I shall be perfectly candid with honorable members, and point out two or three items under which farmers may benefit, particularly on the north-west coast of Tasmania. These items are potatoes and oats; but, if New Zealand comes into the Federation, that benefit vanishes. New South Wales

was the only free-trade market which farmers had; and as Tasmanian oats are better, or are supposed to be better, than the oats of Victoria, and have always brought 2d. per bushel more, there has been that advantage to Tasmania. Under this Tariff, which amounts to some 6d. per bushel, the people of South Australia and the people of New South Wales will undoubtedly have to pay more for their oats, and will also have to pay a little more—£1 per ton—for potatoes. Only a few farmers on the west coast of Tasmania, and, perhaps, a good number of farmers in Victoria, will derive any benefit from the duty on potatoes, while those who will suffer are the consumers in New South Wales, Queensland, and—after five years—Western Australia. In order to benefit a few farmers—the rest of the farmers engaged in producing butter, wheat, and other articles, in larger quantities than they require for themselves, are to be taxed. Speaking from a totally unselfish view I am going to oppose the protection proposed. We have been told that protection does not increase the cost to the consumer, and we have had the statement repeated *ad nauseam*, until at last I really think those who make the assertion believe it. I should say, however, that common sense ought to show the utter absurdity of such a contention. Why are protective duties imposed, if not to give the producer an advantage over the consumer, for which advantage the consumer must pay? A few nights ago the Minister for Trade and Customs, amidst the cheers of Government supporters, said that reapers and binders, which were admitted free, cost in America £20, and after £5 had been paid for carriage, were sold in Sydney for £50. There was a perfect howl at that statement; but even at the worst, what does it amount to? Simply that the foreign trader was doing the best he could for himself by charging the highest price he could possibly get; and, after all, I do not know that love is expected to be introduced in matters of dealing. No assertion was made that the foreign trader was acting unfairly, and I do not think any exception can be taken to his conduct, even if the statement of the Minister were correct. My contention, however, is that the statement is not quite correct. But what do the protectionists do? They do not send their products into a foreign country and try to make a large illegitimate profit out of the

Mr. Cameron.

unhappy buyer there; they prefer to stop at home and rob their brothers. I never make an assertion that I cannot prove, and I shall prove the assertion I am about to make. We were told this afternoon that various articles were sold in protectionist Victoria at the same prices as in free-trade New South Wales, and that the farmer paid no more under protection than under free-trade. But what are the actual facts? I could take more than one article, but I think one will be sufficient to satisfy, if not members on the Government side of the House, at least members on the Opposition side. Two factories in Victoria make binder twine, which is somewhat extensively used by the farmer; and last summer this commodity was sold throughout Victoria at 7d. per lb. But the same quality of Victorian twine was sent over to Tasmania, and, although there had to be added freight and other charges, was sold there at 5d. per lb.

Mr. McCOLL.—Where are the honorable member's proofs?

Mr. CAMERON.—I bought the twine.

Mr. MAUGER.—Was it an insolvent stock?

Mr. CAMERON.—I do not doubt for a moment that a certain class in Victoria will become insolvent if the protectionist policy is continued, and the insolvents will not be the manufacturers but the unhappy farmers. I am speaking of this Tariff as an Australian farmer as well as a Tasmanian farmer, because we are all one now so far as the Tariff is concerned; and I object most strongly to these protective proposals. Let us consider another question. The whole of the protectionists' arguments used have, so far, been in favour of manufacturers. Until this afternoon, when the honorable and learned member for Bendigo talked on a subject of which he knows nothing—the requirements of farmers—nothing had been said on behalf of the farming industry. I am quite willing to admit that if a large number of manufactories are established, the men employed in these factories must be consumers. If we could restrict production and only produce as much as is required by the whole community, I admit that we should all be in the same boat, and it might be to our benefit to have a protective Tariff. In other words if you rob us, we should rob you.

Mr. FOWLER.—The people will get rich by robbing one another!

Mr. CAMERON.—That is their idea. But here the unfortunate fact comes in, that Australia produces a very much larger quantity of goods than she can consume. I am talking now of the primary articles of production—wheat, butter, and various other goods. What is the result? She must send the surplus away. When she has a large quantity of produce to sell, nineteen times out of twenty she sends it to any place where she can get rid of it, and she has to take whatever she can get for it. What do those who buy from the Australian producer do? Do they regulate the price they give according to the price paid by the man who uses the stuff here? No; their price is the price ruling in the markets of the world. At the present moment, flour and wheat are regulated by Mark Lane. Butter is regulated by the same market. In fact, wherever the surplus produce is sold, the market at that place regulates the price which the people living at home give for it. It must surely be patent to honorable members, if they only study the subject for a moment, that such is the case. I say, and as a producer I think credence may be placed upon my statement, that free-trade will benefit the primary producer far more than protection. I am a free-trader and a revenue tariff man, and I want honorable members to understand the platform upon which I stood when a candidate for election, so that there may be no mistake about it. I frankly recognise that we must have revenue; but we should raise it from articles that will send the revenue into the Treasury, to be afterwards disbursed for the good of the people as a whole, and not try to raise it—for we must fail if we do—upon certain articles which are produced in the States, and the taxation of which can only result in the benefit of the individual, and not of the people as a whole. If we do that there must be a deficiency which will cause us to have increased taxation, whether we like it or not. I was very much pleased, although I cannot say I enjoyed his speech, to hear the honorable member for Bendigo read out a list of articles, which he informed the House are all much cheaper now than they were previously. I presume he alluded to articles sold in Victoria. But I did not hear him read out a single article of food—with one exception. He told us that hops would be cheaper. Hops, I believe, are used in the making of beer. I am not a

teetotaler, but I do not know that to encourage people to get drunk is a very good thing for a protectionist Ministry to do. I should have thought that they would prefer to endeavour to fill the stomachs of people with food at a cheaper rate. If they had done so it would be very much better for the people as a whole. I now come to the remarks of the ornamental member of the Ministry, Sir Philip Fysh. I am sorry that he is not here. He complained very strongly of the absence of the leader of the Opposition. After doing so, it was his bounden duty to show that it was not a case of "Satan reproving sin." He should have shown himself to be a bright example, and should have been in his place to hear what honorable members on the Opposition side of the House had to say in reply to him. He spoke about the increased cost of living. In doing so, he made use in a rather familiar way of the name of the leader of the Opposition, and was called to order by you, Mr. Speaker. He said that the leader of the Opposition, in his speech on Tuesday evening, had stated that there were 100 articles of food upon which duties had been increased. He added that he was perfectly satisfied that the right honorable member had been imposed upon.

Mr. McCOLL.—That was not the statement. What he said was that a friend of his had put up the price of 100 articles.

Mr. CAMERON.—That is near enough for my point. The honorable gentleman, Sir Philip Fysh, ought to have said that upon seven articles the price had been increased, but that upon thirteen articles the price would probably be reduced. Now, I hold two price-lists in my hand. One is a price-list issued by a firm of merchants in Sydney; the other is a price-list issued by a firm of merchants in Melbourne. One is a price-list issued on September 1, 1901; the other is a price-list issued on October 10, 1901. In other words, one price-list was issued before the Tariff was proposed; the other afterwards. From these lists I find that the assertion made by the honorable and ornamental member for Tasmania was incorrect, and that the statement made by the leader of the Opposition, as supplied to him by his friend, was practically correct. I find, in other words, that the mere fact of the proposed Tariff coming into force was sufficient to raise the prices of articles of food to the consumer.

Mr. McCOLL.—It does not show that, but it may show what sort of a man the tradesman was.

Mr. CAMERON.—No doubt the honorable member for Echuca will be able on Tuesday next to try with all the logic at his command to persuade the House that two and two make five, but whether he will succeed or not remains to be seen. I should not have gone so strongly into this matter had it not been for the fact that statements have been made by the protectionists, and also by the protectionist organ, that prices are not going to be increased to the consumer. It is simply because I know that is not correct, and because I wish to rouse the people of Australia to a sense of what is coming upon them, that I am going to deal with this question of increased prices. I find that with respect to the following articles—black pepper, whole, ground, in boxes, and in tins; white pepper, whole, ground, in boxes, and in tins; mixed spices, ginger, spices of various descriptions, currie powder, and various articles of that sort—the price has been raised from 1d. to 2d. per lb.

Mr. BARTON.—Perhaps the honorable member has reached a convenient point now.

Mr. CAMERON.—I have got to pepper in the hot dish I am preparing for the Prime Minister. I move—

That the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I am prepared to leave the honorable member in possession of his pepper until Tuesday, but before the motion is carried I should like to know whether there is any one representing the Opposition who can join, in the public interest, in trying to arrive at some time at which the debate can be fitly and justly terminated. We have had a week's discussion of the motion, and honorable members must see that the Government have not unduly pressed them in respect to it. It cannot be reasonably expected that all members on both sides shall make speeches of two or three hours' duration. It must never be forgotten that the public business is waiting, and that there are measures of the very highest importance which cannot be reached or resumed until this debate is concluded. It must not be forgotten either that there will be further opportunity for debate upon the financial resolutions in

committee before the Tariff is reached, and after that upon the Tariff Bill. If those are not opportunities enough I do not know in what way honorable members can wish to multiply them. Before moving the adjournment of the House, I desire to ask whether anybody is prepared on behalf of the Opposition to take the onus of endeavouring to arrive at a division within a reasonable time?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—There is no desire on the part of the Opposition to continue the debate longer than is necessary for honorable members to give an honest expression of their views upon one of the most important questions that could claim the attention of the Federal Parliament.

Mr. BARTON.—It is very hard to define what that means.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It may be difficult to define, but honorable members are members of a free Parliament, with the right of free speech, and the right to express their views.

Mr. BARTON.—Hear, hear: nobody doubts it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—So far, no one can say there has been any desire to stonewall, or to take up the time of the House unnecessarily.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Oh, yes, there has; the honorable member spoke too long himself.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The right honorable member may allude to the time I took up in speaking upon this question, but I did so on the first occasion to prevent the debate closing. If such a thing had taken place then it would have been a disgrace to the Federal Parliament.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—What about the effort to count the House out?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We have spent a good deal of time in discussing the machinery Bills.

Mr. BARTON.—Is that any reason for unnecessary discussion now?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order; I cannot allow the honorable member to enter upon a discussion of other questions upon this one motion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The subject now under consideration affects the lives and home comforts of thousands of people in the Commonwealth, and the least we can do is to give every member an opportunity of speaking in their interests. Though we

cannot make any pledge, we only desire to debate the matter fairly and legitimately. I understand that a number of members on the Government-side desire to speak, and they are entitled to speak on this question.

Mr. BARTON.—Is the honorable member anxious in their interests?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No; but the Prime Minister knows that we cannot ask an honorable member to stop speaking.

Mr. BARTON.—There will be plenty of opportunities for further speeches in Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I know that; but this is a very important question, and though there is no desire to unnecessarily take up time, members on this side feel it incumbent upon them, in the interests of their constituents and of the Commonwealth, to fully discuss the question which now claims our attention.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I wish to say now, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that I take it that, so far, there is no indication of a desire on the part of the Opposition to prolong the debate beyond a reasonable time, and I hope it will be closed not later than Wednesday night.

Motion agreed to; debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 4.10 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 22 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 18th October) on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the Financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances

used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would, in their operation, destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by Address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. CAMERON (Tasmania).—I desire to express my sincere thanks to the Prime Minister for the great courtesy he displayed towards me on Friday last in allowing me to continue my speech to-day. I shall not attempt to take undue advantage of that kindness. I shall curtail my speech for two reasons—first, because only a comparatively small number of honorable members have spoken; and secondly, because I do not suppose that anything I may say is likely to have any influence one way or the other. When the House adjourned on Friday last I was referring to an attack by the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, on a certain statement of the leader of the Opposition, which he turned into ridicule, or which he asserted was not correct. He said that the leader of the Opposition had met a grocer who took a rise out of him, and that an analysis of the Tariff showed that whilst a grocer might raise the price of seven articles, there were thirteen articles on which he would have to decrease it. And when I was proceeding to point out from a price-list that that statement was not in accordance with facts, the honorable member for Echuca interjected that it merely showed the dishonesty of the merchant. Unfortunately for his interjection, the price-list I now hold in my hand is the price list of a Victorian manufacturer, and not of a Victorian merchant. The firm in question are Parsons Brothers Proprietary Limited, having mills and offices at 581 and 587 Collins-street, Melbourne. Comparing the price-list for this month with that for last month, I find that on an average the increase per lb. on the various articles they quote ranges from 1d. up to 2½d., and occasionally more. I also find that there are no less than 94 separate articles on which an increase has been charged. That must substantiate the truth of the assertion of the leader of the Opposition, and prove conclusively to honorable members that it was the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, who made

the mistake. That honorable member then went on to make an appeal on behalf of Tasmania for assistance, stating that she had sacrificed a good deal to come into the Federal Union, and that, as her pecuniary position was not good, she should receive assistance from the other States.

Sir PHILIP Fysh.—Pardon me. I think the honorable member is making a mistake. I made no reference to any appeal on behalf of Tasmania.

Mr. CAMERON.—Here is the report in the *Argus*, and if the honorable gentleman wants further proof, *Hansard*, I believe, is available. I am very pleased that he now disclaims any intention of making an appeal on behalf of Tasmania.

Sir PHILIP Fysh.—I am not aware of having done so.

Mr. CAMERON.—If the honorable gentleman has not done so he has been incorrectly reported. If he has done so, I, for one, repudiate any such idea. I look upon this, not in the light of a partnership for better or worse, but as a commercial undertaking into which the States, just like men, have entered. Men put a certain amount of money into a firm or company with the idea that they are going to benefit by so doing. If they do, well and good; if they do not, one partner does not go to the others and ask for assistance. If Tasmania has made a mistake in entering into this Union, she must put up with the consequences. I shall be no party to asking for assistance for her. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo, who, I regret to observe, after having delivered his speech seems to have retired, made a very strong appeal on two subjects. One appeal was on behalf of the farmers of the Commonwealth. I, as a farmer, tried on Friday last to put their side of the case, and to point out that a protectionist policy was not going to benefit them. I now come to the appeal on behalf of the manufacturers of mining machinery. I should like the attention of the Minister for Defence to what I am going to say, as I believe there is no State in the group which will suffer more from this protective policy, if it is the will of the Parliament, than Western Australia.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—And Queensland too.

Mr. CAMERON.—And Queensland too, very likely. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo said that at Ballarat

they could make machinery equal to that made in any part of the world, and gave us what he called proof of his assertion. I propose to take one of the best mines in the Ballarat district, namely, the Glenfine South, which is no doubt well-known to honorable members. About a year ago the very best machinery manufactured in Victoria was erected on that mine. They have 40 head of stampers which crush some 2,500 tons of stone per month, giving an average of two tons per day per stamper, while at Kalgoorlie, in Western Australia, the mines equipped with the Frazer and Chalmers' batteries put through an average of four tons per stamper per day. It may be said that the stone in Western Australia is more friable, and, therefore, more easily crushed than is the stone at Ballarat, and I am perfectly willing to concede that the Ballarat stone may be harder, and that there may be a slight difference in the capacity of the batteries on that account.

Mr. POYNTOX.—The Glenfine South stone is not hard; I know that.

Mr. CAMERON.—When I find, however, that the Frazer and Chalmers' batteries erected on the Rand at Johannesburg, where the stone approximates to that at Ballarat, also put through a higher average quantity per stamper, I can only come to the conclusion that the honorable and learned member for Bendigo is entirely wrong in his statement that the Victorian machinery is equal to that made by Frazer and Chalmers. There is another item in this Tariff that will press very severely on the people of Western Australia, and that is the duty on condensed milk. I do not, however, desire to deal with the items in the Tariff which more particularly affect the people of Western Australia, as I believe that the honorable members who have been returned for that State are quite competent to look after their interests. It was understood that free-trade was to take place between the various States as soon as this Tariff was tabled; but I find to my extreme regret—and I am speaking in the interests of Victoria—that the intercourse between the States is not so free as we were led to expect it would be. Although this matter has not very much to do with the Tariff, it may be of some importance to the Minister of Trade and Customs, and I desire to call his attention to the fact that in Tasmania certain wharfage charges are levied at the

various ports. I find that flour manufactured by local millers can be sent from Hobart and Launceston to the West Coast ports, such as Strahan and various other centres, and be landed free of wharfage dues; but that flour sent over from Melbourne to Devonport is subject to a wharfage duty of 5s. per ton.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is a matter that we have nothing to do with; it is in the hands of the State.

Mr. CAMERON.—I am merely directing attention to it, so that the Minister may, if he thinks fit, endeavour to remove the difficulty.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What the honorable member speaks of is not due to any action on the part of the Government.

Mr. CAMERON.—No, but I merely direct attention to the matter, in order to show what is really an import duty is still levied on Victorian flour going into Tasmania. If that sort of thing is to be permitted in Tasmania, Victoria may very well retaliate.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I expect the High Court will stop that sort of thing.

Mr. CAMERON.—The Treasurer, when he addressed the House the other evening, said that if the motion were defeated the Government would be prepared to consider the various items in the Tariff in detail, and that if good reasons could be adduced for increasing or decreasing the various duties, the Government would alter them. For myself—and I hope this view will commend itself to the members of the Opposition generally—I emphatically protest against any such thing being done. It seems to me that really the only plank on which the Government ought to stand or fall is their fiscal policy, and therefore they should stand by their Tariff. The statement of the Treasurer is nothing more nor less than a sop to Government supporters, some of whom may wish to increase certain duties, whilst others may desire to decrease them. I consider that if the motion is defeated we members of the Opposition should not have anything more to do with the Tariff in detail, but should allow it to go *en bloc* to the Senate. Honorable members must remember that the Senate are in a totally different position from that occupied by the Legislative Councils of the various States, because the Senate really and truly represents the people.

The SPEAKER.—The honorable member must not refer to the other House.

Mr. CAMERON.—May I not refer to it as “another place?”

The SPEAKER.—The honorable member must not refer to the Senate in so thinly veiled a manner that all members may understand him to be doing so.

Mr. CAMERON.—What I desire to point out is that honorable members in another place are elected on a more popular basis than are the representatives in this Chamber. Whilst honorable members in this House represent various districts in the States, the members of the Senate were elected by the people of the various States voting as a whole. Therefore it seems to me that the Tariff should be allowed to go up to another place, and, if it is not carried there, that the people of Australia as a whole should have an opportunity of expressing their opinions through a general election. I always welcome an appeal to the people, and I think we should consult the people regarding this Tariff, because when it is settled it should be allowed to remain undisturbed for many years to come.

Mr. McCOLL (Echuca).—We have just had a very refreshing free-trade speech from an honorable member, who I understand was a few years ago a strong protectionist—who assisted to impose 20 per cent. duties upon goods imported into Tasmania, together with a 20 per cent. drag-net provision. Some remarks have been made by the honorable member with regard to reaper and binder twine and mining machinery, which I will deal with later on. There is no doubt that this debate is probably the most important that we shall have here for many years. It will be an historical debate, and I do not think, therefore, that too much exception should be taken to the very fullest expression of the views of honorable members in all parts of the House. We have come to the parting of the ways, and have to decide what is to be the fiscal policy of Australia for some years to come. We have to determine whether we shall adopt a policy of stagnation, under which all colonial industries will languish, or pursue a policy of development.

Mr. McDONALD.—Give us something new—the *Age* has been at that for the last decade.

Mr. McCOLL.—We have to make up our minds whether this Commonwealth, consisting of six States, is to be ruled by the policy

which has obtained in five of those States, or by the policy which has ruled or rather misruled New South Wales. Of course, we cannot complain of honorable members from New South Wales endeavouring to impress their views upon us; but it would be too much to expect the representatives of all the other States to accept their proposals. The honorable member who has just sat down made a most extraordinary remark. He said that if this motion were lost, it would be the duty of the free-trade party to take no further hand in the consideration of the Tariff, but to leave it to be dealt with somewhere else. That is an extraordinary position for any representative to take. A Tariff is always in the form of proposals, which are considered in committee in order that honorable members may shape them in the light of fuller knowledge which debate affords. To say that a great party, such as that to which the honorable member professes to belong, will willingly throw up the sponge and leave the work to be done by another House, is an extraordinary statement.

MR. BRUCE SMITH. — The honorable member need not be anxious about that.

MR. MCCOLL. — I am glad to have the assurance of the honorable and learned member. Some day we may have a conflict, but it is not necessary to precipitate it in this particular manner. The thanks of honorable members are due to the Minister for Trade and Customs, and the Treasurer for the very full information they have given the House in regard to the Budget and the Tariff. The Treasurer and his colleagues have, it seems to me, spared no pains to give members the clearest and, I believe, the most accurate information. They have not attempted to cloak, or to keep anything back, but desire a full and fair discussion. A good deal has been said as to whether the Prime Minister has broken faith with Australia in bringing in a Tariff of this description. The statement has been reiterated by members on the other side that a pledge was made that nothing in the shape of protection would be introduced, but that we were to have a purely revenue Tariff—that a Tariff such as that now before us, was not to be expected. I have read carefully the speech of the Prime Minister at Maitland, and it seems to me that in the Tariff which he has brought in, he is acting strictly in accordance with the letter of his

remarks on that occasion. We have had from time to time certain disjointed statements of a few lines put forward as representing the views of the Prime Minister, and I think it is only fair that we should have placed on record in *Hansard* at greater length the actual remarks made by the right honorable gentleman. At Maitland, the Prime Minister said—

Revenue we must have. That is the all important consideration, because without that revenue the States will not be advantaged but cursed with federation. The Commonwealth must pay its way, help the States to pay their way, study their every detail, distribute the burden justly, and do no mischief. That is the task now before my honorable friend Mr. Kingston. He is capable of performing it, but it cannot be performed by any such notion of a revenue Tariff as we have been hearing of in all the capitals of Australia.

Where is there any promise of a revenue Tariff there?

The situation forced upon us can be forced upon any Government. Do not mistake me when I say that the situation forces itself upon us. I am a protectionist and so are nearly all my colleagues.

There is nothing about a revenue Tariff in that statement.

But if we are to raise the great revenue for the security of the federation then we cannot be prohibitionists, and our protection must be moderate, because prohibition or exclusive protection would lead to a prevention of that access of revenue which is necessary for the proper Government of the country. Australia has known Tariffs for many years. In all the States there has been more or less protection. Even in New South Wales there is still £3 a ton on sugar. Who left it there? What is it there for? Are we to abolish that protection now, and begin the prosperity of the union by ruining our northern farmers? Free-traders have refused to do it. Are we to say that while we are to do that for ourselves we are not to apply the same argument to our neighbours who have grown up with us?

There is nothing there about a revenue Tariff.

We must take the situation as we find it, and whether we are called protectionists or revenue Tariffists are we not bound to fill our Treasury? We must have revenue without destruction. Remember those words—Revenue without destruction; a Tariff maintaining employment and not ruining it. By this constitution a complete intercolonial system of trade begins with the Commonwealth Tariff. No Australian who has the slightest regard for his country can consent to a state of things which means the destruction of industries, and which means that the celebration of Australian nationality would be accompanied by the pattering of the bare feet of the people driven out of employment. That must

not be, gentlemen. We cannot run the Commonwealth in that way. And this Ministry will not dream of instituting the first Tariff of the Commonwealth in such a way as first not to raise the revenue that is needed, and next to impose direct taxation, which will cripple the component States; and, thirdly, to so construct the Tariff as to leave the people barefoot and homeless. We will leave that to others. In this tax there must be no rule of thumb. No Tariff that is now in force can claim to dictate to or exclude its fellows. No duty is to be adopted, because it is the lowest, and none because it is the highest. Each Tariff will be considered, and decided on its merits. By this means, we hope to present to you a business-man's Tariff, a practical working Tariff, and a really Federal Tariff; and by that means we shall avoid disaster, suffering, bitterness, and, with those things, the antagonism to union which has made them possible. Men of all opinions who hope for the good of their country first, and their own policy second, can agree that the first Tariff of Australia ought to be considerate, preservative of existing production—liberal in its attitude towards those engaged in production.

There is nothing about a revenue Tariff there.

Will anyone tell me that the farmer, losing part throughout Australia of any protection that he had, is to be made better and safer after intercolonial free-trade by losing the remnant of protection that will remain to him? Is the farmer so safe that he can afford to disavow himself from the responsibilities of all other industries? I think not. He has only to turn his eye to Western America on the one hand, and to the enormously increasing employment of cheap labour in Argentina on the other, to picture to himself what it is to suffer under a revenue Tariff. Surely it is necessary to him that the protection left him under intercolonial free-trade should be maintained now. I wish to combat another policy which has not yet become a popular policy. I have not come here to conduct a protectionist campaign, though under other circumstances I should have been prepared to do so.

Mr. BARTON. — "Crusade" was the word.

Mr. MCQOLL. — The right honorable gentleman continued:—

I do not, for the reason that there is now an opportunity for federalists of all shades of political opinion to unite in a national policy, which is dictated by the fact of the circumstances of the time.

That is a very full statement of the Prime Minister's views, and there is nothing in it about a revenue Tariff, or anything approaching a revenue Tariff. I believe that the Prime Minister and his colleagues have honestly, in the Tariff submitted, endeavoured to carry out the pledge given at Maitland. Of course, the Tariff consists of mere proposals. The Cabinet—a few men

working together to a certain extent in the dark—have not the opportunity of getting the fullest information with regard to various matters; and there is no doubt that, with the fuller light which members, who have had an opportunity of going thoroughly into details, will afford, many modifications will be made in committee. It is the custom in this debate, on the part of free-traders, to represent the manufacturers of Australia as a set of robbers, who are "sweating" and robbing the people, and enjoying the great profits of ill-gotten gains. Is that a fair way to treat a class who run the risk of competition, and who expend their money, not in the buying of goods cheaply in one country—in which they would always have 20s. in the pound—and bringing them here, secured by insurance, for the sake of a mere turn-over, but who spend their money in establishing factories, and in endeavouring to stimulate production and the employment of labour throughout the land? It is not a fair way to characterize a body of men who are employing their time and their wealth in such a manner. I hold that a small producer who raises a new article, whether from a mine, from the soil, or who makes such an article in a workshop, and thus creates an industry, worth from £100 to £200 a year, is an infinitely more important man, and a much better citizen in every way to this great Commonwealth, than is the richest importer in our midst. I have never yet been an extreme protectionist. I have all through my political career been a seeker after fiscal truth. I have studied the question fairly and honestly; I am neither a manufacturer nor an importer; I have nothing to do with either branch of business, but I have endeavoured in the light of history, and of my sixteen years' experience of politics, to determine what is the best policy for this particular country, and everything has seemed to me to point to the fact that a policy of moderate protection is that which we ought to adopt. With regard to this particular Tariff, no one, not even the framers, can claim that it is perfect. But does not the very fact that a clamour is raised against it, amongst all classes of the community, show that the framers have endeavoured to be impartial?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER. — But we all have to suffer.

Mr. McCOLL.—If only a portion of us were to suffer, it would not be a fair Tariff. The Government have endeavoured to do their best, according to their lights, and they have had a most difficult task. It is all very well for glib-tongued orators to stand up on the platform, and talk about the rights of the working man and the poor farmer. Pretty friends they have been to the poor farmer and the working man in the past! It is not to them that the working man and the “poor farmer” will turn in times of distress. It is all very well for the free-traders to put up the “poor farmer” as a stalking horse for the purpose of helping the foreign traders, but the people of this Commonwealth are much too wise to be led away by any such talk as that.

Mr. PAGE.—Let the honorable member wait until the next election and see.

Mr. McCOLL.—I am quite prepared to wait until the next election. I have represented farmers for the last sixteen years.

Mr. PAGE.—I did not mean the honorable member in particular.

Mr. McCOLL.—When the honorable member referred to the next election he seemed to refer to myself, personally. I have been put up for election a good many times, and have always been returned. I have never had to change my seat. With regard to that matter, I may point out that the whole of the northern district of Victoria, from east to west, is represented in this House by honorable members who have had to face probably the leading free-traders in this State, with all the money and all the influence of the free-trade party and the importers at their back. We have here the honorable and learned member for Indi, the honorable member for Moira, the honorable member for Wimmera, and myself, who had to face four of the principal free-traders in this State, backed up by all the wealth and strength of the free-trade party. Yet, in purely farming constituencies, we beat them easily. We are therefore quite as well prepared to wait for the next election as is the honorable member for Maranoa himself. If we are to progress in this great Commonwealth, we must do so by means of all kinds of industries. The idea of the free-trader seems to be that in a great continent like this we should devote ourselves to producing the raw material, and that the primary industries are the only industries that should be encouraged. They seem to think that we should export our

raw material to other parts of the world to be manufactured and brought back in the shape of finished goods. No country was ever great that devoted itself entirely to such industries; and certainly Australia with its wonderful advantages of soil, climate and minerals, and with its infinite capacity for production, can never be great if that idea is to prevail, as honorable members opposite would like it to do. They ask us to adopt free-trade in this country, knowing well that almost every nation on the earth with which we should do any trade at all is, with the exception of one, strongly protectionist. We have Germany, France, Canada and the United States taxing our wheat 6d., 10d. and 1s. a bushel, imposing a duty of 2d. a lb. on our beef and mutton, and taxes on our other products with the exception, perhaps, of wool. Yet we are told that we should be free-traders and that those protectionist countries that ruthlessly shut their ports against our commodities should be allowed to send their goods here and destroy the industries of our own people.

Mr. POYNTON.—We shut out English goods also.

Mr. McCOLL.—There are good reasons for that.

Mr. POYNTON.—But it is in England that we sell our wheat.

Mr. McCOLL.—Honorable members opposite desire to work not for the benefit of our own people, and for the young people who are coming after us, and who will make this a great nation. They wish us to work for other people; for they desire that the higher branches of industry should be pursued by foreign nations, and that we ourselves should be simply “hewers of wood and drawers of water” for them. That is the free-traders’ idea of a perfect country! Now, I should like to make certain propositions. One is that no country has ever attained to commercial greatness, in modern times, by means of free-trade. Every country that has attained to commercial greatness has done so by means of protection; and no country but one, has been commercially progressive under free-trade, and that is Great Britain, whose circumstances are so different from ours that she is certainly not an example for us to follow. The experience of countries under similar circumstances to our own and under similar conditions to our own, points irresistibly to the fact that if we desire to progress we can do so only by the adoption of protection.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—What about New South Wales?

Mr. McCOLL.—I am speaking of a country and not of a State. Those who have studied fiscal history must know that for the last three or four hundred years no country in Europe has progressed commercially and industrially under a policy of free-trade, and that every country on the continent of Europe has had to adopt that policy before it could make any progress at all. Up to some 400 years ago the great seat of manufacturing industries was in Western Europe; and we know that in the early periods of English history, under such laws as our free-traders would have us pass now, all the raw material produced in England was sent to the Continent, and came back in the shape of finished goods, whilst English people were not allowed to make up finished implements and articles of clothing for themselves.

Mr. POYNTON.—That was before the flood.

Mr. McCOLL.—Never mind; it is all experience, and we can learn from it. It seems to me that we should not depend simply on the experience of ten or twenty years of the immediate past, but should study the facts of history as they come to us, relying upon them to guide us aright. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a policy of protection was adopted. The Great Chancellor, Bacon, for the first time in English history, caused laws to be passed, such as the Statute of Labour, the Poor Laws, and enactments for the protection of agriculture and manufactures, and for the encouragement of shipping and foreign trade. From that time in the year 1656 until 1846 that policy was perpetuated and continuously strengthened. In the latter year free-trade was inaugurated in England. Her position then as the centre of the world's manufacturing industry was such that she was the great workshop of the world. She had the whole world at her feet. The continent of Europe had been devastated by ruinous wars for 40 years, and the industries of continental countries had almost completely died out. Consequently, England had the world for her market, and as the policy of free-trade suited her she adopted it—not for philanthropic motives, but simply because she desired to keep her command of the industrial markets of the world. Upon the Continent there have certainly been fluctuations of fiscal policy. At one time

continental countries have been free-trade or revenue tariff countries, and at other times they have been protectionist. They discovered that lapses to free-trade had the effect of destroying their industries. Consequently they reverted to a protective policy, and now, with the exception of England and Turkey, which have revenue duties, there is not a country in Europe which is not a strongly protectionist country. We are eternally told that we should adopt free-trade in Australia because Great Britain is a free-trade country, and has made progress under that policy. But it seems to have been forgotten that our circumstances are entirely different from the circumstances of Great Britain. We know that the manufacturers of Great Britain are leading the world, whilst our manufactures have yet to be developed. Further, Great Britain is a creditor nation, having her debtors in every part of the civilized world, whilst we are a nation carrying a load of debt of something like £200,000,000. Great Britain is a nation commanding the seas, whilst we have not a single inter-ocean going vessel—or, at any rate, very few. She has a small and thickly populated territory, while we have only a population of one and a-half to the mile. She had 300 years of protection under which to develop her industries, while we have but just started on our career. She is a customer for food and grain, while we export three-fifths of our own produce. If we desire to make comparisons between Australia and other countries we should look to those nations which have occupied positions similar to that occupied by the Commonwealth to-day; we should look at the United States of America, and take lessons from her experience, because we are passing through a similar experience now. When the Union was formed, and for long afterwards, free-traders were continually dinning into the ears of the American people that their duty was to raise raw material, and to send it to other countries to be made up. Their theoretical politicians, their university politicians, their lawyers, their bankers, and foreign traders generally put that continually before the people. They were the Reids, the McMillans, and the Camerons of to-day. They said, "Be satisfied with producing raw material, and let other people make it up; develop your territory in that way. Your export trade is by far the best trade

you can have." We all know that Brother Jonathan was much too shrewd to be guided by that advice. The people of America recognised, as we shall have to recognise, that if their country was to become great, they would have to adopt an entirely different policy. What was the result of the adoption of free-trade there?

At the close of the revolutionary war Great Britain was in the midst of that protective period which had been so vigorously pursued since the time of Elizabeth. During the so-called period of confederation, from 1783 to 1789, we find for the first and perhaps the last time in the recent history of the world, a nation under absolute free-trade. It took but little time to demonstrate what such a system will bring upon a country. In three years' time nearly all the country's money had passed into the pockets of British merchants and manufacturers, and we were almost without the means to make or raise anything for ourselves. With no tariff whatever, our shores were heaped with the products of every nation, of such kind and description that we could not make even a feeble attempt to establish any competing industries of our own.

These are the words of an American historian, and they show the position to which our friends on the Opposition side would endeavour to reduce this country if they had their way. What is the position of America to-day as the result of the protectionist policy which she adopted after this experience? Henry Clay said early in the last century—"What we have to do is to get a home market," and that is their policy to-day. Those who say that protection is going to ruin agriculture, are answered by the fact that America now exports only one-sixth of the production of her soil; she uses within her own borders the remaining five-sixths. That is an effective answer to those who say that protection is going to ruin agricultural industries here. We have to remember also that the encouragement of her manufactures by means of protection has stimulated the inventive genius of her people. A country that is devoted entirely to primary industries can never be an inventive country. The attention paid to manufactures and the encouragement of industry in America has stimulated the inventive genius of the people of that country, with the result that the agricultural implements produced there are now foremost in the world, and the nation itself is in the very front rank of manufacturing countries. Not only are her farming implements the best in the world, but her other manufactures are now beating those of Great Britain herself in

Mr. McColl.

markets where hitherto Great Britain has ruled. No doubt with the growth of America, and the inducements offered for people to settle down there, she will, at an early date, export none of her produce, but use it all herself. What would have been her position to-day had she accepted the advice of her free-trade friends 50, 60, or 70 years ago? I do not think any one will say she would have occupied anything like her present place. In the opinion of American politicians in the early days, the keynote of success was the creation of a home market. The policy of England was to prevent her making anything. As Lord Chatham said, "Not a hob-nail or a horse-shoe shall be made there if I can help it." That was the feeling in England in those times. It is not the feeling of England towards the Commonwealth to-day, but it represents the desires of the foreign traders amongst us. Some honorable members on the Opposition side are very inconsistent. They did not hesitate to flout Mr. Chamberlain, or to run the risk of involving the Empire in very serious difficulties in connexion with the provisions of the Immigration Restriction Bill, but at the same time they would not hesitate to bring this great continent under the control of the big English importing firms. Daniel Webster said, in the course of a speech made at Buffalo in 1833—

The protection of American labour against the injurious competition of foreign labour, so far at least as respects general handicraft productions, is known historically to have been one and designed to be obtained by establishing the Constitution.

In supporting the adoption of the Commonwealth Constitution, the people of Victoria never dreamt for one moment that the Commonwealth would think of going back to free-trade. It was to help our own people and our home market that we desired to enter federation. Running through the utterances of such men as Webster, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, we find that from the very inception of the Constitution of the United States it was recognised that if America was to become great, her industries must be stimulated. Their foremost endeavour was to give America a home market for her productions. The result of that policy was that from 1789 to 1833 a fairly high Tariff ruled in America. The free-traders then made a move and obtained some concessions from Andrew

Jackson, who was then President. The result was that lower Tariffs ruled till 1842, but with those lower Tariffs came distress and financial embarrassment. Free-trade was found to be a failure, and in 1860, protection was brought in with the result that between 1865 and 1870 the national debt was reduced from 2,381,000,000 dols. to 2,046,000,000 dols. The crowning triumph of protection has taken place under the McKinley Tariff. There are many mistaken ideas in regard to that Tariff. A committee of the Senate consisting of both republicans and democrats, free-traders and protectionists, presented a report on the Tariff which was unanimously accepted by them, and in which the following passage occurs :—

During the 28 months from June 1st, 1889, to September 1st, 1891—the Act took effect on October 6th, 1890—average retail prices of 214 articles of common consumption among the people declined 64 per cent.; wholesale prices of the same articles declined 33 per cent.; prices of agricultural products advanced 18·67 per cent., and wages advanced on the average 75 per cent.

The following brief summary of the McKinley Bill and its results is given by Mr. D. G. Harriman in his "American Tariffs, from Plymouth Rock to McKinley," page 73: These facts show what were the results of that protective Tariff. Increased duties were imposed on about 115 articles, and reduced duties on approximately 190 articles. The duties upon 249 articles were left unchanged. The effect of this Tariff was that within eleven months the foreign trade of the United States had increased by £14,953,727, the free imports by £22,402,616, and the free imports had risen to 55 per cent. of the total imports. The contention here has always been that the imposition of Customs duties stops importation. The free-traders persistently ignore the obvious fact that by stimulating industry and increasing the wage earning power of the people, we enable them to consume other goods which can be produced locally in a much larger quantity than would be possible without the aid of protection. The experience of Canada and America is conclusive upon this point. The McKinley Tariff reduced the duties from Customs by £8,279,283, increased the cost of no necessity of life, reduced the price of many, stimulated business, and thereby tended to make the population busier and their earnings more certain, if not larger. Similar results will follow

here if we adopt a wise system of protection. As showing how this matter was viewed in England, I may mention that *Fair Trade*, in discussing the merits of the McKinley Tariff, gave four points in its favour. They were as follows :—

The manufacturers of Great Britain do not like the McKinley Tariff Bill. The manufacturers of Germany do not like the McKinley Tariff Bill. The manufacturers of France do not like the McKinley Tariff Bill. The Anglo maniac free-traders of the United States do not like the McKinley Tariff Bill. These facts furnish four excellent reasons why the Bill should become law.

These are the people who would be opposed to any protective Tariff that might be brought forward at the present time.

Mr. BARTON.—The Germans are starting one of their own, but do not want us to have one.

Mr. McCOLL.—I do not want to trouble the House with many figures. I simply wish to show what the effects of protection have been in countries similar to our own. What has been the result of protection in America? From 1850 to 1880, we find that the farm lands increased from 113,032,614 acres to 357,616,755 acres, the number of farms from 1,449,073 to 4,564,641, and the farm values from £654,315,085 to £2,655,850,529. The total agricultural products increased in value from £265,338,265 to £492,021,490, the value of farm implements, machinery, &c., from £30,317,527 to £98,849,493, and live stock values from £108,836,103 to £441,753,514. These figures show the progress made in the United States of America under a policy of protection, and yet we are told that the application of a similar policy to the Commonwealth will ruin the farmers of Australia. At the present time, the American farmers export only one-sixth of their products, and the home market takes all the rest. The keynote struck by Henry Clay and others has secured the home market for America. Of course we all recognise that at the present time we cannot get the McKinley Tariff. We are bound by our circumstances and conditions. We realize that no one party can have its way. It is only by mutual compromise that we shall get a Tariff which will be suitable to the present needs of Australia. The position which we have to face is a most difficult one. We have to raise £7,500,000 from customs upon £21,000,000 worth of imports. If in committee a duty is taken off one

article, I think it will be necessary to find some other article upon which to impose that duty. Possibly the Treasurer may be allowing himself a little more revenue than he needs—a few hundred thousands of pounds to come and go upon—but as a general rule I think it will be recognised that if duties upon certain articles are remitted they must be imposed upon other articles. Slight changes in the incidence of the taxation will make very little difference to the people. Of course, we have to start according to our means, and as time goes on our course can be shaped as circumstances dictate. Looking at another great federation whose circumstances have been very similar to our own—that of Canada—we find that there has been a number of Tariff changes there. In every case the reduction to low revenue duties was followed by disaster, just as it was in the United States. The first protective Tariff was imposed in 1879. The result was that a previous deficit of £5,000,000 was reduced in two years by £580,000. The effect of that policy was to increase the production of cotton, leather, and woollen materials by £1,300,000, whilst the number of workers increased 17 per cent. during that short period. The price of goods fell considerably, and the agriculturist, in consequence of the encouragement given to local manufacturers, was paying from 5 to 27 per cent. less for his implements. The farmers' markets had also improved. As evidencing the manner in which Canada prospered after the imposition of a protective tariff, I wish to point out that in 1878 the securities of New South Wales were the highest colonial securities in the English market. They were 4 to 5 per cent. above those of Canada. In 1880 the Canadian 4 per cents. increased from £89 to £104 in value. They then became 1 per cent. more in value than those of New South Wales. Next year they were 2 per cent. more in value, and realised the highest of all colonial securities in the English market. This fact goes to show that protection in Canada built up the whole of the country, and did not do so at the expense of its foreign business and reputation. It even strengthened the value of the securities in foreign markets. Whether we look at the continent of Europe, with its older nations and civilizations, or at the New World—at Canada and the United States, whose circumstances are similar to

our own—we shall find that the policy of protection has been an absolute success, and that any departure from it has brought about disaster and distress. The statement is frequently made that protection and agriculture cannot succeed in the same countries. But experience has shown that in every country where protection has succeeded in establishing manufactures, agriculture has also succeeded. Under the operation of a free-trade policy agriculture has languished, whilst under a protective policy that industry has flourished. In England in 1846 there were 11,000,000 acres under cultivation, and in 1895 only 8,000,000 acres. When we look to the protectionist countries on the Continent, what do we find? We find that 50 per cent. of the land in France is cultivated, and is the best cultivated land in Europe. We find that in Russia, in a period of some 30 or 40 years, they have increased their land under cultivation from 100,000,000 acres to 167,000,000 acres. In Germany they have doubled the area under cultivation. In Austria half the land is cultivated. In Sweden, in 1812, they had 1,360,000 acres under cultivation, and in 1887 they had 12,200,000 acres cultivated. In the United States in 1850, they produced 867,000,000 bushels of grain, and in 1889 the production had risen to 3,454,000,000 bushels. The value of the production in 1850 was £97,000,000, and the value in 1889 was £263,000,000. In Canada, also, it will be found that agriculture has increased with the increase of manufactures. In 1871, in Canada, there were produced 84,000,000 bushels of grain. In 1884 the production had risen to 172,000,000 bushels, and in 1887 the annual value of agricultural production in Canada was £35,200,000, and of animal products £20,900,000, or a total of £56,100,000. These are results which prove that universally in modern times protection and agriculture go hand-in-hand, and that one is the complement of the other; yet people tell us here that we cannot assist the manufacturer and the farmer together, because the manufacturer robs the farmer. I desire to address a few remarks to the House on the Tariff from the farmer's point of view. We had a speech last week from the honorable member for Gippsland, who represents an essentially farming constituency. The honorable member was in the State Parliament the leader of the country

party, and to him for many years past the farmers of Victoria have looked for guidance and council. They trust him probably more than any other man in the country, and he is not the man to come here and advocate a system of protection unless he believed it was for the best interests for the people who have sent him into this Chamber. We are told in the press and by free-trade speakers from every platform that the duties imposed in this Tariff are a burden to the farmer, and that the duties put on for his benefit are a delusion, and that he can get no benefit from them. It is worth while seeing whether or not the farmer has been studied in this Tariff. First of all, with regard to the duties which have been omitted, has the farmer been studied in connexion with these? It is represented that he will have to pay for everything that he uses, and that his pocket will be cut into on every hand. It is represented that he has had no consideration whatever shown him. What are the facts? We find the following articles on the free list—augers and bits, axes, branbags, seeds, canvas, chisels, cornsacks, cream separators, disc ploughs and harrows, drills, felloes, flour bags, forks (digging and stable), shears, gunnies, hames, hatchets, hessian, hickory, hoes, hubs, iron in the rough, reapers and binders, piping under 6 inches, hay knives, spraying chemicals and compounds for destroying insect pests on trees, manures, rabbit traps, rakes, rennet, rock salt, scythes, shafts and poles, shovels and spades, stirrups, sheep-wash tobacco, wire netting, and woolpacks. Every one of these things are absolutely essential to the farmer, and they run into an enormous amount of money. They are placed on the free list, and in that respect the farmer is considered by the Tariff.

Mr. REID.—Does the honorable member think it an advantage to the farmer to have them on the free list?

Mr. McCOLL.—Does the right honorable and learned gentleman think that the farmer would be advantaged by having a 20 per cent. duty placed upon these articles?

Mr. REID.—I asked the honorable member a simple question. He need not answer it, of course.

Mr. McCOLL.—I endeavoured to ascertain what the value of these imports was, in order to discover what the farmer would have to pay if, as some have suggested, we

adopted a drag-net which would put a duty on all these articles. I find that in connexion with a number of smaller articles no record is kept as to the value. But in connexion with bags—bran, corn and flour, gunny, woolpacks, cream separators, manures, reapers and binders, rock salt, shafts and bars, poles, seeds, and wire netting, an estimate of the value can be formed, and the value of the imports of these items alone amount to £456,586. That is the value of these articles imported annually, and a duty of 10 per cent. upon that value would mean that we should take out of the farmers' pockets £45,658 upon articles which, under this Tariff, will come in free, and which we cannot well produce in this country at the present time.

Mr. CAMERON.—We are producing wire netting in Sydney.

Mr. McCOLL.—I am speaking of articles that it is proposed to admit free. Wire netting comes in free now. It is said that the farmer is taxed 15 per cent. on his machinery and implements, but the whole of the light implements used in connexion with farming are absolutely free. Disc ploughs and harrows, drills, forks, shears, hatchets, hoes, hay knives, rabbit traps, rakes, scythes, shovels and spades, spraying compounds, and sheep-wash tobacco, and a number of other things, come in absolutely free of duty, and it is shown that the farmer has been considered in every possible way under the free list introduced by the Minister of Customs. Now, with regard to the duties that are put on the farmer's products, we are told that they are absolutely illusory, and that he will get no benefit whatever from them. First of all, in looking at division 4 of the Tariff—agricultural products and groceries, it will be seen that nearly the whole of the articles there included are such as are raised from the soil; with the exception of some three or four items contained in the free list everything the farmer can produce has a duty put upon it. As to animals introduced for the purpose of improving our breeds, and in the case of isinglass, rennet, rock salt, and manures, it will be found that these articles are included in the free list. Almost everything the farmer produces is subject to a duty, and on the question as to whether or not these duties will be worth much to him, when I deal with their value presently, it will be seen whether the farmer has been

ignored or overlooked in the preparation of this Tariff. We are told that these duties are of no use to the farmer, but if that is so, how is it that there is such an outcry in New Zealand at the present time? The day after this Tariff was announced in this Chamber, a telegram was received from New Zealand containing the following:—

Mr. McKenzie, speaking in the House of Representatives, said that the effect of the Federal Tariff would be absolutely to debar New Zealand producers from the Australian trade. The Tariff, in the average, would put about 22 per cent. on to the cost of exports from New Zealand, and producers are almost certain to lose an enormous portion of their trade?

Who gains by that loss? Is it not the farmers of the Commonwealth who will gain by the loss of this produce from New Zealand?

Mr. CAMERON.—It is only a question of oats and potatoes.

Mr. McCOLL.—I shall show the honorable member directly what the imports amount to. He need not come here posing as a farmer. He is a squatter pure and simple; a few years ago he was a protectionist squatter—and a very strong one—who assisted to put a duty of 40s. a head on cattle. It is of no use for him to come here and pose as the farmer's friend, because we know that he is the squatter's friend. The *Argus* of the 11th October says—

Among the traders, the general view of the Federal Tariff, judging it by the information to hand, seems to be that this colony has been specially singled out for heavy imposts, and that the result will be to practically kill the export trade in a number of lines of produce. Mr. Beauchamp, who was a member of the Federation Commission, unhesitatingly declared that the Tariff was a direct aim at New Zealand. Weighing the question whether, in view of the new Tariff, this colony should seek a remedy by federating, Mr. Beauchamp remarked that what we had to consider was whether the advantage of having trade with Australia, even up to the extent of 15 per cent. of the total exports, was worth the sacrifice of our political independence.

It shows that 15 per cent. of the total export trade of New Zealand was with the Commonwealth, and every ton of stuff which came here from that colony was something of which our own producers were deprived. The *Wellington Post* says—

If the Tariff proposals are adopted, New Zealand must look forward to a considerable shrinkage of its Australian trade in the near future. A careful examination of the figures shows that the Tariff is expressly framed with a view to the exclusion of New Zealand products. As the politicians of this country have shown such indifference

to the problems connected with Australian federation they have only themselves to blame if they awake too late to the facts of the situation. The Commonwealth cannot be expected to show especial tenderness to the colony that studiously held aloof from the fiscal discussion which led to Australian unity.

In the *Argus* of the 12th October I find this report—

The Federal Tariff has caused great consternation in the Poverty Bay district, where one of the chief products is maize for the Australian market.

Again, on the 14th October we have this statement—

In the House of Representatives to-day further references were made to the new Federal Tariff. Several members declared that something would have to be done by New Zealand to meet it. Mr. Seddon said that New Zealand would, for a little while, be inconvenienced by the new Tariff, and suffer some loss, but the colony would have to seek fresh markets, and get steamers to carry produce to these markets.

If these duties are of no use to the Australian farmer, why is there such an outcry from the places which have been sending their produce to the Commonwealth for so many years?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I suppose, if New Zealand had entered the Federation, the farmers here would have been ruined.

Mr. McCOLL.—Do not let us suppose anything which is unlikely to happen. We can meet the position when it comes.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What does the Treasurer estimate to receive from these duties?

Mr. FULLER.—£9,700.

Mr. McCOLL.—I shall show the honorable member directly the amount of jam which came into New South Wales a year or two ago. To show whether these duties will be of any use to Australian producers, and to prove how shamefully New South Wales producers have been wronged by the fiscal policy of the last few years, I propose to quote a few figures. In the years 1897, 1898, and 1899, of the produce of the farm, the dairy, and the orchard—I strike out sugar and rice—nearly the whole of which could have been raised in New South Wales, there was imported no less than £11,851,689 worth.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—And we found a market for a lot of Victorian stuff.

Mr. McCOLL.—We found a market for some of our stuff. I am showing how New South Wales farmers have been robbed and deprived of a market by this policy, and

the same party are now endeavouring to establish that policy in the Commonwealth, and rob our people in the same way that they have allowed their own to be robbed for so many years.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Where did the produce come from?

Mr. McCOLL.—I have not the details, but not one tithe of that enormous amount could have come from other colonies.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The bulk of it.

Mr. McCOLL.—We know very well that an enormous quantity came from New Zealand, the Argentine Republic, California, and other places in America. I shall just give a few leading items. In stock alone there was imported into New South Wales in those three years £2,400,800 worth. The *Argus* the other day reported a farmer—I think at Nhill—as scoffing at a duty on eggs. I suppose nothing short of a 2,000-acre paddock would suit that man. He did not recognise that what we have to do is to try to get our people to adopt diversified farming, and that these small products of the farm are not by any means to be despised.

Mr. KINGSTON.—They are minor industries.

Mr. McCOLL.—Yes ; but they go a long way towards the keeping of a family and the making of a competence. In those three years there was imported into New South Wales no less than £46,190 worth of eggs from China and Japan.

Mr. FULLER.—The great bulk of that quantity went to Broken Hill from South Australia.

Mr. McCOLL.—These figures are absolutely correct, and are signed by the Government Statist. The sum of £46,190 would not have been a bad little item in the hands of the housewives and farmers of New South Wales during those three years. Although New South Wales can grow maize as well as any country in the world, yet we find that in three years £565,716 worth of maize was imported. No wonder New Zealand is lamenting the loss of this trade ; but that feeling of loss will be turned into a feeling of joy amongst the maize growers of New South Wales. In potatoes, New South Wales imported £621,745 worth ; in fresh vegetables, £108,660 worth ; in fresh fruits—surely she can grow enough fruit for herself—£664,521 worth ; in hay, chaff, and straw, £839,991 worth ; in meat, canned, potted, and preserved, £290,573

worth. In butter—the great butter industry, in which New South Wales is held to be going ahead of Victoria—she imported in those three years £138,039 worth ; in cheese, £322,118 worth ; in milk, condensed and preserved, £215,081 worth ; in flour, £1,173,989 worth. Yet, with all these enormous figures, we are told that protection will do the farmer no good, and that the New South Wales farmer is satisfied and is flourishing.

Mr. McCAY.—All the New South Wales farmers are protectionists.

Mr. FULLER.—They are nothing of the sort. There are four farming constituencies in the federal electorate I represent, and they sent four free-trade representatives into the State Parliament.

Mr. McCOLL.—When they get these figures they will become protectionists.

Mr. CAMERON.—Mere assertion, like the honorable member's statement that I am a squatter.

Mr. McCOLL.—I apologize, if the honorable member is ashamed of the name I have given to him. In those three years, in dried fruit, New South Wales imported £89,083 worth. Of raisins and currants, there were imported £266,154 worth ; and of canned and bottled fruits, £44,513 worth. The next item, "jams and jellies," is one which affects the honorable member for South Sydney, and no doubt he would be glad to see the duty imposed. The value of jams and jellies imported was £126,950. No one can deny that every one of these things could be produced in New South Wales. The total value of raisins and currants, canned and bottled fruits, and jams and jellies, was £526,700. Of bran and pollard there was imported £106,746 worth. Altogether we find, as I said before, that there was imported into New South Wales during that period produce to the value of £11,851,689, or at the rate of nearly £4,000,000 a year ; and all of these commodities might have been produced by the farmers of New South Wales. We find also that there was imported into Victoria produce to the value of no less than £5,000,000. The Federal Parliament ought to assist the farmers not only with regard to the primary products, as they may be termed, but by stimulating them in every possible way to produce the articles which I have enumerated, under a diversified system of

farming which should overlook nothing, but, as in Canada and in the United States, enable us to supply all our own wants. It is all nonsense to say that these duties are delusive or illusory. We know that in California there has been immense competition in connexion with the production of some of the goods which have been largely imported into Australia. In California they already have 8,000,000 acres under irrigation, and there are some millions more in connexion with which the works are not yet complete. We find that raisins, which some years ago were selling in the markets in California at 8 cents per pound, are now produced for $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent per pound, which yields a good profit to the grower. Prunes, which brought from 24 to 30 cents per pound, are now produced at 6 or 7 cents per pound, and also yield a good profit to the grower. If we were to open our ports to the fruit-growers of California and other similar places, how could our growers possibly compete with their products at such rates as I have quoted? In the Argentine Republic, and in California and in the East, we should find very serious competitors if we were to throw our ports open. So far as wheat is concerned, an import duty would protect the wheat-grower only at very rare intervals, but I have not the least doubt that the Commonwealth Government will see the necessity of studying the requirements of the wheat-growers, by finding for them the best markets for their produce, providing facilities for exportation, and by making arrangements for giving them cheap transit both by sea and land. The best way, however, in which we can help the wheat-grower, is by bringing population into the country, and thus giving him a home market for his produce, and rendering it unnecessary for him to send it abroad. We cannot bring this population here and maintain it here unless we diversify our industries. I think I have said enough in connexion with the New South Wales imports to show that protection will benefit the farmers of New South Wales, and that they need protection as much as do any other class in the community. With regard to the duties which the farmer will have to pay, I have mentioned that all the smaller things which he uses are free. He will, certainly, have to pay 15 per cent. duties on his implements and machinery, but looking at the matter from the Victorian point of view, he will have to pay less than formerly,

Ir. McColl.

because a few years ago the duty on implements and machinery was 35 per cent., and it was the Attorney-General and myself who were largely instrumental in securing the reduction down to a percentage which we contended then, and which we submit now, is only a revenue duty. The result of helping the manufacturers of agricultural implements is this: that we have stimulated the industry, and have now workshops able to produce articles which are better suited to the needs of the country than those manufactured in other parts of the world. The farmers come into touch with the manufacturers, and are able to procure implements which suit the soil and the particular circumstances under which they have to work, whilst if repairs are needed, or anything goes wrong with the machinery, the workshops are handy, and everything can be set right readily and inexpensively. The establishment of these workshops amongst us had also had the effect of placing upon the market a number of new implements. The inventive genius of implement makers has been stimulated, and they have given us a number of implements specially suited to our needs. Should we have had the mallee stump-jumping plough or the scrub roller, or a variety of similar implements specially suited to our requirements, if it had not been for the facts I have mentioned? Should we have had, produced by local manufacturers, harvesters which are able to compete with the reapers and binders, and by means of which a farmer, with the aid of one man, can reap 200 acres or 300 acres of wheat, and put it into the bags straight away? All these things tend to show that by stimulating our inventive geniuses and our manufacturers, we are giving the farmer substantial help. So far as the question of reapers and binders is concerned, that example has been quoted because it is such a glaring one. Where we have not put on a duty the farmer has had to pay exorbitant prices, but where we have put on a duty local manufactures have been stimulated and the farmer has been enabled to get, at a cheap rate, an implement suited to his requirements. Not only American trusts, but English trusts have combined to keep up the prices of reapers and binders. A friend of mine went to Hornsby's office in London and gave them his cheque for £27 for a reaper and binder. They asked him where it was to go to, and when he said that he wanted

it sent to Victoria they told him they were very sorry they could not do business with him, and that he would have to buy his machine from their agent in Victoria. Although he had actually bought the machine in London he had to take back his cheque, and come out here and pay £56 for a machine. That was some years ago.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That was under free-trade.

Mr. McCOLL.—Yes, that was under free-trade so far as reapers and binders were concerned, and just as we extend the free list so shall we extend such monopolies. We require competition from outside and from inside, in order to give the farmer the best and cheapest machinery. The price of reaper and binder twine exercised the mind of the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron.

Mr. CAMERON.—It did not exercise my mind at all; I was merely stating the facts.

Mr. McCOLL.—If the honorable member says he does not exercise his mind I would not impute it to him. The honorable member said that last year he bought Victorian reaper and binder twine in Tasmania at 5d. per lb. whilst the people of Victoria were paying 7d. per lb. That is one of the statements that is sown broadcast and is regarded as true by those who know nothing of the facts. As a matter of fact, reaper and binder twine was selling at different rates in Victoria last year. New Zealand flax twine made by Miller & Company was selling at 5 1-8d. per lb., whilst Russian twine was selling as high as 8½d. per lb. The price of Miller's good twine was 7d. per lb., and the article was sold at the same rate in Tasmania, because the carriage to Tasmania by sea is somewhat less than the carriage by land to Ballarat or Bendigo. I did not go to the manufacturers for this information, but I saw a tradesman in Bendigo, who had over £2,000 worth of this stuff pass through his hands. He showed me samples of the twines, and also told me of the business that he had done. He stated that it was nothing to him whether he sold imported or colonial made twine, but he represented to me that the colonial twine was as good as could be made anywhere in the world. The honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, when he stated that he had bought Victorian twine in Tasmania for 5d. per lb., should have stated whether it was Manila, mixed Manila, or New Zealand.

Mr. CAMERON.—If I prove that the same quality of twine was sold in Victoria at 7d., and in Tasmania at 5d. per lb., will the honorable member vote for the motion?

Mr. McCOLL.—The honorable member poses as a farmer, but I should like to know what area of ground he cultivates, so that honorable members may be able to judge as to the enormous extent of the burden that this duty on binder twine imposes upon him. I do not propose to go into the details of the Tariff at this stage, because I think that they may be more effectively dealt with in committee. At the same time I may say that I am not prepared to declare myself a supporter of the duty on reaper and binder twine as submitted. I think the manufacturer ought to be able to do with less duty than is now proposed. The honorable member for Tasmania sought to belittle colonial mining machinery. The honorable member did not state the whole case. He said that in Western Australia the imported machinery crushed ever so many more tons than colonial machinery—that the imported machinery could put through many more tons per stamper than the colonial machinery. But the honorable member gave only half the facts. The amount of stone that can be put through a battery depends first of all on the character of the stone, and then on the weight of the stampers. The honorable member did not say that in Victoria the stampers used are 600lbs. and 700lbs. weight, while in Western Australia they are 1,200lbs. weight, and in the Rand of the same heavy weight. In Bendigo, with one kind of quartz, only 13 tons per stamper can be put through in a week, while 23 tons of other quartz in the same district can be put through stampers of the same weight. These one-sided statements, made in ignorance of the facts, are crammed into honorable members by men who know as little as do honorable members themselves, and are unworthy of credence. Similar statements were made last week by the honorable member for West Sydney, whose speech I must say I did not admire. The way the honorable member abused his fellow labourers in Victoria was very discreditable. He seemed to be recreant to his class; and surely he does not expect to popularize himself here by such an attitude. These statements as to crushing machinery are entirely wrong, and I invite the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron,

the honorable member for West Sydney, or any other honorable members, who do not place credence in my statements, to go to Moolort, near Maryborough, and inspect the machinery there, English and Australian. They will find that for strength and efficiency, the English plant is not in it with the Australian article. Honorable members may also go to Ascot, near Ballarat, and there see machinery manufactured by Thompson, of Castlemaine, and at the Ballarat Foundry, and compare it with imported plant, and they will find that the plant sent out is not so suitable or so good as that supplied in the States. It stands to reason that people on the spot know exactly what is wanted, and can make, and are making better and cheaper and more suitable machinery than can be imported. In regard to reaper and binder twine, it must be remembered that before the factories started in Victoria our farmers were paying 10d. per lb., whereas now they are paying 7d. per lb.

Mr. CAMERON.—Russian twine is not manufactured here.

Mr. McCOLL.—All sorts of twine is manufactured here. I believe that Russian twine is very dear, 8½d. per lb., and is not a whit better than that manufactured in the State. I am informed by the Bendigo tradesmen to whom I referred, that twine manufactured here, 650 feet to the lb., is equal to any that comes into the country. Forsyth, of Sydney, procured machinery for making this twine; and the result was that the American Twine Trust sent out 500 tons of the article, with orders that it was to be sold at whatever it would bring in order that Forsyth's twine might not be allowed to go into use. There would be a similar result in all other industries. If manufactured articles were allowed to come in, free of duty, from countries where there was cheaper money, labour, and appliances, the factories here would be wiped out, and then the goods would be sold at any price the foreign manufacturers liked to fix. I know as much of representative farmers as any one, and I never yet found those of Victoria against a fair and reasonable protective duty, which is all that is asked for here. The farmers are always in favour of such a Tariff; but duties do not trouble them very much, so long as they are given a fair water supply and have fair seasons. I hope the Federal Government

will look at the matter from that point of view. What the farmers want is to get into direct touch with their consumers, and that can be best attained by having a home market. One way of getting farmers into touch with their customers would be by endeavouring to abolish the middle men, who are so dear to the hearts of our free-trade friends, and who are the "caterpillars" who spoil the farmer's profit. The Commonwealth Government can do much in the way of helping the farmer in regard to the export trade and outside markets. Their proposals with regard to bonuses for production are admirable. This plan has often been spoken of before, but it has not hitherto been possible of achievement, owing to the markets being so circumscribed. We cannot expect that manufacturers of agricultural implements, or any other articles required for production, will come out here and establish factories, if they are to compete against the world; and the proposal to give a bonus on the production of iron, reapers and binders, and other patent machinery and implements, is one which I think will work well for the Commonwealth.

Mr. FULLER.—But it is proposed to give a protective duty, as well as a bonus.

Mr. McCOLL.—The protective duty is not to be given at first, but only when the industries have attained such a position that they are able to supply the Commonwealth with machinery. But that is a question which this House will have to consider. A duty will not be put on without the consent of the House; but if a duty be put on without consent, the House can stop it, and see that none is imposed until the industries are fairly and properly established. In Victoria no Government have ever turned a deaf ear to the farmers' requirements, but all have helped them in every possible way by providing cheap land, and holding over rents. In times of fire, flood, or drought farmers have never come to the Government without receiving fair treatment, and that will, no doubt, continue. If we are not to have these duties, how are we going to raise money? There is no doubt that we have to raise £7,500,000 on imports. By shifting the incidence, we do not shift the tax, because the people will still have to pay. If gentlemen on the other side of the House desire to change the Tariff very much, they will have to look forward to a federal income tax and a land tax. It must not

be forgotten that it is not the Commonwealth, but the needs and the necessities of the States, which is causing the expense. If the Commonwealth does not raise the money it will have to be raised by the States Governments, and the people will still have to pay. We have been told of New South Wales, but from what I can see of the way matters are drifting there, that State will require the surplus revenue just as much as will any other State in the Commonwealth. New South Wales cannot go on borrowing for ever, or, like a spendthrift, be selling land continually, but, to meet her new expenditure, will have to get money in some other way. It seems to me that the Treasurer of New South Wales will be as glad of the £1,500,000, or whatever the sum may be, as will the Treasurer of any of the other States. I should like to ask again what good free-trade can do the farmer? I have asked that question at meeting after meeting, and have never yet had a reply, much less a satisfactory reply. Free-trade will not raise the price of the farmers' produce one fraction, and he will have to compete in the same markets.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Protectionists say that protection does not raise prices.

Mr. McCOLL.—Free-trade will not raise the farmers' prices, nor will it cheapen the goods he uses. In Victoria, before this Tariff was introduced, the ordinary necessities of life were as cheap, or cheaper, than ever they were before, and the fact that prices have been raised is due, not to the Tariff, but to the manipulations of importers and others. When the Tariff was announced, the travellers of the whole of the importing houses were called to Melbourne, and their books were re-cast and their prices changed, not in order to sell at a profit on what had been paid for the goods, but at an increased price, fixed according to the Tariff. That was done all over the country, and the very importers who have gone day after day complaining to the *Argus*, are the men who have been making their thousands during this last week or two out of the Tariff which they so much condemn.

Mr. McDONALD.—What about the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, who raised the price of their sugar £2 per ton the day after the Tariff was announced?

Mr. McCOLL.—If the honorable member does not want a duty on sugar, I am sure the House will be glad to accommodate him, because it is only out of consideration

for him and his colleagues that the Government have been induced to put a higher duty on sugar than they otherwise would have cared to impose. The honorable member for North Sydney, in the very excellent speech he delivered last week—and he is always a fair man—proposed to reduce the duties by 5, 10, and 15 per cent. Do honorable members think that the consumer would get his goods at 1d. less if those reductions were made?

Mr. CAMERON.—Of course he would.

Mr. McCOLL.—Have the importers and others reduced the prices of those articles as to which duties have been reduced? Because, so far as Victoria is concerned, there have not been increases of duty on the whole. The great bulk of the new duties have been reductions. Duties of from 30 to 35 per cent. have been reduced to 15 and 20 per cent. Have the importers reduced their prices upon those articles upon which the duties have been reduced? Nothing of the kind; and if Parliament further reduced the duties tomorrow the consumers would not get the articles 1d. cheaper. The farmer will have a wider market for his produce under the Commonwealth. What the Government ought to do for him is to further extend his markets. As I have shown, New South Wales is nearly £4,000,000 a year short, and Victoria nearly £2,670,000 short in production for their own requirements. Therefore, if the Government wish to help the farmer they should assist him to find wider markets for his productions. To whom does the farmer in the State of Victoria owe much of his prosperity to-day? He owes his cheap land, his water supply, and the grants in aid which have been frequently made to him, not to the free-trade and conservative party, but to the protectionist and liberal party, who have given him those advantages in the very teeth of opposition on the part of those who are now professing to be his friends. I ask again—if the duties on the goods used by the farmer are further reduced, will he get them any cheaper, and will he be any better off than he is now? I reply that he will not. My attention was called the day after the Tariff was introduced to an article in the *Argus*, headed:—"Rough on the Farmer." I must say that since the Federal Parliament first met, the attitude of the second leading organ in Victoria has been in my opinion, anything but creditable to it. The *Argus*

was a good friend to federation before the inauguration of the Commonwealth, but it has done nothing since then except to nag and nark at the Government at every possible opportunity. Nothing the Government could do was right, and every miserable little point that could be seized upon was seized, to make things appear black against the Commonwealth Government. The object of the *Argus* has been for years past to get a free-trade Premier, and to see a free-trade policy adopted in Victoria. It wanted to instal the leader of the Opposition as Prime Minister of Australia. If that were done, the *Argus* would be happy. It has not scrupled to adopt any means, no matter how deceitful or underhand, to bring about that result. For my own part, I should look with great consternation upon the prospect of that gentleman occupying the position of Prime Minister of this Commonwealth. We can judge of men only from what they have done in the past, and surely the career of the leader of the Opposition as Premier and Treasurer of New South Wales for four or five years was not of such a character as to warrant Parliament in placing this enormous country under his charge for any length of time. We have the authority of the gentlemen who are now the right honorable member's colleagues as to his conduct of the finances of New South Wales. I am not one of those who would look up old *Hansards* in order to condemn a man, but they contain speeches prolific in condemnation of the financial reputation of the right honorable member. A committee of outside accountants was appointed by Parliament to consider his balance-sheets, and they brought up a condemnatory report, showing how he had turned deficits into surpluses.

Mr. SPEAKER. — Does the honorable member think that has anything to do with the question?

Mr. McCOLL.—I will only say that honorable members can ask the present colleagues of the leader of the Opposition as to his financial abilities, and I do not think they will find the reply very satisfactory. As I have just said, on the day after the Tariff was introduced, an article appeared in the *Argus* headed—"Rough on the farmer—Duties he must pay." The obvious intention of those headings was to create a prejudice against the Tariff before the farmers and the people of the country had

time to study it and to know what was in it. In the list under that heading the *Argus* included the item "reapers and binders, provisional, 15 per cent." To-day in the *Argus* it is reported that reference was made at Kyneton, yesterday, to the duty on reapers and binders, as if a duty were being enforced, whereas they are as free now as ever they were. In the same article reference was made to articles in common use, just as if they were dutiable, whereas there is no duty at all upon them. I find that some 74 things are mentioned in this article. Out of these, there are not ten which are exclusively used by farmers. The whole of the rest of the goods are used by most people in the country, whether they are farmers or not. Yet, we find these 74 articles mentioned as though they were entirely used by the farmer, and it is represented that the farmer is, in consequence of the Tariff, made to pay more for them than he paid before. Nevertheless, I find that out of the 74, reductions of duty have been made upon 35 articles. Upon those articles the farmer ought to be paying less now than he paid before. Upon 20 articles, the duties are the same as previously in Victoria. Upon only 16 have there been increases, and in some of those cases the increases are for the benefit of the farmer.

Mr. FULLER.—Is the honorable member speaking of the genuine farmer?

Mr. McCOLL.—I am speaking about the farmer because I represent him and know him, and because this paper is endeavouring to produce a prejudice against the Commonwealth Government and against the Tariff in the minds of the farmers. On the 11th instant another article was published headed "Gulling the Farmer." It was a very proper heading to use, because the *Argus* is gulling the farmer. The article tried to make it appear that the duties on articles produced by the farmer are of no benefit to him at all. Of course, so far as Victoria is concerned, the duties have hitherto had the effect of stopping produce from coming in; but let honorable members opposite remember the effect they will have in the interests of New South Wales farmers. They will then see whether the duties will not be of some assistance to the farmer.

Mr. CAMERON. — How can they help the farmer to get better prices for his cattle and sheep?

Mr. McCOLL.—The honorable member made a good deal of the duty on cattle when there was an impost of 40s. per head upon them in Tasmania. When he was a member of the Lower House of that State he assisted to put a duty of 20 per cent. on a large number of articles, and also a 20 per cent drag-net.

Mr. CAMERON.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable member for Echuca has made one or two references to me which are gross exaggerations.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not a point of order.

Mr. CAMERON.—The honorable member has stated first of all that I was a squatter and not a farmer.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not a point of order.

Mr. CAMERON.—I wish to make an explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member cannot do that until the honorable member for Echuca has finished speaking.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, has given an unqualified denial of statements made by the honorable member for Echuca, and I think it is a rule of Parliament that when an honorable member denies a statement his denial must be accepted and the statement must not be repeated.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I see no point of order in what the honorable member has said.

Mr. McCOLL.—The honorable member for North Sydney made certain proposals last week which the free-trade organ has advised the Government to accept. But what do those proposals amount to? They simply amount to reducing duties some 10 to 15 per cent., to bringing in £2,500,000 worth more imports to be competed with by our own producers, and to putting another 1d. excise on beer, and another 3d. on tobacco.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—And 3½ per cent. primage.

Mr. McCOLL.—Yes. I was a member of a Government which proposed a primage duty of 1 per cent., and if there was one matter which made that Government more unpopular than any other, it was that. The honorable member, however, proposes to impose a 3½ per cent. primage for the whole Commonwealth. Much as I respect the honorable member, and give him credit for sincerity, I do not think his scheme will do. His idea is that we

should reduce duties by 10 or 15 per cent. ; put 1d. more excise on beer and 3d. on tobacco, and be content with £1,000,000 less revenue. Taking the Government proposals and comparing them with the Tariff which has prevailed in Victoria up to the present time—and I am speaking now as a Victorian—I find that there are 82 increases in the Commonwealth list, and, as far as I have been able to discover, there are some 78 reductions. There are very large reductions indeed upon articles of ordinary use. Some 30 items are unchanged, or but slightly altered, while, in addition to many of the reductions, 16 increases are in favour of the farmer. I am afraid I have not put my views very clearly before the House, but I want to say that while I do not agree with this Tariff in all its details, I believe that the Government have made an honest and fair attempt to carry out the promises contained in the Maitland speech. They have had a most difficult task to perform in reconciling the varying policies, the varying conditions and prospects of the several States. I am sure that the Treasurer and his colleague, the Minister for Trade and Customs, would not care to go through the work again. After all, these are proposals only. The Tariff is not submitted as a perfect scheme, but is put before us in order that we may exercise our judgment, and in order that the light of discussion may be thrown upon it, so that, under the circumstances of the Commonwealth we may produce a fairly good Tariff. We cannot hope to produce one that will give satisfaction to every one, or even to any one; we can only try to consider the needs of the present hour. While honorable members are entitled to give full expression to their views, yet when this discussion is over I hope we shall be able to go into committee right away and enter upon the consideration of details. We are promised, however, by the leader of the Opposition, that if he is defeated in the opening engagement he is going, like the Boers in South Africa, to wage a guerilla warfare from every kopje, and to test every detail line by line, and even stump the country. He looks to another power behind him to thwart the will of Parliament. Meantime business is being complicated by the uncertainty which prevails. Business people want to have the question settled one way or the other, and they prefer to take a

Tariff with which they do not agree in many respects rather than be kept in a state of uncertainty. I trust we shall be able to go into the details of the proposed Tariff as soon as this discussion is finished.

Mr. CAMERON.—I wish to make a personal explanation. The honorable member for Echuca asserted in the course of his speech, that I am a squatter not a farmer. My answer to that statement is, that I have 600 acres in Tasmania under the plough every year, and that I employ ten ploughmen. That should be a complete answer to the honorable member's statement. Another assertion made by him is, that as a land-owner I advocated in the Tasmanian Parliament the imposition of a duty of 40s. per head upon cattle, and some 3s. per head upon sheep. My answer to that statement is, that I was the only member of the House of Assembly who voted for and advocated continually the repeal of the stock tax, some five years ago.

Sir PHILIP Fysh.—After the honorable member had voted originally for the tax.

Mr. CAMERON.—I have not voted at any time for the imposition of taxation on farmers.

Mr. FOWLER (Perth).—After listening as I have done very patiently to his lengthy speech, I cannot quite follow the honorable member for Echuca in his desire that this debate should close summarily.

Mr. McCOLL.—I did not say that. I said I hoped that at the close of this debate we should be able to go into the details of the Tariff, and not have the discussion repeated.

Mr. FOWLER.—I must say that I sympathize with those would-be leaders of public opinion in this State who are so anxious that, as soon as possible, the mouths of free-trade members should be shut. No doubt, they have the feeling that free-traders are poaching unduly on their preserves. They have had things all their own way in this State for a number of years, and naturally they object now that light should be let in, and that some information, to which hitherto they have not had access, should be supplied to the Victorian public. I am not sure that I should have inflicted a speech on the House at this juncture if the Minister for Trade and Customs had not, in his usual emphatic manner, thrown down the gauntlet of protection.

Mr. ISAACS.—There is no need for an apology for speaking upon this question.

Mr. FOWLER.—It behoves all who cannot accept that policy to set forth, at the present time, their protest against its adoption. The debate has proceeded on somewhat academic lines. That was inevitable under the circumstances; but I think it is an advantage to the whole of the Commonwealth that we should have at this juncture a debate on the respective virtues or demerits of the two fiscal policies. There is no doubt but that the scope for the operations of either a free-trade or protectionist Government is somewhat limited, under the circumstances. But even with these limitations there is sufficient freedom of action to involve a very grave principle indeed, and there are at the same time conditions that are closely related to the welfare of the people of the Commonwealth. For my own part I am willing to admit that under no fiscal policy can we create ideal conditions. Under any fiscal policy we have the exploitation of the masses by capitalism, and that, I consider, should always be carefully kept in view by those who are discussing this question. If we remember that fact I think we shall be deterred from introducing a great deal of irrelevant matter. It will be my duty to point out that in some respects much matter has been introduced into this debate that has no real bearing upon the issue. Before doing so, however, I may say that one reason which impels me to speak at this particular stage is, that the public of Victoria have been informed by the protectionist organ that so far as I, and one or two other labour members are concerned, our political platform does not appear to be very clearly defined, and that our motives and sympathies are matters of pure conjecture at the present time. Before I sit down I hope to be able to show what my policy is, and, whatever my motives may be, they certainly will not be a matter for conjecture. To some extent this debate has been one between New South Wales and Victoria. That was inevitable again. I shall try to avoid speaking as the representative of any particular State, at any rate as regards a considerable part of what I have to say. So far as Victoria and New South Wales are concerned, I will unhesitatingly say at the outset that my sympathies are rather with the former than with the latter State. When I came

to Australia I settled in Victoria. I spent some years here. I have dear friends here. I have been associated with those friends to a slight degree in matters of public importance. At first I was attracted by the glamour of protection, and it was only after considerable investigation that I was able to emerge from the meshes of what is, on the surface, a very attractive theory. But it is, nevertheless, a theory which, the more it comes to be considered, will be seen to be detrimental to the best interests and the true development of the Commonwealth. I have listened very patiently to the repetition of all the stock arguments that have appeared in the protectionist organ of this State during the last 25 years. They have been reproduced with a fidelity to that great authority, which, indeed, does credit to those feelings of gratitude which undoubtedly protectionists owe to the newspaper which has done such very great service to their particular policy. But I wish to refer to a few of those arguments—only a few—because it is quite impossible for any one to follow the protectionists into all the *cule-de-sac* which they are so inclined to enter, and in which they find themselves ultimately running against a stone wall. We are told in Victoria that the whole of the modern world, with the exception of Great Britain, is protectionist. This statement is repeated with a great deal of emphasis even in this House. Great Britain has undoubtedly led the world in many respects. The modern world owes very much to Great Britain, and I believe that in the near future it will also owe its fiscal policy to her. As a matter of fact, not very long ago the whole of Europe was prohibitionist. We find, however, that prohibition is utterly discredited now, and that several of the countries of Europe have followed Great Britain so far, that their Tariffs in many respects approximate to free-trade. I need only mention Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and Holland as evidence of this fact. There are indications throughout the whole of Europe which lead me to conclude that, before many years have passed, we shall see an out-and-out free-trade policy developed in some of these countries.

Mr. McCOLL.—What about the new German Tariff?

Mr. FOWLER.—I shall refer to that later on. Another of the stock arguments that we hear is that England is decaying.

This cry is repeated with a gusto that I for one cannot understand. If there were anything to justify it, I should credit those honorable members who use it with uttering it, perhaps, somewhat regretfully. But when, so far from England being in a state of decay, we know that she was never more prosperous than she is at the present time, I am led to wonder whether the wish is not father to the thought, and whether, after all, those honorable members who, during a recent debate, were boasting so loudly of their loyalty, have not feelings of a very different complexion when they come to be analyzed. We are told also that Great Britain had at least three centuries of protection. The honorable member for Echuca went back into ancient history much further than that. I do not propose to follow him all that way. It is not necessary for me to do so. I need only point out to him and other honorable members that protection as it existed in Great Britain during the whole of that period was exactly of the opposite kind to that which we understand is necessary to the development of a country. The protective tax in Great Britain was, in nearly every instance, a tax upon raw materials. We find that the manufacturers and traders of Great Britain repeatedly petitioned Parliament for some relaxation of the duties upon raw materials which were impeding their progress. I may remind honorable members that the Parliament of Great Britain during the protective period was a Parliament of landlords—a Parliament composed of representatives of the aristocracy of that country. Their policy was to protect raw materials—to exploit the manufacturers and the masses. They did it as long as they could, and I am indeed surprised, in view of notorious facts in history, to hear honorable members argue that protection of such a kind was of any advantage to the development of British industries. We have also heard a good deal about the state of the masses in free-trade England. I wish to say something upon this matter because I think it comes particularly within my province as a labour representative. There is no doubt that in Great Britain the position of the masses is not what it ought to be. Neither is it what it ought to be in any other civilized country on the face of the earth. In Great Britain we can trace a good many of the evils which afflict the

masses directly to the protective period. I find that a good many of the references made by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports were made with a considerable amount of hardihood. That honorable member depicted the horrors that exist in Great Britain as being identified with free-trade, and quoted a series of authorities with regard to those conditions in such a way as to lead his hearers to imagine that the authorities were in favour of a return to protection. Such is not the case. There is not a single one of the authorities the honorable member quotes, but credits the unfortunate state of affairs in Great Britain to that policy of protection—which has left its evil heritage behind it—and so far from advocating a return to that policy, they are one and all doing their best at the present time to prevent the people of England being misled by the plausible theories that a few protectionists are putting forward. One honorable member of this House also, a gentleman for whom I have the highest respect, as an argument against free-trade, spoke of the amount expended on behalf of the poor in England. Undoubtedly a large sum per head is expended in that way, but in England provision is made by law for that expenditure; the other countries to which the honorable member referred have no such provision, and consequently no reference to it appears in their statistics. But I wish to remind the honorable member that whatever relief may be afforded under the Poor Law nowadays in England it is nothing to what it was in the old protectionist time. I find a writer, H. deB. Gibbins, a gentleman who has dealt very fully in various volumes with the social, industrial, and economic conditions of Great Britain, quoting Sir Robert Giffen, the celebrated statistician, as follows:—

It is a matter of history that pauperism was nearly breaking down the country half a century ago. The expenditure on Poor Law relief early in the century, and down to 1830 and 1831, was nearly as great at times as it is now. With half the population in the country that there now is the burden of the poor-rate was the same.

In view of such statements as that, I fail to see that any argument in support of protection can be derived from the provision made for the poor in Great Britain. On the contrary it supplies an overwhelming indictment of the old protectionist conditions, and it gives us at the same time an indication of the gradual improvement of the

Mr. Fowler.

masses that has been taking place from the time when the protective burdens were removed from their shoulders. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports has also referred to an expression used frequently in books dealing with social reform—the “submerged tenth.” The expression which would have been applicable in the times to which I refer, is not the “submerged tenth,” but the “submerged half” of the population. That would come nearer to the truth, and yet again we find that this “submerged tenth” is only part of the heritage handed down to us from that protective period. It cannot be denied but that the position of the masses in Great Britain is steadily improving. I shall not take an English authority to make a comparison between America and Great Britain. I quote an American writer on this subject, as showing the result of his investigations upon the spot. Some few years ago, the *Pittsburg Despatch*, an important paper, published in an important industrial centre in America, sent a special correspondent to investigate the condition of labour in England, and here is a quotation from one of that correspondent's letters:—

And now let me say briefly, and once for all, that a careful investigation of the localities where working people most do congregate in this wonderful world of manufactures—

He is referring to the manufacturing districts in the Midlands.

—has proved to me, as it will prove to any one taking similar pains, that here, where one expects to find “pauper labour” by comparison with America, there is a condition of comfort in habitation, clothing, and food which could not be excelled in any American manufacturing locality.

He goes on to say—

This may be treason, but if it is, my protectionist friends are at liberty to make the most of it.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who writes that?

Mr. FOWLER.—A special correspondent of the *Pittsburg Despatch*, an American journal.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is very indefinite. These special correspondents are remarkable men at times.

Mr. FOWLER.—There is one unvarying assertion continually put forward in Victoria, an assertion that has been repeated so often, and with so much insistence, that I suppose a majority of the people of Victoria have come to accept it as correct. That is the statement that British agriculture has been ruined by free-trade. I am reminded in

this connexion of a story told of a Scottish king who was fond of occasional amusement with his courtiers. One day he propounded a question: He asked them how it was that, if a fish were put into a vessel full of water, no water would flow over. There were a number of conjectures made, and one of the courtiers standing aside and expressing no opinion was asked by his sovereign what was his explanation of the curious thing. The old courtier looked at the king quietly, and then expressed himself thus—"Sir," he said, "I doot the fact." And I take it that, when a sweeping assertion of this sort is made, it behoves us, before we accept it without reservation, to consider whether it is not advisable sometimes to "doot the fact." In speaking of agriculture it may be necessary for me to explain that I am not talking without some knowledge of the subject. I was born and brought up amongst those who were closely associated with agriculture. In my earlier years, I took a keen, practical interest in this branch of production, sometimes against my will; and ever since then I have followed it with a good deal of interest. With regard to the assertion that British agriculture is ruined by free-trade, there is not the least doubt but that the good old times which the farmers and landlords talk about were put an end to by the abolition of the Corn Laws. Those good old times were the times when the masses had to pay a shilling for a loaf of bread, when half of the community was on the verge of continual starvation. Undoubtedly they were good old times for the landlord and for the farmer, but for no one else. But national ruin is a very different thing. One would imagine that Great Britain at the present time was lying waste, and that there was nothing being done with its land. What do I find in reference even to wheat production on turning to reliable statistics? Coghlan gives us the information that that comparatively small area of the United Kingdom produced no less than 67,000,000 bushels of wheat in 1899. Figures like these, taken by themselves, of course, do not go very far; we have to bring them into relation with other figures. Let me compare such figures with the production of wheat in Australia. Coghlan states that the total production of wheat not in Australia, but in Australasia—that is the Commonwealth and New Zealand—is 48,000,000 bushels,

as against 67,000,000 bushels in the United Kingdom. I wish to institute another comparison. We hear a great deal of Germany, and the remarkable progress she is making under a protective policy. It is contended amongst other things, I presume, that she is a long way ahead of Great Britain in agriculture. What are the facts? Germany, in the same year, produced 137,000,000 bushels of wheat. The area of Germany is 211,000 odd square miles, but the area of the United Kingdom is 121,000 square miles—that is, roughly, about half. When one considers the amount of wheat grown in the United Kingdom, as against that grown in Germany, in relation to the area of the land, the proportion is just about the same.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Will the honorable member take the total agricultural products of each country? That is only one.

Mr. FOWLER.—We have heard about the ruin of the wheat industry in Great Britain. I am dealing with that matter, and I trust the honorable member will realize that I can deal with only one matter at a time. The monopoly of wheat growing in Great Britain being at an end, the farmers turned to other means of production. None but the best wheat lands are producing wheat, and other lands that at one time produced wheat—under the old monopolist system—are being used for those industries for which they are better suited. The farmers are engaged in stock raising to a much greater extent than they formerly were under protection. *Mulhall* states that between 1840 and 1870, 2,000,000 acres of land which was devoted to wheat growing has been turned into pasture land, and that cattle farming has progressed steadily from 1850. The production of meat they have increased since that time 35 per cent. I would remind honorable members that the conditions with regard to all products are not altogether favorable to the farmer. The question of rent, and a number of other matters enter into the consideration of whether or not farming can be made profitable. It has been indicated frequently by those who wish to see the old condition of things revived as regards agriculture, that if any change is needed it is in the direction, not so much of protection as of a re-arrangement of rents, and of those old feudal conditions that pressed so heavily on

the productive capacity of the United Kingdom. We have seen recently an agitation set afoot, demanding protection for Great Britain. The "Made in Germany" style of book which has been so popular in Victoria, has for its object simply an attempt to bring the country back to those conditions which were of so much advantage to a certain class, and so opposed to the interests of the whole people. We have heard the same cry at intervals ever since the repeal of the corn laws, and it is to be remarked that the cry is never from the manufacturers, whom the protectionist agitators profess to regard, but from those people who previously enjoyed a monopoly of production from land, and is intended for their benefit alone. As indicating the opinion of the general public on this question, I wish to read from the *Clarion* of the 3rd August, 1901, a paragraph from an article written by Robert Blatchford, one of those authorities on social matters so frequently quoted by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, and quoted in such a way as would lead one to suppose that people were anxious for a return to the old policy of protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—Oh no, I never said that.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is the inference that may be drawn from the way in which the honorable member quotes these authorities. Speaking of the condition of affairs in Great Britain, the writer of this article says—

By far the ugliest sign of the times is the fact that of late years two words which have for half a century been tabooed in British politics are now, after some whisperings and stealthy hintings, beginning to be spoken trippingly on the tongue. These words are "Protection" and "Conscription." They are words of abomination and desolation, words that, being openly spoken, should be resented by the people as an insult to their understanding and a threat to their liberty.

Mr. HARPER.—Who says that?

Mr. FOWLER.—That is an expression of opinion by one of the champions of the masses in Great Britain.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Is he still at large?

Mr. FOWLER.—He is at large; and I trust he will long be at large. I wish to God that there were many more of his sort, not only in Great Britain but in Australia. Germany has been held up to the people of Victoria for years as a marvellous instance of the advantages of a protective policy. We have not heard so much of that the last

few months. Germany has suffered a serious collapse; it is notorious that her manufacturing industries are rapidly being shut up. The banks are failing and general disaster is overtaking the country.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Perhaps the honorable member will tell us that they are about to adopt free-trade.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is not that on account of over-capitalization?

Mr. FOWLER.—It may be that some other cause than fiscal policy is responsible, but I always notice that when it is thought a good point can be made with reference to protection in this debate it is always protection that is responsible for a change for the better, something else being responsible if the change is for the worse.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Are they not adopting more protection in Germany?

Mr. FOWLER.—We have heard a great deal about Germany and its protectionist policy. If there is any country in Europe in which protection has done any good, and in which the policy should be highly popular, it is Germany. There is a section of the German Parliament somewhat similar to our Labour Party here, numbering, at the present time, over 40 members. These members are representatives of a great labour federation in Germany—the Social Democratic Federation—and I may say that every election results in an increase in their numbers. The Social Democratic Federation of Germany, like the Labour party of Australia, has a platform, and here is one of the planks of that platform—

The abolition of all indirect taxation, Customs duties, and other economic measures which sacrifice the interests of the community to the interests of a privileged minority.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the honorable member advocate the abolition of all Customs duties?

Mr. FOWLER.—That is the attitude taken up by the great labour and progressive party in Germany.

Mr. McCOLL.—Those are the single taxers.

Mr. FOWLER.—No, no; they are largely socialists, and the single-tax movement is a totally different thing. Here we have a direct contradiction of the assertion, that countries like Germany are unreservedly and emphatically protectionist. We find on getting beneath the surface that they are nothing of the kind. In Germany, as in Great Britain some years ago, the old

fight is taking place between the representatives of the masses, and the representatives of the privileged classes in Parliament. The latter are at the present time in a majority, but are not likely to occupy the position very much longer. So far as socialism can be connected with either free-trade or protection, I may say that throughout the whole civilized world, socialism and free-trade are closely identified, with the solitary exception of Australia. Another argument which I have frequently read in the protectionist organ, and which I was surprised to hear repeated in this House, is the one dealing with the excess of imports or exports one over the other. A good many years ago I used to read in the *Age* that it was a bad thing for a country to import more than it exported, and that the contrary condition was one that indicated prosperity. The honorable member for Gippsland has given us that view, and I suppose it is one of the arguments which influenced his change from free-trade to protection. He has evidently clung to it with a tenacity characteristic of himself, but decidedly worthy of a better cause. I believe it has already been shown in the public press that the contention of the honorable member has no basis, when we come to deal with actual facts. It has been proved that nearly all the wealthy and prosperous countries of the world have a balance of imports over exports, and I wish to inform the honorable member for Gippsland that the one country which, above all others, manifests the most remarkable degree of prosperity, according to his ideas, is poor, miserable, poverty-stricken Egypt. There is no country in the world which has a larger excess of exports over imports, and I believe there are very few countries in a worse state socially, financially, and otherwise. The argument used by the honorable member for Gippsland was that the country which had an excess of exports over imports was in a more prosperous condition than one having a balance the other way.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That is as far as external trade is concerned.

Mr. FOWLER.—I understood it was applied by the honorable member as a general argument.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I said that the country that imports more than it exports is losing on its external trade to the extent of the difference.

Mr. FOWLER.—Then, according to that, Egypt ought to be remarkably wealthy and prosperous.

Mr. CROUCH.—So she is. Egypt is a long way wealthier than Turkey.

Mr. FOWLER.—For centuries Egypt has been one of the poorest countries on the face of the earth.

Mr. CROUCH.—She is one of the soundest, financially, on the face of the earth.

Mr. FOWLER.—I prefer to discuss this matter in my own way and not to be led off the track.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member's speech is acting like a porous plaster.

Mr. FOWLER.—I have been at considerable pains, for my own edification, to trace the development of the protectionist policy in Victoria, and I think it can be followed with a certain amount of accuracy, and supplies to some extent the key to the rather unusual development which has taken place there as distinguished from what has occurred in any other State of the Commonwealth. Victoria at one time, no doubt, had a somewhat objectionable land policy, and it is not so many years ago when it was considered by many that the land of Victoria was about as fully occupied and as fully utilised for producing purposes as was possible. That being so, the cry arose, "What are we going to do with our sons?" There was no more land for them to take up; it was thought that there could be no more agricultural production, and the minds of the people naturally turned to the development of industries in the towns. The policy of sending the young people into town, providing employment for them in factories, and creating a home market had, on the face of it, a considerable amount of attraction. The idea was carried into effect and under it, undoubtedly, a stimulus was imparted to certain manufacturing industries. The policy was persisted in, and by-and-by the people of Victoria in general, and of Melbourne in particular, became possessed of the idea that in the future Melbourne must be the commercial, or, at least, the industrial centre of the whole of Australia. We are told often that one of the causes of the unfavorable conditions, which have been so repeatedly indicated in regard to Victoria in recent years, was the boom. That has been made responsible for many things, and I admire the ingenuity of honorable members who have been able to see, in that

unfortunate occurrence, the beginning of all the troubles which have afflicted Victoria. But I want to know what caused the boom? I think we can easily find the cause of the boom in the fiscal policy of the State. As I say, the idea of a protective policy was to make Melbourne the great industrial centre of the whole of Australia.

Mr. CROUCH.—So it is.

Mr. FOWLER.—That was the intention at one time, and under the stimulus of that idea people undoubtedly thronged into Melbourne. Under the stimulus of borrowed millions, industries were gradually expanded, and they took in a large number of the young men, who were flocking from the country and deserting those means of production which are natural to the country, and which ought to be natural for many years to come. The result was that the rents of property rose, and more buildings had to be provided to supply the wants of the people who were coming in. That meant a demand for land, and there we had the beginning of the land boom. It was simply a result of the policy of developing Melbourne by protection, and by the borrowing of those millions. Therefore, when honorable members wish to place to the credit of the boom all the calamities that have overtaken the country they should realize, in the first place, that the fiscal policy of Victoria is directly responsible for the boom.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Was that so in New South Wales?

Mr. FOWLER.—There was a reflex action in New South Wales, but, as the honorable member knows, it had by no means the same serious dimensions it had in Victoria. We now find that the calamity of the boom which overtook Victoria sent the minds of the people back again, by a natural process, to those industries on which, after all, her prosperity rests. There was a general cry—"Back to the rural industries"; and accordingly we find that such industries as butter-making were developed in a remarkable way. It is beyond question that the development of that particular industry in Victoria has been closely associated with the rally which has been made within recent years.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The industry was developed by a protective duty and by a bonus.

Mr. FOWLER.—I have been somewhat amused if not edified by the various comparisons which have been attempted, as

between New South Wales and Victoria, by means of statistics. It is very hard indeed to get at the truth in such a way. We have had so many statistics thrown at our heads that we may be excused if we have not grasped the full purport of them all. But, I think we may come to the conclusion that as between Victoria and New South Wales, at any rate, there is very little indeed to choose. In some respects the one State may have an advantage, and, in some respects, the other State; but so far as the direct benefits of a fiscal policy are concerned, more particularly with reference to employment and wages, I defy any one to say that Victoria is any better off than New South Wales. If that much is conceded, I say unhesitatingly, that it discredits protection. What we were always given to understand in Victoria was that under protection the country would be a great deal better off than any other country under free-trade conditions. Protection, it was said, was to be a great improvement upon free-trade; but now we find that those who advocate a protectionist policy are simply on the defensive when confronted with the condition of New South Wales. But protectionists ought to be able to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to show most conclusively that their policy has been a much better one than free-trade. I do not think that the most ardent protectionist in Victoria will refuse to admit that protection has not done anything like what was hoped of it. It has not protected the masses. It is not so very long ago that sitting on a platform, with the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, I heard a gentleman, who has practical knowledge of the conditions in London and in Melbourne, as regards the working classes, state in the most unhesitating way that he had seen in Collingwood a state of affairs that was absolutely worse than anything he had ever witnessed in the slums of London.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Who was that?

Mr. FOWLER.—That was Mr. Solly, at a recent meeting. The honorable member for Echuca indicated that in his opinion many industries that we have in Victoria are due to the policy of protection. But is it not a fact that many of these industries were established before protection was adopted? I find that is so, particularly in the case of the manufacture of agricultural and mining machinery, which has

been so often held up as one of the great trophies of a protective policy. The honorable member for Echuca gave as an argument in favour of the policy he advocates the fact that machinery is manufactured to a large extent in Victoria for the use of the farmer, and he indicated that that machinery is superior in many respects to that imported. That is an argument which I for one am willing to accept. The local maker of such products has always the advantage over the importer, and it is not necessary to protect him. The stump-jump plough has been called into existence by conditions in Victoria which have no relation to the fiscal policy. Whether we had free-trade or protection, the inducement to the inventor of such a plough would have been precisely the same. A book on protection, by a Mr. Young, was published lately, and has been very highly praised by the protectionist newspaper in Victoria. I have gone through the book very carefully, and I am compelled to agree with very many of the writer's conclusions, although his arguments have been somewhat misdirected. Let me state the position in the words of the *Age* itself in regard to the contention of this writer. This newspaper says—

The main difference between English free-trade and American protection in wealth creation, lies in the retention of the "transport" system by the one and its elimination by the other.

Undoubtedly it does, and I am surprised that the protectionists have not discovered that long ago.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Has the honorable member finished the quotation?

Mr. FOWLER.—It is hardly necessary, carrying out this idea.

Mr. KENNEDY.—For the development of the home market.

Mr. FOWLER.—We will take it at that—that transportation involves waste, and that what is required is the development of the home market. If transportation involves waste, is not that protection for the home market? If so very much is lost to those people who are transporting goods from one part of the world to another, surely that is an argument rather in favour of free-trade than of protection. We here in Australia have a natural protection sufficient for all practical purposes, and any interference in the way of artificial protection attracts the people from those natural

developments that mean prosperity for this or any other country. I now come to the consideration of this question more particularly in regard to the workers. In this respect, my opinion is that if protection had been called by its true name, we should have heard very little of it in Victoria at all. In spite of what the great poet said about a rose by any other name smelling as sweet, there is a great deal indeed in a name. The old lady who read her Bible, and told her parson that she derived so very much comfort and consolation from "that blessed word Mesopotamia," was in somewhat the same position as many workers in Victoria in regard to the comfort they derive from the equally blessed word, protection. The proper name for this policy is trade restriction.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What is the proper name for free-trade?

Mr. FOWLER.—It carries its meaning on its face. I repeat that if the policy of protection had been termed by its proper name of trade restriction, the workers would not have seen so much in it as they have done, to their disadvantage undoubtedly. I do not pretend that protection—I will use that term, as it is one generally employed—does not benefit some industries. Undoubtedly it does. It would be surprising if so many determined efforts to foster and coddle a particular industry were not rewarded with some measure of success. But what I contend is that protection does not benefit the community as a whole. That is what we are here to consider, not the interests of any particular class. I would point out that so far as artisans generally are concerned there is confronting them one very serious matter which has to be considered in connexion with this question. When we are urged to create a home market for our farmers, do those who advance that contention realize what inroads upon production machinery is making in those large industries? It is impossible under the most artificial conditions to enable the masses in our large towns to apply themselves particularly to mechanical production. Machinery makes that impossible. I would therefore ask the protectionists—what are they going to do with the surplus population? I have not yet heard any protectionist indicate a remedy for that growing condition of things. A book published in America two or three years ago deals with the fiscal question in relation to

the masses. It deals with the question from an American stand-point, but it puts a most remarkable parallel so far as Australia is concerned. I wish to give the House one or two quotations, and honorable members will see for themselves what a close connexion there is between the position as developed in America by protection, and the position that we are confronted with at the present time. The book is written by Professor Ely, the Professor of Political Economy in the John Hopkins University, Baltimore, one of the principal educational institutions of the United States. Professor Ely is not a free-trader, but he is an opponent of the condition of things created in America by protection, and has written strongly and forcibly in several volumes in connexion with the matter. He points out that in America the cry originally was for protection to infant industries. Here are his words—

As time went on, the plea that protection should be afforded to the "infant industries" of the United States grew ridiculous, and its advocates began to cast about for an argument which would meet with some other reply than a sarcastic smile. Manifestly the period of infancy must end some time, and the infant industry argument is based precisely on the hypothesis that protection is merely a temporary need.

That has been the cry in Victoria—"Protection for infant industries," as long as the cry could be put forward without an undue degree of shame-facedness. Now, however, that particular cry is becoming a bit out of season. The industries are by no means infants nowadays, or at least they ought not to be. If that is so, it follows that some reason must be adduced other than that of "protection for infant industries."

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the date of the edition from which the honorable member quotes?

Mr. FOWLER.—The book is quite a recent publication, but the date does not appear. It is not more than two or three years old. I shall be very glad indeed if the honorable member will read it.

Mr. MAUGER.—I know it very well; I have read Professor Ely.

Mr. FOWLER.—I must apologize for asking the honorable member to read it. I forgot for the moment that I was addressing a protectionist whose only means of getting light upon such a subject as this would be by the application of an axe of considerable weight wielded by somebody of considerable

vitality. Professor Ely goes on to indicate the cry that followed the request for protection for infant industries. He points out that the—

Appetite grew with what it fed upon, and the call was for increasing protection. How justify it? As I said, protectionists began to cast about for another special plea, and they found it, and from about 1840 up to the present we have heard a new war-cry: namely, protection of American labour against "the pauper labour of Europe."

"The pauper labour of Europe." I think I have heard that cry in this House several times of late. This is what the Professor has to say with regard to it:—

No doubt for party purposes it was an immense improvement. It proceeded upon the hypothesis that the American employer must pay more than his European competitor for labour, and that difference must be made up to him by a tax on foreign competitors; some, indeed, with a nice air of accuracy, claiming it is a scientific principle that duties should be precisely such in every instance as to equal the difference in cost of labour. It is assumed that if duties fall, American labour must also fall in price, and, like European labour, become pauper labour. One manifest superiority in this new plea is that it does not advocate duties as something temporary, but as something to endure as long as American labour is "dear," and foreign labour is "cheap." Another is the benevolence wrapped up in it, and not merely benevolence. It is benevolence of a superior and unique sort! Benevolence often means sacrifice on the part of him who exercises it, as when I wear an old coat that I may help educate the orphan child of an old friend. Not so the benevolence of the protective Tariff, for it is warranted never to take a penny from the pockets of its most devoted adherents. They may live in palaces, eat the choicest cuts of roast beef, drink champagne, and be merry while their bank accounts swell! Have they not done their part? Are they not the representatives of protection to American labour?

His comment on this demand for protection for American labor, is as follows:—

The cost of labour depends upon two things—first, wages paid; second, the efficiency of labour. Will the practical man, who pays two dollars a day to his employes engaged in some manufacturing enterprise in Massachusetts, at once remove his business to Georgia if told that employes can in the south be procured in abundance for one dollar fifty cents a day? By no means. He would be a fool to do it. He will first ascertain many other things about business, and he will institute a diligent inquiry into the relative efficiency of northern and southern labour. He will say, "The vital question with me is not how much I pay a day, but how much will it cost me to get a given piece of work done."

Prof. Ely writes the following words in italics—

Now when we thus compare labour cost in Europe and America, it appears that in a large

portion of the industrial field the American manufacturer has a decided advantage over his foreign competitor, for it costs him less to get a given piece of work done.

Mr. ISAACS.—At what page does that passage appear?

Mr. FOWLER.—At page 80.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The free-trade sweaters of Victoria have raised the cry that manufacturers must go to Sydney if the Factories Act is continued.

Mr. FOWLER.—What I have quoted is of interest to us in view of the fact that we are confronted with exactly the same cry in the Commonwealth of Australia. I think also that the writer of this book has shown most conclusively the hollowness of the demand, and the fact that it is unnecessary at any time or under any conditions to protect highly paid labour from cheap labour. The position of workers in Great Britain, as against that of labour on the continent of Europe, shows that the wages in Great Britain are undoubtedly higher than on the continent. In some of the European countries, such as Italy, wages bear a very low ratio, indeed, to what is paid in Great Britain; but we do not find that British workmen are suffering from the competition on the part of pauper labour. On the contrary, it has been shown beyond question, and I think admitted even by honorable members sitting behind the Government, that the position of the British worker under free-trade is steadily improving.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What about the American worker?

Mr. FOWLER.—The American worker has been steadily going from bad to worse during the last ten or fifteen years. Under protection he is absolutely under the heel of capitalism. His wages have been going down, and the cost of everything that he buys immensely increased.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Are not the wages paid in America the best in the world?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No; having regard to their purchasing power.

Mr. FOWLER.—I have quoted already from an American writer to show that relatively the position of workers in Great Britain is very much better than that of the workers of the United States.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is not.

Mr. FOWLER.—Of course honorable members are at liberty to refuse evidence of that kind if they choose to do so, but I

believe that Victoria will not refuse it. The people of this State will show very soon that they have not by any means the remarkable facility for refusing evidence of this kind which is possessed by some honorable members. I trust that I have made my motives and sympathies in regard to the Tariff no longer a matter of conjecture. As a citizen of the Commonwealth, I have stated what I consider ought to be the policy of the Commonwealth.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—And that is free-trade.

Mr. FOWLER.—I am prepared, as far as I can, to give effect to the policy I have indicated. I wish, in conclusion, to say a few words in regard to the Tariff in its relation to the State I represent. In Western Australia there is only one opinion about it, and that is that, so far as that State is concerned, it is simply iniquitous in its incidence. We have had there already a Tariff which has unduly pressed the masses.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It has made that State the most flourishing part of Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—Western Australia has flourished, as the right honorable member knows, not on account of her Tariff, but in spite of it. That Tariff is going to be continued under the operation of the sliding scale.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Why do they put on the sliding scale?

Mr. KIRWAN.—A majority of the people are against it.

Mr. FOWLER.—The right honorable and learned gentleman ought to ask his colleague, the Minister for Defence, why it is put on.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My Government did not put it on. The new Government has done so.

Mr. FOWLER.—There was an obligation upon the State of Western Australia to re-enact that Tariff.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—There was no obligation. It was permissive.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They wanted the money; that is the reason.

Mr. FOWLER.—It was arranged that this sliding-scale should operate for a certain number of years. The people of Western Australia have not the power to alter it. They are in the unfortunate position that a majority of them send a minority into Parliament, and that minority, however willing it may be to alter this sliding-scale,

cannot do so at the present time. But bad as was that particular Tariff of Western Australia, so far as the consumers were concerned, it had its redeeming features. Under it there were certain articles of every-day consumption which were allowed to come in free. But what do we find? The particular articles which were admitted free as a set-off against the serious taxation upon other items are to be heavily taxed under this Tariff, so that the unfortunate consumers are between the upper millstone of their State Tariff and the nether millstone of the Federal Tariff. I do not wish to go into details so far as they relate to Western Australia. I shall leave that to my colleagues who represent the gold-fields, because they have an even keener interest in this matter than myself. I merely desire to say that the people of Western Australia realize that their interests are bound up in the development of the primary industries of that State. Even the artisans understand, what evidently has not been fully realized in Melbourne, that their condition is determined by the general prosperity of the country, and that so far as Australia, as a whole, is concerned, its general prosperity must for many years to come be associated with its primary industries. When I was contesting my election the fiscal question was continually brought forward. At that time I considered I had good grounds for assuring the people that the Tariff we should have would be something in the nature of a compromise between the two extremes. I was prepared to accept such a compromise, and I am only speaking this afternoon because the compromise which has been offered to us is of such a nature that it ceases to have any meaning at all so far as free-traders or revenue tariffists are concerned. I intend to do all in my power to amend this Tariff to its proper incidence. I shall endeavour to make it as much as possible a revenue Tariff. I shall oppose, as far as I can, the creation of vested interests that will ultimately operate in an exactly opposite direction to that in which I and many others desire to proceed. A revenue Tariff is, at the present time, a temporary expedient. It is the half-way-house towards an absolute change in the incidence of taxation. I believe that if we adopt the Tariff which is under discussion we shall find ourselves receding very considerably from the true position so far as the welfare of the masses of Australia is

Mr. Fowler.

concerned. A revenue Tariff or a protective Tariff alike presses on the consumer in the matter of taxation. I contend, therefore, that whatever is put forward as a compromise at the present time must be something that both sides can accept as such, without the fiscal question being dragged in in the way that it has been by the Minister for Trade and Customs and by the Tariff itself. One of the reforms which I hope for is a complete change in the incidence of taxation. The only way in which to accomplish this is by adopting a policy identical with free-trade.

Mr. ISAACS.—What does that mean?

Mr. FOWLER.—Reform of the incidence of taxation is connected with a policy of free-trade. A proper adjustment of the incidence of taxation means placing the burdens on the shoulders of those who ought to carry them.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We shall never get the taxation we require if we leave it to a revenue Tariff.

Mr. FOWLER.—We do not intend to leave it to a revenue Tariff. We intend such a Tariff to be only the beginning. But we do not want to create vested interests in Australia which will make even a revenue Tariff impossible. I come now to my last and greatest objection to protection. In the United States we have an object lesson which ought to make every honorable member pause and seriously consider the position. The policy which has been adopted there has meant the demoralization of the country and the corruption of its politics. America is nearer a revolution than is any other country in the world, simply and solely because the vested interests which have grown up behind the wall of protection have got the country absolutely and entirely in their grip—the masses, the workers, the Judges in the law courts, and even the Legislature itself. I may be speaking somewhat strongly, but I intend to produce evidence in support of my statements. There is a series of interesting volumes published in America upon questions of the day. No. 53 of these volumes has for its subject "The Tariff and its Evils." The writer is John H. Allen.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What is the title of the article?

Mr. FOWLER.—"The Tariff and its Evils." The writer is John H. Allen, who has written several works in connexion with

political and social questions in America. He says—

No one country has a monopoly of spoiling the working man. This is done in Republican America quicker and deeper than monarchical England ever thought of. The laws of the country are so framed that not only are those who create wealth deprived of their rightful share of it, but in its manipulation thereafter the people are, through our taxing system, levied upon through nearly all the articles of needful consumption for the monopolist manufacturer's special behoof.

Here is another article upon "American Politics" by a well-known writer—Mr. Grant White. This is what he says in regard to the matter—

Congress itself is openly declared by our own journals to be, because it is known to be, the most corrupt body in civilized Christendom. Within the last fifteen years we have seen men occupying the highest positions in the Government of the United States who were not only purchasable, but who had been purchased, and at a very small price. I know what I say, and mean it. The Cabinets during the same period have been so rotten with corruption that the presence in them of two or three men of integrity could not save them.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely this is not due to protection?

Mr. FOWLER.—Perhaps the honorable member will wait a moment. This writer goes on to say—

Worse even than this, the judges are openly called Mr. this—one's judge, or Mr. That—one's, their owners being generally the stock-holders or managers of some great corporation which coins wealth for him and his satellites by schemes of gigantic extortion.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is that an opinion expressed by an eminent English writer of the judicial authorities in America?

Mr. FOWLER.—That is the opinion expressed continually throughout America. The quotations which I have read, indicate precisely the opinions of the people of America with regard to their judges and their legislators. I could quote not one, but fifty authorities to the same purport as this.

Mr. MAUGER.—Why do they not change their policy?

Mr. FOWLER.—The condition of affairs is notorious, and when the honorable member asks me why they do not change their policy, I say that protection has created such gigantic corporations interested in the continuance of that policy, that it is worth the while of those corporations to create a corrupt condition of affairs in

order that the people may not make any change.

Mr. REID.—They spend hundreds of millions at every presidential election.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is well known that the influence of these trusts and syndicates controls America, socially, financially and politically. Things have got to such a pass there, that when legislators find things are dull, they get a Bill drawn that aims at some of the trusts, and immediately people outside induce those enterprising politicians to leave the thing alone. I am not stating anything but what is borne out by the actual state of affairs in America. Any one can see that the position created by a Tariff wall must develop such a condition of things.

Mr. MAUGER.—And in Canada also?

Mr. FOWLER.—I believe that every member of this House has come into it with clean hands, and has thoroughly clean hands, and I hope it may never be said of the Australian Legislature that any of its members can be described in other terms than these. But we have already an indication of the possibilities in store for us, in the agitation going on outside of this House, by forces that fortunately are not sufficiently strong yet to influence legislation. Allow this Tariff wall, behind which they may increase in strength, and we can easily imagine the state of affairs which may arise. The United States of America points a moral for us which we cannot afford to ignore at this juncture, and honorable members opposite know well enough that the state of affairs there is largely attributable to the protective policy of that country. If such is the case, and if a danger like this confronts us, I say we have no other course open to us than, at any cost, to take such steps as will make such a condition of affairs as exists in America at the present time impossible to the Commonwealth of Australia. For the reasons I have indicated, perhaps at undue length, but I trust not without some interest to honorable members, I wish to say that I shall most unhesitatingly support the motion now before the House.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Minister for Defence).—We have listened, I am sure, with attention to all the speeches made, and especially to the latest by the honorable member for Perth, who, according to his own statement, represents in this House an example of one who was a protectionist and

who has become a very strong free-trader. The only remark I have to make in regard to that is one which I am sure honorable members will forgive me for, because there have been so many protectionists in these eastern States who have changed their views when they have gone to Western Australia. I desire, therefore, to ask the honorable member whether the change in his views, which he has told us of, took place somewhere near the time when he changed his home from the eastern to the western side of Australia? I ask the question because a large number of people who were protectionists in Eastern Australia, have, when they have gone to the western State, become free-traders. I want to say also that that bears out my opinion in regard to this fiscal question—that there is no real principle about it, and that it is merely a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, and which policy will pay us best.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Can the right honorable gentleman quote any instances either way?

SIR JOHN FORREST.—There is little difficulty as a general rule in finding out whether a man is a protectionist or a free-trader by simply ascertaining what his business is. It is generally apparent that he is not acting contrary to his own material interests.

MR. GLYNN.—What self-interest is there behind the free-trader?

SIR JOHN FORREST.—A very great deal, as I could show if I desired to continue the argument. The importing classes, for instance, are all free-traders.

MR. THOMSON.—No, they are not.

MR. REID.—I have found them the other way, to my cost.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—It will very seldom be found that they are not. At any rate those who are at the back of the free-trade movement in Victoria and New South Wales and in other States are largely those who are interested in shipping and importing, and it is those people who find a good deal of the money to promote the free-trade interest.

MR. REID.—Any statement to that effect made to the right honorable gentleman is inaccurate.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—It is a general statement, which, of course, the right honorable gentleman is not bound to agree with.

I desire in what I have to say to avoid details so far as I can. We have to deal with this question in a practical and not in a sentimental way. I do not wish to unduly prolong the debate, and, though it may probably take me some time, I hope I shall not err in that respect to the same extent as some other honorable members who have spoken for several hours upon this question. I shall hasten along as quickly as I can in order not to delay the settlement of the motion before the House. The first thing I desire to say with respect to this motion of want of confidence in the Government is that it is not really a question of the Tariff at all. Whatever Tariff we brought down we should have had this adverse motion. We should have had it when we first met at the opening of Parliament if the opportunity had suited my right honorable and learned friend the leader of the Opposition, but he found that the numbers were against him, and that his chances of success were not great, and as he told us he decided to defer the matter until the Tariff was introduced. Is there any man in the House or in the country, who believes that whatever had been the Tariff proposals of the Government, we should not have been met by an adverse motion? Was it to go forth to the world that this Parliament had met in Melbourne for the first time and passed through a session without an adverse motion being moved by the leader of the Opposition? The idea is absurd on the face of it, I quite agree. The action of the leader of the Opposition is what was expected. If I were in his place I would, no doubt, do the very same thing, viz., take the earliest convenient opportunity to challenge the other side.

MR. REID.—On this Tariff?

SIR JOHN FORREST.—If the Tariff was the surest way of displacing the Government and placing my own party in power, I, no doubt, would do so. I wish to point out to honorable members that the terms of this motion are not at all material. Motions of want of confidence are framed in various ways, but they all have the same object—to displace those who are on the Treasury benches.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Is this dealing practically with the subject?

SIR JOHN FORREST.—I think it is a little too practical for the honorable member.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is not on the Tariff, anyway.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—When the honorable member gets up will he launch out on the Tariff in one moment? He had better hold his tongue, and not interrupt by asking whether what one is saying is practical when one has scarcely commenced to say anything. Motions of want of confidence are always very carefully prepared and are designed to please undecided independent members, who wish to support the Government in the most difficult position.

Mr. WILKS.—The wobblers.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not say the wobblers at all. Those who have not pledged themselves and who the Opposition may think would like to support the Government. The desire in the wording of a motion of no confidence is to place these honorable members in the most difficult position possible. That is the general plan adopted, I believe, by those who frame these motions. I have had no experience in framing them. Whether for good or for ill, all the time I was in the Legislative Assembly in Western Australia I was on the Treasury benches, and although there were many motions of want of confidence they were always framed by others and directed against me. Whatever the form of the motion is the object is exactly the same; the bait is skilfully arranged so as to catch the most fish. I discard for the moment the terms of this motion. I do not care twopence about its terms; it is a motion of want of confidence and those who vote for it say deliberately to the people of this country, by their vote, that they want a change of Government; and it will be understood so, of course. There is no use beating about the bush. Every one who votes for or against the motion knows very well that he is voting either to support the Government or to put the honorable members opposite in their place. Every one is agreed—and every one will agree no doubt all through this debate—that a certain amount of revenue must be obtained in order to carry on the Government of the Commonwealth. The Government say that their desire is, while raising the necessary revenue, to assist the industries of the country.

Mr. MAHON. — How do they assist mining?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—While we are devising means for raising the revenue, at the same time we are devising means for assisting the industries of the country. Our object is to

build up a self-reliant people, and not to be dependent on others for all those things which we can produce as well as they can. We should not depend on the labour of the people of other lands, but should produce everything we can for ourselves—thus, not only building up a self-reliant community but giving large employment to our own people. To read the harangues and speeches of persons outside the House as well as inside, one would think that free-trade as they call it—it is no free-trade at all, as everyone knows—means lighter taxation. After listening to some of these most interesting harangues many persons go away with the idea that the policy they have listened to, means no taxation at all.

Mr. HIGGINS.—They have to find the money somehow.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They know that, but do not say so; and the people go away with the idea that there is to be no taxation at all.

Mr. THOMSON.—It does not mean double the taxation.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We all know that whatever fiscal policy finds a place on our statute-book the taxation will be the same. We must have the requisite amount of money in order to carry on the public service. If the same services are to be given, the payments will have to be practically the same. The plan which the Government believe in—that is, to get the requisite money by a system of taxation which has been fittingly termed, I think, by the Prime Minister, “moderate protection”—will stimulate industry, whereas our opponents would leave every industry to sink or swim without any regard or assistance from the Government.

Mr. POYNTON.—What about stimulating the mining industry of Western Australia?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not going to be diverted from my subject by the honorable member. The question of free-trade *versus* protection has been a matter of controversy for many years past, and if it had not been for the fiscal element, our federal elections would have been very tame indeed. We had nothing else to fight about, and the Tariff question was brought up by the newspapers and others as a sort of dividing line for the contending parties. We all know very well that neither free-trade nor protection in its fullest form would have been

acceptable to the whole of the people of Australia. The 15 per cent. Tariff, which was suggested by one of the leading newspapers of the free-trade movement, was not a free-trade Tariff at all, and it would never have been acceptable to the people. In this controversy we are in very good company, because the struggle between free-trade and protection is going on everywhere throughout the world, and it would be strange indeed if, at the beginning of our career as a Commonwealth, we did not indulge in a contest over the same point. Whereas the free-traders can claim Great Britain as their example, those who oppose free-trade and believe in moderate protection can claim all the rest of the world. What has struck me a good deal, both in this House and during the federal elections, is that what are commonly called the workers should have been divided on the fiscal question.

Mr. POYNTER.—They were not divided in the Minister's State.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think they were. The honorable member knows very little about Western Australia, and I would advise him not to make assertions that are not quite correct. The worker's candidate for Fremantle was an avowed protectionist, and although he was beaten by my friend, the honorable member for Fremantle, who ran on the free-trade ticket, there were a great many protectionists in that constituency. The free-traders won the day, as a rule, but they did not receive a unanimous vote, because there are a very large number of protectionists throughout the Western State—even on the gold-fields.

Mr. WILKS.—They only returned one member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is so, but we cannot ignore their votes. I always thought that the workers were protectionists, because the very basis of their policy is protection. I cannot understand how those who adopt protection as the very foundation of all their organizations should be in favour of free-trade. Is trades unionism based on free-trade? Does the early closing movement rest upon free-trade?

Mr. MAUGER.—No; that is restriction.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is the exclusion of cheap labour in accordance with free-trade principles, or is the minimum wage based upon free-trade? No! All these things are based upon protection, and what is that protection—the protection of the weak against the strong, the protection

of the poor against the rich. Now we have people telling us that they belong to the labour party, and that still they are free-traders. Why do they not act in accordance with their principles as free-traders—why do they not, throughout their organizations, practise what they preach? I say deliberately that the foundation of trades unionism and of all the restrictions which have lifted the working man up to his present improved position is protection. Why do we give away our lands cheaply in order to afford the people an opportunity of cultivating them? In Western Australia, we could sell our land for gold, but we do not do that. We could sell tens of thousands of acres to men with means, and put the money paid for it into the Treasury, but we prefer to give it to the poor people for almost nothing if they will live upon it and make a home, rather than sell it for cash.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is a wonder that the poor man did not vote for the Minister's side at the last elections.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member knows very well that sometimes a cry proves effective, which at the second trial is not so successful.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The policy that has been so good for England is something more than a cry.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member occupied the House for three or four hours—although there were not many listening to him, and now he had better listen to me.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is impossible for the Minister to proceed with his speech amidst interjections from both sides of the House, and I would ask honorable members to listen to the speech of the Minister without interruption.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have noticed that since this Tariff has been introduced there has been a large increase in the price of goods in the retail stores and in the warehouses; but does any one believe for a moment that these higher prices have been justified by the increase in the Tariff?

Mr. MAUGER.—No, it is daylight robbery.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Any one would think—and I am sure that it is so—that a sort of conspiracy has been entered into by those who would make more money if the duties were lighter, to put the Tariff before the public in the worst possible light.

Mr. POYNTON.—The manufacturers have increased their prices, too.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—This dishonest plan—I can call it nothing else—of placing on goods high prices entirely out of keeping with the amount of duty is merely an attempt to put money into the pockets of the people who have the goods to sell, and it looks very much as if there were a sort of conspiracy on the part of these people to disparage the Tariff in the eyes of the community.

Mr. MAHON.—How could that be—it is the foreigner who pays the duty?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Honorable members on the Opposition side do not like these home truths.

Mr. THOMSON.—We are amused—that is all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not know why honorable members should interrupt. If they are amused, they might content themselves with laughing. Those of us who have had any thing to do with public life and the management of public finances know that it must be a matter of very great difficulty to frame one Tariff to meet the varied conditions of six different States. The very first consideration, which we must all admit and realize, is that the volume of taxable imports has been, by federation and the consequent inter-State free-trade, reduced from £63,000,000 to £34,000,000. That fact has been stated over and over again in the House by honorable members, including the honorable the Treasurer and the honorable member for North Sydney; but I do not think that people generally have yet realized that the operation of inter-State free-trade has removed £29,000,000 worth of goods which were formerly at the disposal of the Treasurer for the purposes of taxation.

Mr. WILKS.—That only represents a million of revenue.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Well, that is very good, but it might have represented two millions, had that amount been wanted. These goods were available for taxation, and are not available now; and that is a fact of the greatest importance which we must remember. Then there was an obligation, from which the Government could not honorably get away, to maintain the financial stability of all the States. It was promised in the Federal Convention

and out of it—on the hustings and everywhere else throughout the Commonwealth—that the solvency of the States would be protected.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—There is no difference of opinion about the amount.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We all understood that the States would be as well off after federation as before, and the two considerations I have presented must not be overlooked or lost sight of for a moment. I am no advocate on personal grounds of asking honorable members to retain the present Government in office. I shall fight as long as I have breath in me for the Government of which I am a member, but I certainly shall not ask any one in this House—and I hope the day will never come when I shall—to vote for any Government on personal grounds. But it would be almost a disaster if there were a change of fiscal proposals now. To submit a new set of Tariff proposals would only make confusion more confounded. It would interfere with trade, and carry confusion into the finances of all the States. Some may regard an argument of that kind as not of much good, and may construe it into an appeal to keep the present Government in power for other than State reasons. That, however, is not my object. What I mean is that the Opposition did not challenge the Government when they had the opportunity on the Governor's speech at the opening of Parliament. They did not then say a word about a vote of no confidence; in fact, they were afraid to do so. The Opposition waited until four or five months had passed, when a certain amount of legislation had been got through, and until the Government brought down the fiscal proposals, which were sorely needed by the community, and of great importance to every man doing business throughout the country. Now we find the Opposition making long speeches, and causing a good deal of time to be lost, while the fiscal question is kept hovering about, and must remain neither settled nor unsettled apparently for a long time to come. So far as I am able to judge such a course as that is not likely to promote the interests of the country. It would have been far better, if the Opposition intended to submit such a motion, to have challenged the Government at the first, and to have undertaken the labour and responsibility of bringing the fiscal proposals before the country. Instead of taking that course,

the Opposition left the labour and responsibility to the Government, and now, after a great deal of anxiety and trouble has been devoted to the preparation of the Tariff, they make this the occasion on which to test whether or not the Administration possesses the confidence of the country. At the beginning, the Government either had or had not the confidence of the country, and the Opposition ought to have tested the question at that time and not waited till the session was half through. We must all realize that some £8,000,000 or £9,000,000 of revenue has to be raised, and it is generally admitted—I never heard any one say a word to the contrary—that that amount must be raised through customs and excise.

Mr. THOMSON.—Not £9,000,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The amount is £8,000,000 or £9,000,000; I will leave the honorable member £8,000,000 and the Government will take £9,000,000. We have had no indication from the leader of the Opposition, or from any of the speakers on his side of the House, that the proposals they advocate have anything to do with direct taxation.

Mr. ISAACS.—Do not be too sure of that!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Members on the Opposition side have said nothing about direct taxation. The honorable member for North Sydney, in putting forward his scheme, made no mention of obtaining money from any other source than customs and excise.

Mr. THOMSON.—The right honorable gentleman must remember that I put forward my proposals as only showing what could be done on the Government's own lines.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The question we have to decide is, how best to raise the revenue, it being admitted by all that we must have this amount of money. I am aware that my honorable friend the member for North Sydney has set forth a scheme by which he proposes to raise not much more than £8,000,000. But on this matter I prefer to take the opinion of my right honorable colleague the Treasurer, who has had an opportunity of looking into the subject, and should be in a better position than any one else in this House to know what is required. We all know sufficient of the Treasurer to be aware that he would not ask for a penny more than is

necessary. He is more likely to err in the other direction.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Does not the Treasurer say that he is asking for £500,000 more than is necessary?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If he does, he is on the right side. It is a very good thing in estimating the financial requirements of a country not to make the margin too small, because, however careful one may be, and however much one may know, there are bound to be certain unforeseen expenses for which provision has not been made. This, then, is the task we have before us. But a number of honorable members, instead of applying themselves to the problem, have devoted a great deal of their speeches to a comparison between New South Wales and Victoria—as if the situation of those two States could settle the whole question. I do not think it is possible to compare any two places such as these for such a purpose, and pin one's faith on the result. There are other States besides New South Wales and Victoria with which comparisons could be made. For instance, we might compare New Zealand and New South Wales—the one a protective colony and the other a free-trade State. Or we might compare New South Wales with Western Australia for the last decade. Of course I should be met with the statement that the condition of Western Australia had been abnormal. Probably, however, there were some abnormal conditions in Victoria and New South Wales during the long period of ten years. I really think it is time that we should give up this wrangling as to which State is the more prosperous and the better off. We had the same point in the Convention *ad nauseam*, and we have had it here *ad nauseam*. Very little will result from it. No comparisons of that kind will change a single person's opinion. The Victorians think they have prospered the most, and the New South Wales people think that they have been the better off. The conditions have been altogether different. One State has had a large territory, immense coal mines, which are a great fortune in themselves, and large land sales, whereas the other has had none of these advantages. I shall not continue that point, because it is impossible to form a conclusion as to whether free-trade is better than protection, or whether protection is better than free-trade, by a comparison of New South Wales and

Victoria. One might as well—in fact, one might better—compare New South Wales with New Zealand or Western Australia. If a comparison is made with Western Australia, it will not be in favour of either Victoria or New South Wales, because the State I represent has prospered to an extent many times greater than either of them. We did expect, when my right honorable friend the leader of the Opposition made his great onslaught on the Government, having for the basis of his attack this carefully prepared resolution, that he would have given us some alternative propositions with which he would endeavour to take the country by storm. But we were all woefully disappointed. I am glad to say, however, that one of the right honorable and learned member's supporters, the honorable member for North Sydney, did give the House an alternative proposal, to which I will refer later on. I am prepared to admit that when I first saw this Tariff, and first glanced over its details, the duties seemed very high. I have no doubt that that opinion has been hastily formed by many people who have taken up the Tariff, and have seen apparently high duties staring them in the face. They say at once—"What a terribly high Tariff this is!" But they should look fully into the facts before they proceed to pass judgment upon the Tariff. The great fact is too often overlooked—but it must be brought home to every one—that the taxable value upon which we can levy duties is reduced nearly one-half by the operation of Inter-State free-trade. If we desire to raise the same amount of revenue from a reduced quantity, the rates of duty must necessarily be proportionately higher. There is the position. If the taxable value had not been so largely reduced through the operation of Inter-State free-trade, we should not have required such high duties. Honorable members are aware that, under the bookkeeping clauses of the Constitution, for the next five years each State retains all the revenue it raises, less a proportionate amount of the expenses of the Federal Government and of the new expenditure. That, again, is subject to the provisions of what is called the Braddon clause. Notwithstanding all these rates, which appear to be high at first sight, and upon which a great many people, not knowing that the taxable value available to the Commonwealth has been

reduced by nearly half, have formed their opinions, the customs and excise revenue does not provide for the necessities of three of the smallest States. In common with myself, every honorable member from Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia finds himself face to face with the difficulty that it is impossible to reduce the aggregate receipts, amounting to nearly £9,000,000, without making the financial position of the States which we represent worse than it is under the Government proposals. That is the awkward dilemma in which we find ourselves.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Could not the States make up the difference locally?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was not the contract. We were promised that the States should not be in a worse position.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—And they would not be in a worse position.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is very easy to talk of raising money, but it is not so easy to devise means by which to raise it. High as the Tariff may appear, the amount it will produce, nearly £9,000,000, will not provide for giving to Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia what they have been receiving hitherto from customs and excise.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is no new development; it was always known.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not say that it is a new development. At any rate, we have the fact that there is no provision for it except that which I caused to be inserted in the Constitution, and which has been so much abused, whereby Western Australia will be able for a short time to provide for her wants. Even with the proposed Customs revenue of about £7,500,000, and the revenue from excise amounting to about £1,500,000, there will still be an aggregate deficiency of about £600,000 a year for the three States I have named.

Mr. PONTON.—Would not that have occurred under their own Tariffs?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I can only say that this is a serious position.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Government do not provide for it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No; but the position is bad enough. If we were to attempt to do what the honorable member for North Sydney proposed, we should only make it worse. It serves to show how difficult has been the task which has had to be faced. I know very well that

my right honorable and learned friends the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs have not only done their best, but have done many things, which they would not have attempted otherwise, in order to give to the States as nearly as possible the amount they have hitherto received from customs and excise. In order to make myself clearly understood by those who may read my remarks, I should like to refer in one or two words to facts which are not new to the House. Last year, in round figures, the total value of our imports was about £63,000,000. The Inter-State imports, no longer available for taxation, amounted to about £29,000,000; leaving a sum of £34,000,000 for the purposes of taxation. It is estimated, however, that there will be a reduction of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 in the value of imports next year owing to the operation of Inter-State free-trade and internal production. Then we have a free list of £8,000,000, which makes a total, say, of £13,000,000.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—A free list of £8,500,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In my estimate it is set down at £8,000,000. When we deduct £13,000,000 from the sum of £34,000,000 which I have named, the taxable value is reduced to £21,000,000. Then we have £2,000,000 in value for narcotics and stimulants, which are exceptionally highly taxed, leaving £19,000,000 for taxation purposes. Narcotics and stimulants are likely to produce about £3,000,000 out of the £7,500,000 of Customs revenue, so that we have a balance of £4,500,000 to obtain from £19,000,000 of taxable value.

Mr. GLYNN.—The right honorable member is omitting the excise on narcotics and stimulants.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think I have included everything. In order to raise £4,500,000 from £19,000,000 of taxable value we should have to impose uniform duties of 23 per cent. If the generality of people who have been accustomed to low duties saw 23 per cent. staring them in the face when they opened the Tariff, they would say at once—"What terribly high duties!" Still, with a free list of £8,000,000, and reduced imports to the extent I have named, it would be necessary to have all-round duties of 23 per cent. on the £19,000,000 of taxable value. When people talk of the duties being high they

should remember that the Government have only about £19,000,000 to tax, and that from that amount they have to obtain £4,500,000.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—According to the Treasurer's own statement the Government have 48 per cent. duties in respect of a quarter of the £4,500,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not dealing with the Treasurer's statement. I am showing what would happen if we were to adopt the drag-net, and say that everything should be taxed. If there were uniform duties on every article included in that £19,000,000 of value, 23 per cent. would be the average rate. It is well to remember that fact when we hear so much about high duties being imposed. Some one has suggested that the Tariff proposals of the Government should be referred to a vote of the people. I do not think that would carry us much further. If one were to ask any ordinary person whether he would like to be taxed or whether he would like to go free, he would not be long in obtaining an answer. A man would say naturally that he would like to go free. If any person could promise that the Government would be carried on, and that the £8,000,000 or £9,000,000 of revenue required would be raised without affecting any one, that person would be likely to get the support of the people. During this debate we have heard a great deal, especially from my right honorable and learned friend the leader of the Opposition, about the taxation of the "poor man." I notice that honorable members always indulge in statements of that kind when they believe they can do themselves any good by it. We are told that the "poor man" is being affected; that we are taxing the poor man's food. On this occasion we have had the "bold pioneer" put forward. We have been told of the man who goes out to subdue the wilderness, and of the man in the bush with his "pannikin." One would really think from the utterances of the leader of the Opposition and certain other honorable members that they enjoyed an absolute monopoly of sympathy with the poor man, and that no one upon the Government side of the House cared a solitary straw for him.

Mr. FOWLER.—They have a queer way of showing it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I ask the leader of the Opposition what he knows about the bold pioneer or the man with the pannikin

in the bush? His experience of the bold pioneer consists in having read of him. What has he ever done for the poor man with the pannikin in the bush? Certainly he has talked a good deal about him, but talk is very cheap. I should like a little practical illustration of what he has done. It is not those who talk the loudest who have done the most for that class of individual. In this connexion I should like to see a little sympathy exhibited in our daily lives without so much talk about it.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why does the right honorable gentleman talk about it?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I want to expose those who use this cheap way of advertising themselves as friends of the pioneer in the backblocks, who never were in the backblocks, and have had no experience of the men who have worn out their lives in the interior of this great continent. If some of those who talk the most went out into the backblocks they would soon get lost. I should like to refer to the proposals of the honorable member for North Sydney. It seems to me that they absolutely prove the case of the Government. I was very glad, indeed, to read them, because they differ very little in the main from those submitted by the Ministry. They certainly follow upon the same lines. In reading the speech of the honorable member I did not notice any reference to a drag-net clause. Does he propose that there shall be one?

Mr. THOMSON.—I do not.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think that the honorable member must have had such a clause in his mind to enable him to obtain the requisite amount of revenue. If, however, he assures me that in his calculations he had no intention of introducing a drag-net clause, I am perfectly willing to accept his statement.

Mr. THOMSON.—Certainly, I had no such intention.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is a pity that the Minister should have lost that point.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I want to make no point that is not right. I am very much obliged to the honorable member for North Sydney, for having submitted his views in regard to what he thinks would prove a workable Tariff. The twists and turns that he has had to make in order to arrive at the result he desired, show how

very difficult was the operation. But even with all the honorable member's knowledge, I question whether he had the same information to guide him, as had the two right honorable gentlemen who framed this Tariff.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Treasurer provided us with it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Just so. I have not heard yet whether the honorable member's proposals represent the views of the honorable and learned member for Parkes and others upon the Opposition side of the House.

Mr. THOMSON.—I put them forward entirely as my own.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Then they seem to have been grabbed up very quickly by a number of the honorable member's friends. What are those proposals? This party, which has such sympathy with the poor man, proposes to obtain £150,000 a year more from luxuries. It is very easy, however, to say "luxuries" and "£150,000 a year," but the honorable member did not tell us on what items he proposes to raise this additional amount. He suggests that we should levy a duty of 1d. per gallon more upon beer, thus making the impost 4d. per gallon. I think that 3d. per gallon is high enough. I am certainly opposed to putting a further tax of 1d. per gallon upon the poor man's beer. Then the honorable member proposes an additional tax of 3d per lb. on tobacco. Coming from gentlemen who have so much sympathy with the pioneer in the back-blocks, and the man with the pannikin in the bush, the proposal to raise the duty upon tobacco to 3s. 9d. per lb. is really surprising.

Mr. THOMSON.—The right honorable member misunderstands me. I put the same margin on as is now in operation in New South Wales, which would not necessitate any increase of price.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We propose that the duty upon imported tobacco shall be 3s. 6d. per lb., and the honorable member wishes to increase that amount by 3d. per lb.

Mr. THOMSON.—On the excise only.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Then the honorable member would not levy an extra 3d. per lb. upon imported tobacco?

Mr. THOMSON.—No.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member further proposes to import

£2,500,000 worth of goods more than are at present imported.

Mr. THOMSON.—I said that the suppressed imports would be less under the lower duties by £2,500,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In other words, the honorable member proposes that we should import an additional £2,500,000 worth of goods. Is that in the interest of the country? Instead of producing those goods in the Commonwealth, the honorable member says that we should import them. That would be a very good thing, no doubt, from the importer's point of view. Our object, however, is not unnecessarily to increase imports, but to encourage manufacture and production in Australia. We do not want to import goods if they can be produced locally. As a result of the importation of this £2,500,000 worth of goods the honorable member would get an added revenue from *ad valorem* duties of £312,000. This *contra* proposal has no attractions for me. It is anything but satisfactory. It would not help the poor man at all, though it would materially assist the importer. I have still another objection to it. It would place Western Australia, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania in a worse position than they occupy under the proposals of the Government. It is very well for the honorable member to insist upon piling up burdens upon these States. It is easy to tell them that they can make up the deficiency in any way they choose, but it is not so easy for them to raise the money. Each of these States has already as much as it can do to make both ends meet.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Government are not making it up; they are still £600,000 short.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But the honorable member would make the position of these States worse. Under the proposals of the Government, Queensland is £207,000 to the bad, but under the honorable member's suggested Tariff that State would be £250,000 to the bad. South Australia under the Commonwealth Tariff is £45,000 to the good, but under that suggested by the honorable member she would be £23,000 to the bad, whilst Western Australia's deficit would be increased from £236,738 to £307,000, and Tasmania's deficit from £135,000 to £171,000. Viewed from the stand-point of the smaller States the Government proposals are bad enough, but

those of the honorable member are infinitely worse.

Mr. THOMSON.—The States would still have the money in their pockets.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am perfectly aware of that. But that does not get the money out of their pockets. I had to face this difficulty: That if during the discussion of the Tariff I had advocated the reduction of the duties, every penny we took off would, unless the difference was made up in some other way, make the deficit of the State I represent so much greater. That was not a very pleasant position. The Prime Minister promised in his speech at Maitland, and on many other occasions, to protect the finances of the States. I can say with knowledge that that has been the keynote of his programme, and his desire throughout. The right honorable gentleman has done his best, but honorable members can see at once, by looking at the figures supplied to them, that it has been found impossible to protect them altogether, because it would have required a Tariff that would have raised a revenue of £19,000,000 instead of a revenue of under £9,000,000 to give Western Australia the same revenue from customs and excise that she received last year. It was quite impossible for that to be done, and I say that the Prime Minister has done his best and has kept his word. I could not believe that the right honorable gentleman would not keep his word, and I cannot understand how men who know him and are accustomed to call him friend, can stand up in the House and by direct word or by interjection, say that the right honorable gentleman has broken faith, and not kept his word. To say such a thing is to brand him as a charlatan and imposter, and nothing less. I know that the right honorable gentleman is incapable of any such behaviour. He has done his very best to protect the interests of the States, and yet with a customs revenue of £7,500,000 and an excise revenue of £1,500,000 he has not been able entirely to protect the revenues of the States. The proposal more than protects the revenue of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, but in the case of Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania there will be a deficit, and that notwithstanding the fact that the total customs and excise revenue provided for is £1,179,748 more than was sufficient to give all the States the revenue they received in 1900. When honorable

members consider that fact they will see how difficult the position has been. With all respect and deference, I say that the Government have made an honest effort to deal with the very troublesome and exceptional circumstances they have had to face.

Mr. POYNTON.—Would not these States have had deficits if there had been no federation?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The high duties have been in many cases rendered necessary, as I have said before, through the value of taxable imports being decreased, and through the demands for expenditure having increased to some extent. When it is remembered that we had previously a taxable value of £63,000,000 and now find ourselves, after deducting a considerable free list and other things, and making provision for Inter-State free-trade, with a taxable value of only about £19,000,000, honorable members will at once see the difficulties of the situation. It has been said that if this money is not collected it will be in the pockets of the people. That is so. We can always say that, but it is not so easy to get it out. It is a point we are bound to consider because it gives a little salve to the States. If there is a means of providing for the collection of the extra amount, they are able to do it without taxing the people to a greater extent than they have hitherto been taxed. But in Queensland and Tasmania there is no machinery provided for that purpose. In the case of Western Australia, I appealed to the members of the Convention, and I was able to provide machinery for that purpose. If it had not been so, the Western Australian Government would have had to curtail their expenditure by about £250,000 at the present time, and they would require to bring in new estimates.

Mr. GLYNN.—They have reduced taxation by about £3 per head in Western Australia since then, and they would have had to reconstruct in any case. They have reduced the taxation there from £8 6s. to £5 per head.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think so. I think the rate was £5 per head last year.

Mr. GLYNN.—It was £8 6s. in 1897.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They have other taxation to make up for that. The population has increased there, and the revenue may not have altogether increased proportionately. The honorable and learned

member does not know the circumstances of Western Australia as well as I do, or he would be aware that in Western Australia we have reduced taxation every year for some years past. Since 1893, and during all the years of prosperity that have come to Western Australia, we have never added a single penny to customs taxation in that State, while we have taken off a great deal.

Mr. GLYNN.—I think the last important Tariff revision was before 1897.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member cannot speak from memory against my knowledge. The Tariff proposals leave Queensland with a deficiency of £207,439, and that means in the case of that State a reduction of 19s. 8d. per head per annum. In the case of Western Australia the loss is £236,738, and that means a reduction in taxation of 28s. per head. While in the case of Tasmania the loss is £135,712, which means a reduction of 16s. per head. As I have said before, Western Australia has a means of recouping herself, and I notice that she has taken advantage of it already. We heard speeches from the honorable members for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon and Mr. Cameron, and also from the honorable member for Perth, but they have not said a single word as to how Tasmania and Western Australia are going to be affected by this Tariff. We have heard a lot of talk about free-trade and protection, and the incidence of taxation, and from my honorable friend the member for Perth we have also had an historical account of protection and free-trade, but the honorable member never said a word in regard to the way in which this would affect Western Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—Oh, yes, I did.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Then I beg the honorable member's pardon; I could not have been in the Chamber at the time. It is a matter we are bound to look to. We are bound to see how these proposals affect the States from which we come. We ought especially to have heard something from the members of Tasmania upon this point, because I think I am not wrong in saying that Tasmania cannot very well afford to lose any revenue. She has a very small amount of revenue altogether; not much over £1,000,000.

Mr. PIESSE.—Less than £800,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Then I do not see how she can afford to lose this money.

She is worse off than Western Australia, which has a larger revenue, and has also the means provided by which she may retain her revenue. The proposal of my honorable friend, the member for North Sydney, would make her deficit £171,000.

Mr. THOMSON.—Tasmania loses £135,000 under the Government proposals.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is bad, but a loss of £171,000 is worse. We must not allow the enemies, who blaspheme, to say, as they will, and as they no doubt have said already, that this Tariff will press heavier upon the people than previous Customs Tariffs, when we know that the people will be taxed to a less extent under this Tariff than they were before.

Mr. FOWLER.—Let the right honorable gentleman go over to Western Australia, and try to convince the people there of that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Perhaps my powers of eloquence would not be sufficient for that. Whether I could or could not convince them the fact remains that they will pay in customs and excise for a normal year only £708,000, or for this year £800,000, whereas last year they paid £980,000.

Mr. POYNTON.—The incidence is very different.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is a favourite plan. When a man is pushed into a corner and he cannot get out of it, he says the incidence is different. I suppose he knows just as much about the incidence as about the other thing.

Mr. POYNTON.—Of course, the detail is not worth bothering about—whether it is the rich man or the poor man.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Do not say anything more of the poor man. We had that *ad nauseam* the other night. The Government and Parliament of Western Australia have resorted to the powers given to them in section 95 of the Constitution Act, and have imposed duties which will recoup them. Last year the duties on Inter-State produce yielded £256,000, and although they will not have to make up quite that much still they will have to make up a considerable amount. I think they will get nearly as much through the Customs as they did last year. If they raise the cry, as they will, all over Western Australia that they are being more heavily taxed, the reply is that the taxation under this Tariff is 28s. per head less than it was last year. Of course,

if they tax themselves, as I have no doubt they will, they must not blame the Federal Government for it except to this extent, that we found it impossible to provide for the whole of the States under the terms of the bookkeeping clauses of the Constitution. It has been stated that the Inter-State goods, which are free under the Tariff, produced a revenue of £1,000,000 last year; that amount, of course, goes by the board. The revenue of nearly £9,000,000 from customs and excise is equal to about £2 8s. per head of the population of Australia. Compare that with what Western Australia paid last year—about £5 5s. She will have to pay £3 17s. per head under this Tariff, as against £5 5s. per head last year, being 28s. per head less. Her income will be reduced by about a quarter of a million. If the customs and excise revenue were distributed *per capita* Western Australia would lose about £500,000 a year—or more than half her revenue. This shows how serious a matter this is, notwithstanding the sliding scale, to the finances of Western Australia. If this *per capita* basis is brought into force within the next few years, it will place her finances in a very difficult position. I only hope that when that time comes some other means will be devised by which her finances may be protected, because so far as I can see, that method which no doubt will be the most popular and most easy, will quite upset her financial arrangements. I have no doubt that when the Tariff gets into committee—and I am sure it will—effort will be made by honorable members, on both sides of the House to improve it. I do not think that my honorable friends, who have taken the major portion of the work of framing the Tariff, look upon themselves as knowing everything, and that this is their last word. They will be very glad to listen to the views of honorable members, whether they come from one side or the other so long as we do not interfere with the main features of the Tariff.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The right honorable gentleman hopes that it will be modified?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not say so.

Mr. WILKS.—There is plenty of room for improvement.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am quite willing to believe that improvement can be

made even in a Tariff proposed by this Government. It is very likely, considering all the trouble, all the hurry skurry, and all the difficulties, that there are some things which it will be all the better to amend. If I were at liberty to speak for myself, I think I could make some suggestions. We must look after the necessities of the States, whatever we do. We have heard a good deal during the debate; we hear a good deal outside, and we shall hear more before the division bells ring, about taking the money out of the pockets of the people. Some persons go even so far as to term it robbing the people. There is a good deal of clap-trap about that kind of talk. In a country like this, where there is no standing army or navy to support, and where all the revenue is expended for the advantage of the country—

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Not all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think so—where it is expended in improving the national estate, and in giving employment, here, there, and everywhere, with the one great object of improving the condition of the people, there is a good deal of humbug about this talk of taking the money out of the pockets of the people. I look upon the Government in many respects as merely a distributor. The Government get the money on the first of the month, and distribute it again. We get it out of the pockets of the people, and it goes back into their pockets. I do not say that it always gets back into the same pocket—and, perhaps, that is a very good thing. We get it from those who have plenty, and put it into the pockets of those who have not so much, and I think there is a good deal of “robbing Peter to pay Paul” about it, after all.

Mr. WILKS.—And charging something for the transaction—that is where the trouble comes in.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I should like to say that this ostentatious declaration of sympathy with the poor man might be better termed by those who talk about “robbing the poor man, and taking money out of his pockets, and who express so much sympathy with him, as “the way I bamboozle the poor man to vote for me.” That is just about what it is. It is an attempt to bamboozle him so that he may vote for them when the next occasion arises.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is what the Prime Minister did the last time.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—When the leader of the Opposition and other honorable members on the free-trade side were speaking of this Tariff, they omitted to take into account the fact that where the duties are protective—and there is no doubt some of them are moderately protective—the greater part of the goods are being made in Australia at the present time, or they soon will be, and the duties, therefore, will not operate in the way they represent. I believe that the effect of this Tariff, together with Inter-State free-trade, and the extended market that will be afforded under it, will be that industries will grow up, not only in Melbourne and Sydney, but in every large centre. The result will be that prices will be lowered rather than increased, that population will be settled in the country, and employment at fair rates of wages will be available. That is what I believe to be the prospect before us, and I consider that it affords a far better outlook than that which has been presented to us by my honorable friend the member for North Sydney, who desires to frame a Tariff under which more goods shall be imported—goods that we could make here. It is far better for us to adopt the policy that will give moderate protection to those who are engaged in the industries of the country, no matter what they may be.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Would the Minister call 48 per cent. moderate? A quarter of the revenue under this Tariff will be raised at that duty.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Our object is to so order our affairs that this Commonwealth shall not be dependent for ever upon the exertions of the people of other countries. If we have the land here, and the material, and the men, why cannot we meet our own requirements, instead of importing from other countries, and taking the bread out of the mouths of our own people, and thus allow others to flourish upon the wealth produced here? Although I am a member of the Government, and desire to support it in every way I can, I do not wish any one to run away with the idea that I approve of every word in this Tariff. It would be ridiculous to suppose that any man would not, if he could, make some alteration in the Tariff, but the subject is a very difficult and complicated one, and we have had to do the very best we could under the circumstances.

Mr. WILKS.—What alterations would the Minister make?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I wish the honorable member would be quiet. "I distrust the Greeks even when they bring gifts." I can readily explain my position when I tell honorable members that I was instrumental several years ago in introducing into Western Australia what was, at any rate to some extent, a free breakfast table. I do not know that I ever got a great deal of credit for it from some people, but it will be accorded me by-and-by. I do not seek it, because it is that popularity which follows, and not that which is run after, that is worth having. I laid it down as a principle that articles of food in general use, and not producible in the country, should be free. That was what I considered to be in accordance with a protectionist policy. Did the honorable member for Parkes ever go so far as that?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Groceries are taxed at 48 per cent. under this new Tariff.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not talking about the Tariff, but I am speaking about Western Australia. In order to carry out my view, tea, sugar, coffee, rice, oatmeal, arrowroot, farinaceous food of all sorts, and molasses were all admitted free, and they have been admitted free into Western Australia for many years.

Mr. WILKS.—All that is departed from now.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — Kerosene, though not an article of food, is very useful, and has been admitted free into Western Australia for a long time past. Honorable members can see that these articles which I prided myself upon placing upon the free list are taxed under this Tariff, and they will recognise that, as a member of the Government, I must have had serious difficulties to contend with in dealing with the conditions under which the Tariff had to be constructed. I do not know that I need say anything more. I have taken up too much time already, but I have desired to place this matter before honorable members from my own point of view. It seems to me that all the difficulties of the situation created by the introduction of Inter-State free-trade, the reduction in the value of the goods available for taxation by £29,000,000, the necessity of raising revenue, and the necessity of maintaining the stability of the States as far as possible, have to be taken into consideration. All these questions have had to be dealt with, and the difficulties have been almost insuperable

owing to the provisions of the Constitution Act. I do not wish to find any particular fault with the Constitution Act, but no doubt great difficulties are created under it. Those who address themselves to this question are in duty bound to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with all the facts of the case—not to select any particular duty, and make up their minds that it is excessive, but look at all the surroundings of the question. I can only hope that we shall arrive at some conclusion as soon as possible. What this country wants is settled legislation, and above all things a settled Tariff. I can only say that, so far as the State I represent is concerned, I do not expect that this Tariff will be viewed very favorably, but I believe that the more it is understood, the more people will be contented with it.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN (Wentworth).—It would be rather cruel to attempt to analyze the political principles of a gentleman who at the very beginning of his speech informed us that he had no political principles at all. In dealing with our opponents we give them credit for believing that they are voting for a great principle, as we trust they also give us credit, but the right honorable gentleman who has just sat down said that there is no political principle in this controversy, but that it is simply a matter between the "ins" and the "outs."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not say that.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—That may have prevailed in the State in which my right honorable friend achieved a well-earned success, and to one who has always been in the "ins" and never in the "outs" it is, of course, a very comfortable policy. But in entering this great Federation we can well allow that we have come here, many of us, notwithstanding our ambitions, at great inconvenience, and that we are here to build up the Commonwealth of Australia on what we believe to be true political principles. I listened with very keen attention—I am sorry the Prime Minister is not in his place—to the speech of the Treasurer when he unfolded the proposals for the public accounts of the year. I listened also very closely to the Minister for Trade and Customs when he tried, with great difficulty, to explain the details of the Tariff. Again, I listened to the Prime Minister, who certainly, in that very clever and energetic speech of his, showed that if politics had failed

him he certainly would still have had the qualities of a great advocate and special pleader. But with the exception of one remark from the Minister for Trade and Customs, I failed to note any high key with regard to the national conditions of Australia. I failed to see these gentlemen rising beyond certain political stratagems. Certainly the Minister for Trade and Customs, in an indiscreet burst of enthusiasm, said, "To-morrow morning Australia will have free-trade," and he was cheered from both sides of the House. But recollecting the trap in which he had placed himself—recollecting the logical sequence that if free-trade throughout Australia is good for Australia it is good for the rest of the world—he said that free-trade was good except in dealing with those countries where, forsooth, the people do not rise to the same high standard of living and social conditions as the inhabitants of the Commonwealth. Will any gentleman tell me that the inhabitants of the mother country, from whom we gather all the instincts of our race and all the best parts of our civilization, are not living under similar conditions to ourselves, or that their social conditions are not as good? Furthermore, we have only to look 1,200 miles across the sea to that land where another Kingston waves the flag over a certain number of inhabitants. Will the Minister for Trade and Customs, who has been trying to outbid Mr. Seddon, say that the inhabitants of New Zealand do not live under similar conditions? No; it is the same old protection—it is the same old provincialism. It is not because the people of Australia live under different conditions, but it is because they desire to foster the interests of a small minority of the people. It is because they have been bred up during late years to this sort of policy that they desire to keep out even those of their own race. We have heard a great deal about disloyalty, but what about the disloyalty of gentlemen who talk about "foreign traders," which, under these Tariff proposals, means the traders of New Zealand and the traders of Great Britain? I have said that this is only dealing with a small minority of the people. Let us analyze for a moment the condition of affairs in this House. I want to see whether we are dealing on democratic lines with the financial legislation of Australia, which goes to the root of our whole industrial life. The gentleman who has the honour of being the

whip of the party opposite has, I believe, made up his numbers for this division. We have heard of a majority often, and we have heard of a majority of fifteen, more or less. If the majority is even fifteen or sixteen, and if Victoria is represented by twenty out of twenty-three returned as protectionists at the last election, then it simply means that the whole of this Tariff is constructed for that majority of Victoria. On democratic principles, in 4,000,000 of people we shall have 1,000,000 people in Victoria dictating the Tariff for the 3,000,000 people of the rest of Australia.

Mr. HARPER.—That is a curious calculation.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — The honorable member says that is a curious calculation; but if the majority is about the number of the Victorian majority, then it is as simple as possible that if we leave out Victoria we have a majority of free-traders.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Why should the honorable member disfranchise Victoria?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I am not going to disfranchise Victoria, and I shall come to that point in a moment. I am now unfolding my views, if honorable members will give me a chance. I had the honour, like some of my right honorable and honorable friends, to be a member of the great Federal Convention. It was then clearly seen that, in carrying out a Commonwealth Federation such as we have formed, there was a danger, in the matter of popular politics, of one State, by a bare majority, putting its policy on all the other States. But the fact has always been recognised that in dealing with great public questions within the Commonwealth the different conditions of the States ought to be considered, and that no mere brute majority, so to speak, should force a policy on a reluctant country.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Nor yet a "brute" minority.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—We had an election, as we all know, on the 29th of last March, and I want to revert—again I have to say I am sorry the Prime Minister is not in his place—to the incidents of that election. A great many of the men who were returned in the different States were elected, not altogether on their fiscal principles, but because they were public men who had earned a reputation in the respective States,

and whom the people believed they could trust to give fair play to the different States. Now, what is the position taken up by the Prime Minister of this country? He actually in his public addresses went so far as to say that notwithstanding our differences on this fiscal question, the financial exigencies of the States were so great that we were bound to have a practically revenue Tariff. He went further—honorable members will recollect the whole of the history of these events—he said that in rallying round this great Commonwealth, we ought to put aside these differences between free-traders and protectionists. He said there was no reason why I, for instance, or why any man on this side should not join forces with the Government in trying to do—what? To legislate equitably, especially on this financial question, for the whole of Australia.

Mr. RONALD.—Why is the honorable member sitting on that side, then?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I will tell the honorable member. I sit on this side of the House for this reason—that although I was satisfied at the time with the assurances of the Prime Minister and some of the other Ministers, I said in my public addresses that in order to keep the Prime Minister to his promise, it was necessary that we, the free-traders of Australia, should sit on this side and be the watch-dogs, as the honorable member for Parkes called it, in the cause of commercial freedom. But I think too much of the Prime Minister to imagine for one moment that he, in asking myself and others, in his public utterances, to join him and his Ministry in forwarding the legislation of the Commonwealth, would insult me by saying—"You, who have been a free-trader all your life, must sweep away all your principles." He knows me too well—for we have known one another for many years—to think anything of the kind for one moment. Now I come to his speech at Maitland, because I say most distinctly that the constituencies of this country have been badly used. They have been misled; and the Prime Minister to-day is renegade to the principles he laid down at the general elections.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Absolutely unjustifiable!

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I will justify it from the Prime Minister's own expressions.

Mr. DEAKIN.—He spoke for the Cabinet, not for himself.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—At the time the Prime Minister made his Maitland speech, recollect, his Ministry had been formed. If he had made the Maitland speech before forming his Ministry, we might have given him credit for the difficulties surrounding his position in forming the Ministry. We might say, and the Prime Minister might have said, that although he had issued his manifesto, yet owing to the exigencies of the situation he had had to alter the constitution of his Ministry. When the Prime Minister made that speech at Maitland, some of my friends told me of the possibly insidious character of it, and pointed out how it might be used to create a protective system. I said, "I will believe nothing of the kind." I took the Prime Minister at his word, and I can prove by the very statements he uttered, and which I will quote to the House now, that he distinctly said that there would be no such thing as extreme protection. In fact he said that, although he was a protectionist, he would have to deal principally with the financial situation, and deal with it as a matter of revenue. How could the Government deal principally with the Tariff as a matter of revenue and then make it protective? Will any honorable member tell me that a Tariff is a Tariff for revenue purposes, which, beginning with £100,000 of revenue at 10 per cent., goes on to £400,000 at 15 per cent., £1,000,000 at 20 per cent., and reaches up to 25 per cent. on the surface, but is so mean and hypocritical that when it is examined it is found that it means 50, 60, 80, and 100 per cent. on some articles. My reason for saying this is that if New South Wales particularly, and, I believe, Victoria also, had known for one moment that there was going to be a Tariff of this description, the position of parties in this House would have been entirely altered. I want to point out to honorable members that although we may have a certain number of protectionists in New South Wales, a large number of them hold protectionist views of a very moderate character; and we have very few 20 per cent. or 25 per cent. protectionists in that State at all. Furthermore, the great bulk of the manufacturers of New South Wales are absolutely against any protection of any kind whatever. Therefore, I say that we had every reason to think, when the Prime Minister uttered the words

he did, that he meant them in the ordinary sense—that he meant them in the face of the different declarations he made. The election was carried on upon the good faith of the Prime Minister's utterances, but I say that those who have trusted to those utterances have been sold. Now I will read those utterances. I have taken out those which bear on this particular question. The Prime Minister said :—

I am a protectionist—

He said he was a protectionist, to apologize for what he was going to add—

and so are nearly all my colleagues.

Why did the Prime Minister begin there? He wanted to let the country know that although he and his colleagues were protectionists, under the financial exigencies of the States they could not carry out the protectionist system. Then he said—

But if we are to raise the great revenue which is necessary for the security of the Federation, then we cannot be prohibitionists.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I am delighted to hear those cheers. Yet one of the first things the Minister for Trade and Customs does is to tell us that under this Tariff he is to take off £5,000,000 of imports which are prohibited under it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did nothing of the sort.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Let honorable members listen to these words: This is the charter under which the people of New South Wales voted, although they were uncertain in some of the other States.

Because prohibition or excessive protection would lead to the prevention of that access of revenue, which is absolutely necessary for proper government and the security of the Commonwealth.

Mr. MAUGER.—Every word correct.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Honorable members can read it now as they say he meant it, but he meant it, I presume, to be understood by us in the other way.

In all the States industries have sprung up, and men are earning their living. Labour and capital are invested in them, and in New South Wales there is still £3 a ton on sugar. Who left it there, and why is it there? To protect the product of our own soil.

If there is anything this Tariff does not do, it is to protect the product of our own soil.

The policy of the Government is revenue without destruction.

Mr. MAUGER.—Just all this is.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Well, it is revenue without destruction, and it is not protectionist!

Mr. MAUGER.—This is not.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Yet it goes up to 25 per cent. on the surface, and in many other cases it goes up to 50 per cent. In connexion with many of these items, there is a natural protection of from 10 to 50 per cent. by the over-sea charges. If that does not make up a thoroughly prohibitionist protectionist Tariff in many of the main lines, I do not know what would do so.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is nothing compared with the Victorian Tariff.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—It is simply the scarlet of the Victorian Tariff painted red. If honorable members read through the Victorian Tariff, as I have done, and examine it with any kind of reason or judgment they will see that the Government have taken off occasionally 5 per cent. from some of the highest duties and put it on to others, and that by the system of composite duties they cover up the whole thing so that no one can understand it. I thank the honorable and learned member for his interjection. That is just the difference between free-traders and protectionists. We free-traders declare a simple system of finance which the man in the street and every one else can understand; but the protectionist plan all over the world is to cover up the system and complicate it, so that no one can understand it. It reminds me very much of an interview which I had before I became a member of the State Parliament, with a distinguished politician, who was also a protectionist.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely not distinguished and a protectionist?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—He was a distinguished protectionist, just as the honorable member thinks probably that he is. However, the gentleman that I refer to was even a little more distinguished than the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. I said to him—"Why cannot you produce the public accounts of the country so that ordinary people can understand them?" "My dear fellow," he said, "that is exactly what we do not want to do." I come now to the next expression which goes to make up this great speech. The Prime Minister said—

No State can claim to dictate to or exploit its fellows.

I say most distinctly, and I will prove it, that the State of Victoria, and more especially the manufacturers of Victoria, are trying under this Budget, to exploit the people of the other States.

Mr. HUME COOK.—With duties lower than they have had before?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Let us hear again the description of this Tariff, because it is all very useful and pertinent to the issue. The Prime Minister said—

A business Tariff, a practical Tariff, and a real Federal Tariff is what we will propose.

A Federal Tariff, to keep together the Victorian majority! A Federal Tariff representing a section of 1,000,000 of the people against the whole of the remaining 3,000,000 inhabitants of Australia! I come now to the crux of the whole charge, and I shall convict the Prime Minister—who, I am sorry to see, is not here—out of his own mouth. He said—

By that means we shall avoid disaster, suffering and bitterness, and all those things antagonistic to union, the avoidance of which has made union possible.

I should like to know whether the union of Australia would have been possible if this Tariff had been promulgated in New South Wales prior to federation.

Mr. DEAKIN.—If the New South Wales Tariff had been promulgated would union have been possible?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The right honorable and learned gentleman continued—and these are his last words in reference to this particular matter—

We wish to give an Australian Tariff for an Australian nation.

And he might have said, “founded entirely on the Tariff of Victoria.”

Mr. DEAKIN.—He would have been incorrect

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I am not going very minutely to-night into the details of the Tariff, but I think it is reasonable that at this stage of our proceedings we should take a broad view of Australian interests and say, as men capable of laying down definite principles, what is the proper policy for Australia. I have shown, I think, clearly, that the people throughout Australia who voted for federation, voted on the understanding that there would be a moderate Tariff, chiefly for revenue purposes, and it would be an insult to honorable members who have read and re-read this Tariff, to allow anything except that it has

a highly protective incidence. There are three matters that we have to consider: First of all, we have to consider the question of finance; secondly, we have to consider the industries of the country which have been built up under this system of protection—I will allow that that is a consideration up to a certain point—and then we have to consider the great majority of industries outside the manufactures of Australia. In coming to that question, I wish to disabuse the minds of honorable members of some of the little subterfuges—shall I call them?—to which my right honorable and learned friend has resorted in placing the position before us. I contend that the true position was not placed before us by him. What did the Minister do at the outset? He quietly took off £5,000,000 from the expected imports of the country, as much as to say—“I have got my Tariff already, which is so highly protective that it will reduce the imports by £5,000,000.” He also considered that we had been dealing with abnormal years. In 1899, there were £34,000,000 of imports. Does the right honorable and learned gentleman think that this Tariff is going to operate so quickly, that there will be much difference, considering the increase of population—and the increase of prosperity. I trust—within the next few years? In 1897, the total trade of Australasia was £138,000,000; in 1898, it was £147,000,000.

Mr. HARPER.—That is external trade.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Yes; of course it is; imports and exports together. I am taking all the trade. In 1899, it was £161,000,000. I say most distinctly that the proper basis for calculation from a purely revenue stand-point, even with a certain amount of protectionist incidence, would be nearer £36,000,000 than £34,000,000. We can divide this Tariff very simply into two or three parts. In the first place we have £4,500,000, which can be obtained from stimulants and narcotics by means of customs and excise. No one objects to that. Then we have what is called the “fixed” rates, on which we get £1,400,000. That leaves us £3,000,000 to be raised by *ad valorem* duties.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Does the honorable member object to “fixed” rates?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—These are not the composite rates; they are the rates which we generally call “specific.” I

will come to the composite rates later on. At present I merely wish to show what this Tariff means. In the first place we get £3,000,000 from narcotics and spirits. Then we have our excise duties, from which we derive a further sum of £1,500,000, making the total of £4,500,000. Then we come to the fixed rates. Whether the incidence of these rates is right or not I am not going to enter upon now. That gives us a total of £5,900,000. We then have left £30,000,000 worth of imports upon which we can exercise our *ad valorem* duties. Looking at this matter from a financial point of view, we have to go right down to bed-rock. I find that on a £36,000,000 basis—which, I think, is fair for the future, considering the increase of population—there are £30,000,000 worth of goods upon which we can exercise our *ad valorem* duties. In a word, I absolutely reject the calculations of the Minister for Trade and Customs. I say that we can get £3,000,000 from stimulants and narcotics, and have £4,000,000 of imports affected by our fixed rates. That leaves £30,000,000 worth of goods upon which to levy our *ad valorem* duties. If, therefore, we want only £3,000,000 in order to make up the revenue provided for under this Tariff, the basis of finance is 10 per cent. We ought to begin there. The Minister himself has admitted that he does not want in the earlier period of the Commonwealth more than about £8,000,000. If the full amount of £9,000,000 is not required immediately, we would thus be able, as the trade of the country increased, to get the whole of the revenue out of a 10 per cent. duty. That is the basis of the calculation.

MR. ISAACS.—And no free list.

SIR WILLIAM McMILLAN.—There is no free list on that basis. Practically my views are against a free list. I recognise, however, that a free list is a necessity in dealing with the views of the different States, because it has been part and parcel of the system of finance adopted in most of them. There is one advantage of a free list. It gives us an earnest of the future free-trade which we hope will come. It is a list which under a proper revenue Tariff can be increased, but which under a protective Tariff will have to decrease. Under a protective system we shall find that as the years go by 25 per cent. or 50 per cent. duties will become prohibitive in their effect. We cannot get revenue and shut out our

imports at the same time. What is the result? Instead of having a Tariff submitted, which is drafted on purely financial lines, a Tariff which the Treasurer can depend upon to return a certain amount from year to year, and one which might be accepted by honorable members upon all sides of the House, thus enabling this fiscal war to be turned into a truce, we are offered a Tariff, by the adoption of which we shall be creating a system under our own eyes, and by our own admission, which is so prohibitive in its incidence that at the very start the Minister for Trade and Customs has to exclude £5,000,000 worth of imports as the effect of its operation. What will be the further effect of its operation? I am not going into the details of figures with which I am supplied—figures which were sent to the press by Sir Frederick Sargood. There are, however, one or two which I shall read. There is no doubt that when we consider the full effect of this Tariff we must realize that a large amount of it is absolutely prohibitive. If it is prohibitive, or if its tendency is to prohibit importation year by year, there will be a loss of revenue from it; and if there is a loss of revenue from it year by year this wretched Tariff question will have to come up before this House. Year after year the balance of our free list—the only decent part of our finance—will have to be encroached upon till at last, in the interests of the revenue itself, we shall have to go further and further into the bog of this system. No honorable member will deny that that is the absolute result in figures. The Minister for Trade and Customs may say that by the operation of these import duties we shall have the goods manufactured in the country, and that by the cheapening processes, by the increased skill of our own mechanics, we shall be able eventually to sell an article for the same price as it would bring if it came from over sea. But that does not affect the financial question. We have been dealing entirely with this matter as a fiscal one. But how are we, by the adoption of this Tariff, to support the solvency of the States? We shall simply be attempting an impossibility. The worst of it is that, according to the ideas of men who think at all upon financial questions, this system will begin to be rooted. All that the manufacturers of Victoria desire is to get a start with this system. They know very well that

30 years ago a beginning was made to put on protective duties, and the *Age* to-day says that the system must be a permanent one. Therefore this is not an honest Tariff. It does not give an honest and comprehensive view of the financial situation. Simultaneously, we have the Prime Minister proclaiming that he will not settle a protective Tariff on Australia, and that he hopes some of the incidence of this Tariff will help the industries of Victoria. If we have, for example, a 15 per cent. Tariff on which we expect to raise only £4,000,000, and if we add to that the 10, 20, or 30 per cent. charges for goods coming oversea, thus making a protection, natural or otherwise, of 30 or 50 per cent., will any honorable member tell me that to go beyond that is not establishing a system of rank protection throughout the country? We have had a very curious exhibition on the part of the Prime Minister. The right honorable and learned gentleman, in his speech, said—

The Federal Tariff in a normal year would yield £9,126,541, that is, if the average taxes were £2, 8s. 5d. But the average proposed by the Bill is £2 7s. 6d., and the result will be that the people of Australia get Inter-State free-trade at the price of a saving of 1s. per head all round.

Now, an honorable member objected to the word "incidence," but does not the word "incidence" show the absolute folly of a statement like that? We know of course that we want between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 of money, but would the honorable gentleman have the temerity to say that it matters not under what system we raise it? We could raise that £9,000,000 of money to-morrow by a 10 per cent *ad valorem* duty upon the £30,000,000, added to duties on other imports referred to. The right honorable member, backed up by several others, every one of whom must have known that he was trying to throw dust in the eyes of the people, attempted to say that because it required so much per head for Australia to raise that £9,000,000, and they therefore put a Tariff before us that raised £9,000,000, it did not matter at all about the incidence? The thing is absolutely absurd. The whole battle and the whole question with us is about the incidence of it. What does the Prime Minister say—that a saving of 1s. per head all round is effected, and that is what we have to pay for the glories of Inter-State free-trade. The intercolonial

duties were £1,131,000. We both, as free-traders and federationists, rejoiced that at the moment this uniform Tariff came into existence Australia was free throughout all her borders. But we do not forget the fact that that £1,131,000 had some kind of incidental protection for hundreds of thousands of people in the interior of this country. And what are the people in the interior of this country getting out of this Tariff? I said once before that the wealth produced in this country in 1899 was £112,000,000, and out of that the manufacturers of Victoria contributed £10,000,000. In other words, these manufacturers, for whom the whole of this Tariff has been framed, in order to get the Victorian vote, represented, at the very outside, one-tenth of the whole production of Australia. Now what is this Tariff proposing to do? I shall give honorable members an item or two, in order to show how absolutely futile this Tariff is as a help to the industries in the interior of this country—the industries on which we depend for our prosperity, the industries on which we must depend for years and years to come in the development of this great continent. I can take the case of the wheat trade. In New Wales, everybody knows that, of the three great wheat-producing States, New South Wales has been the last to grow sufficient to feed her own people, and ultimately to export. In New South Wales, in 1899, we imported 1,000,000 bushels of wheat, for which we paid £151,000, and we grew ourselves 9,000,000 bushels, worth about £1,112,000. In the following year, 1900, we grew 13,000,000 bushels, and I do not suppose a single bushel of wheat came into the country. The same thing applies in a greater degree to Victoria, and in a greater degree to South Australia, and we shall find, when we examine this Tariff and and look at this wretched duty that is given as a sort of sop to the farmer—1s. 9d. per cental, or whatever we may call it—it is absolutely useless to him, because there is no importation of the article.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is a strange thing that after nearly 100 years they have only just grown enough for themselves in New South Wales. The honorable gentleman does not like it from that point of view.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I am not going back 100 years. I am dealing with the situation as it presents itself to me in

the year of grace 1901, and in regard only to Australia, for I am not going to England, America, or any other country to-night. But I want to point out this fact: When we take away the duty of about £4,500,000 on spirits and narcotics—that is, customs duties and excise—we have a series of duties tabulated here which bring in £4,285,000. Now, it might be thought by glancing casually at this document which has been circulated, showing the estimated revenue under each item—it might be thought, when we found that out of that £4,285,000 about £3,000,000 are entirely for the purpose of protecting the manufacturers, that we should have upon the page something devised for the protection of the producers of the country. It is very adroitly worded—"agricultural products and groceries," but let us examine the list. I should like honorable members to listen to this, because we are coming down now to the bedrock of the situation, so far as this Tariff concerns nine-tenths of the people of Australia. The duties upon agricultural products and groceries are estimated to produce £1,141,863, and of this amount £764,239 has practically nothing at all to do with the producers of the country. It has reference simply to articles like sago, tea, and things of that sort, which enter into the domestic concerns of every man in the country. When we take the balance of £377,000—the balance that is supposed to protect the farmer—and when we add to that the duty on timber, because I want to put in everything that is possible, we have £496,000 or £500,000 which affects the industries of the great producers of the country. What is the summing up of it all? We have a Tariff of £4,500,000, drafted to a large extent upon proper financial principles, and, with the exception of sugar, perhaps, purely for the bringing in of revenue, and for no other purpose. We have then got about £4,500,000, the balance of the Tariff, and will honorable members believe that out of that £4,500,000 balance of this Tariff only £500,000 affects the great producers of Australia? I say this Tariff is a "bit of organized hypocrisy," as my honorable friend said of something else the other night. There is one very curious thing in connexion with it. We have got here a lot of articles which are supposed to yield duties, and which yield no duties at all. We asked for this return for a certain purpose, and we have to thank the Government for

their good nature in giving it to us; but from this return honorable members will find that eggs bring in £650 for the whole of Australia. Then we have an item like hay and chaff. There is a brilliant duty on hay and chaff, to protect the farmers of Victoria, but though the Cabinet went through these different items they could not find that there had been any imports of hay and chaff. The same thing applied to onions, and so on.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—These duties prevented them from coming in.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Even if you allowed that, at a certain period of this protectionist mania you forced the men from other occupations into these particularly protected industries, then all you have to face is this, that you have done away with the importation. But we are not dealing with a protective system, or a Tariff of 30 years ago. We are dealing with the present condition of affairs in Australia, and even supposing that your protective system did it, which I deny, nearly the whole of these matters of your so-called protection we export. Even supposing that protection had hastened these operations, we have to deal with this Tariff now, and in looking at the people of the whole of Australia we find that in nearly all the matters of natural produce we are an exporting country. I should like to know whether, in face of what I have said, the people of this country are going to enter upon a career in which you want to raise up a system of coddled manufactures, because this system will not merely retain the manufactures of Victoria, but the same process will create molly-coddled manufactories in other States. If you do this what do you think will be the great future of this continent? What are we? Are we not a great food producing country? Is it not a curse to us that, instead of your men going out and developing this great country which we hold in trust, by your system, you bind men more and more to the towns? Is it not a fact that for some of the social iniquities which are now facing you you have created boards, which so far are futile—are you not by this very policy accentuating that evil, and making it a national thing for all time to come?

Mr. WATKINS.—We have a labour bureau, too.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Has free-trade prevented that in New South Wales?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN. — I honestly believe that in the interests of Victoria this extreme Tariff is a huge blunder. I do not think it possible to argue that what is good for New South Wales would be bad for Victoria. During thirty years with the great population which came into Victoria; with Melbourne as the central emporium of Australia for many years; with this great climate which gives such vigour to her men, which we all allow—there is only one drawback to her great manufacturing industry, and that is the want of coal beds; but we know that for years lately the price of coal has been almost about the cost of its production. You get your coal not overland, but by water carriage, so that that need not make a tremendous difference. It would be far better in the interests of Victoria to have a very moderate Tariff when she comes into competition with the other States. She has had the advantage of coming first into the field with some of these exotic industries. It would be better for these extremely exotic industries to go to the wall. If you create this Tariff do you think you will be the sole manufacturers of Australia? Do you not know that the moment you enact this Tariff, which is practically prohibitive, you create the same mushroom industries in every part of Australia? You can read history any way you like and honorable members who have been looking to the United States of America as their example never made a bigger mistake than they did in drawing an analogy between that country and Australia. The history of the United States has been absolutely different. Her geographical position is absolutely different. Millions and millions of men have poured into that country year after year. She had a great western territory to conquer which made her unmindful of her great maritime commerce. Millions and millions of English and European capital were poured into that country so that, by the time protection began to have its effect, she had a great world of her own as well as intercourse, within a few thousand miles, with the centres of civilization. Do you think that you will run a career like that of America? Nothing of the kind. In creating this prohibitionist Tariff—this extreme protectionist Tariff, for it is nothing else, and it must become

more and more prohibitionist as you go on to your free list—what are you doing? You are creating artificial prices for your goods. You are creating twice and thrice the number of manufactories which are necessary for the wants of your people. You are forcing into Sydney and Melbourne an industry which must go beyond the bounds of the States, and, when you over-manufacture, have you the world of America or the markets of Europe to deal with? What is the consequence of this forced manufacture? When you come to a glut in your market, as you will under this Tariff within ten years—when you have created manufactures at artificial prices—and you know that the corollary of this Tariff is to have wages boards, and to create a higher rate of wages in order to make up to the people for the way in which they are robbed in the necessities of life—when you come to get a glut in your market you will have to deal with goods the price of which is above the market price of the world, and you must do one of two things. Either you must sacrifice these goods with the resulting insolvency of half your manufacturers, or you must shut down your manufactories, and you will create a state of affairs accentuated above that in America, and the labour difficulty here will be tenfold. Why should we under the circumstances do this? We have growing up in New South Wales under absolute free-trade almost as large a mass of industries as you have here. You know that under any conditions of industrial life, under the present system of competition, you must over-produce—you must have great labour difficulties—you must get into industrial troubles. The difference between protection and free-trade is this—that, although under free-trade you have your sweating, your re-action, and your industrial troubles, you have not so forced it by this mollycoddling; under the other system you have ten times the difficulties that we experience.

Mr. WATKINS.—We are going to have a Compulsory Arbitration Act.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Furthermore, have we not had an example during this Tariff struggle of the worst feature of the protectionist system—referred to by the honorable member for Wannon, during his speech in the debate on the address in reply? Have we not seen the lobbies filled with men button-holing every member of this

House? Have we not seen the trade and industry of this country coming into direct contact with the politics of the Commonwealth?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Where was all this?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Does the honorable member say that there have not been hundreds of men here in connexion with this Tariff?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have not seen any.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—They have come to our side more than to honorable members on the Ministerial side because the industrial people of Australia—even the industrial people of Victoria—are beginning to find out that the men who sit on this side of the House are those to whom they have to look for protection—not for protection under a Tariff, but for protection against the iniquitous system which it was never expected would be foisted on the people of Australia. I am perhaps speaking very strongly, but I do feel that we are in a false position in this House. There are honorable members here representing Victorian constituencies, like my very esteemed friend the honorable member for Gippsland, who admit that, while they are protectionists, they have been elected by free-trade constituencies.

Mr. HARPER.—The honorable member never said that.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—He did say that. The honorable member for Gippsland said that, although he was originally a free-trader, and had thought it right to alter his opinions—for that I admire him if it was a matter of conviction, which I believe it was—and had become a protectionist, and his constituency was a free-trade constituency, it had still returned him to the House.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—But there are three or four other constituencies grouped together with my original constituency now.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—We are quite as much alive to what is going on as honorable members sitting opposite. We do not read only one paper. We read the papers throughout the length and breadth of Victoria, and we find that what we said before, but what we could not then prove, was true—viz., that there is a much larger number of people in Victoria who believe in free-trade than the representation in this House would appear to show. The fact is, however—and this is the evil of protection—that vested interests have grown up.

We look around us and find that we are under the shadow of the influence of the conditions which exist in Melbourne. We stand to-night in a city with a population of 500,000 people, a city in which the system of protection has grown up under an iniquitous Tariff—a system which is to be continued by another iniquitous Tariff, if it is carried—and naturally it is very difficult for us to get away from these influences. You will always find that bodies of organized men, especially in the towns, will fight better and more satisfactorily than the great mass of the toiling people in the country, and therefore we are asked to accentuate the evil of which we have an object lesson in Victoria to-day. Now, I say that this is a very serious thing for us as representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia. I honestly believe that, if we had a general election to-morrow, this Tariff would be scouted by the great majority of the people of Australia. I believe—and I am not altogether a fool—that when the Prime Minister made his declaration to us in Maitland, every man who had a friendly feeling for him considered that he was rising above the petty politics of some of his followers, and that he was going to do what was right for Australia, and take the consequences.

Mr. ISAACS.—His Melbourne speech was very distinct.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I am talking about his manifesto that was issued at the outset of the campaign. Furthermore, throughout the length and breadth of Australia men were elected to Parliament, not exactly on the fiscal issue in many instances, but because they had been public men, and on the faith of the Prime Minister's manifesto at Maitland. Now, I leave that manifesto to any honest-minded man. I also leave the speeches of men like the Minister for Home Affairs and others who tried to explain away the erratic utterances of their colleagues in other parts. I remember as well as possible that, when there was an outcry against the erratic utterances of some of the extreme protectionists in the Ministry, both the Prime Minister and his colleagues tried to explain them away. The Prime Minister said, time after time—"I gave you my manifesto at Maitland, and I intend to stick to that with loyalty." I know there are many men in New South Wales who, although moderate protectionists, were

elected on the understanding that this manifesto would be carried out to the letter. I felt myself at the time that the Prime Minister could be trusted, but I thought that in the first place we should have to form an Opposition in order to watch the Ministry, as I was afraid that when the Prime Minister got into this House under certain influences he would not be master of the situation. What is the result of all this? That instead of expounding a policy that would be fair to the whole of Australia, a policy based upon their own statement, a policy under which we could cry a truce upon this fiscal question throughout the whole of Australia, a policy under which all men might unite together for the common good and for the carrying out of legislative measures for all Australia, the Government have placed before us a Tariff which honorable members on the Government side of the House, especially those representing Victorian constituencies, are gloating over as their own protectionist Tariff. I feel that instead of this Commonwealth being inaugurated under happy auspices—because, after all, this Tariff is the ground work of the finances and industries of the country—the people in all the Australian States are smarting under a sense of injustice. How else could it be? We have made the statement time after time that, even at the very best, the whole of those engaged in the manufacturing industries of Australia represent only a small percentage of the population, and how could we expect the great mass of the people to treat this Tariff except as an outrage upon democratic principles? I have heard a lot about the democracy of Victoria, and I have heard a lot about majority rule; but I say that this Tariff is the result of an organized minority to tyrannize fiscally over the whole of Australia. This majority, which might have been used perhaps in a State House, as a majority in a unified country, ought not to have been considered in dealing with the Tariff, as it has been considered by the present administration. The Government ought to have looked around the whole of Australia. The Government ought to have looked at the original compact of the Constitution, by which we must consider the majority of the States, as well as the majority of people. The Government ought not to have created a situation which might possibly bring about a constitutional struggle at the very beginning of our Commonwealth.

Sir William McMillan.

We know from other sources that as a matter of referendum to the people of this country, if we were to take a mass vote, this Tariff would be condemned. Honorable members have denied that the duty has been covered up in different cases, and before I sit down I want to give one or two instances from information which has been forwarded to me. We will take the very much vexed question of boots; and I have from a boot house in Sydney some particulars.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Is it McMurtries'?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—No. My information tells me on English boots which cost 6s. 6d., an *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent. equals 1s. 1d., and the specific duty, as my informant calls it, or the composite duty of 15 per cent., equals 1s. 8d. These figures bring the cost to land up to 9s. 3d. for boots which were formerly sold at 8s., but which, with the present charges, cannot be sold under 11s. It will be seen that this revenue duty increases the cost to the wearer by 37½ per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I thought boots were made in Sydney.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—So they are. I will tell the right honorable gentleman more, namely, that of the boots used in Sydney 60 per cent. are made in the State, and only about 30 per cent. imported. In an industry which had not a shilling of duty, and an industry that is constantly quoted in this House, only about one-third of the articles are imported, two-thirds being manufactured in the State.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Then how can the boots be any dearer to the consumer?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—I will instance another industry in Sydney, which is also a large industry in Victoria. A gentleman writes to me as follows:—

You will, no doubt, be surprised to hear that we have a very large number of people engaged in the manufacture of furniture in Sydney. From information supplied from a reliable source, we have to-day fully 1,200 people engaged in the various factories actually in Sydney. Taking an average of four to a family, I might say that 5,000 people are actually supported by the furniture trade. These are all Europeans. We have always heard a great deal of the number of Chinamen manufacturing furniture in Sydney. To-day the number does not exceed 500, and most of the men have no one dependent on them. There is considerably more furniture manufactured in Sydney to-day than there has ever been.

Listen to this—

This industry does not require a high Tariff, as the cost of importing varies from 17½ per cent. to 40 per cent., according to the quality of the goods.

Probably honorable members do not believe that, but it is a fact. The letter goes on—

The total import of furniture, other than cane-seat chairs, which it would be impossible to manufacture in the colony, does not exceed £400 per month.

I must confess that when I was last in Sydney and went into different shops, I was surprised to find that nearly every article was Australian made. If we go into a saddler's shop for a portmanteau, we find that the bulk of such articles are made in Sydney.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then what harm will the duty do?

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The duty will do no harm to the manufacturers, but it will mean something to the working men of the country about whom the honorable gentleman talks so much. In conclusion, I should like to refer to one great industry in Australia; that is the commercial industry, or the shipping or mercantile industry, or whatever we may call it, of which the honorable member for Melbourne is so brilliant a representative. Victoria has spent millions, I suppose, in creating a port, which is so finely represented by certain gentlemen here whose policy it is to close it up. We have a trade which must be derived to a large extent from exports from Australia; and we cannot deal with such exports unless we foster the mercantile and shipping interests of the Commonwealth. We cannot do a trade over sea with our goods so as to place them cheaply in the markets of the world, unless we bring goods to Australia. I wonder if any of the honorable members who advocate extreme prohibitive protection, imagine that ships are coming here with empty bottoms. All I can say is that if they do, they ought to remember that ship-owners must pay their way. If produce is not brought here, freights will have to be increased, and an increase of freight will often make the difference between profit or loss in the market of the world. This question of shipping lies at the root of the whole future of our industries. We all know that the question of price is not settled in Australia, but may be settled in New York and London, and if facilities are not given for

sending our goods as cheaply as possible to all parts of the world, we are neglecting the great producing interests of Australia. We have heard a great deal about manufactures, but the two great sources of our wealth and of our employment are the producers in the country and the mercantile and shipping interests of our ports. The people of Victoria have to a large extent sought federation, in order that they may increase their geographical boundaries. Victoria will be drawing her supplies and her sources of wealth, not from the manufacturers of Melbourne, but from the great masses of the people working in Victoria, working in Riverina, and working in the mines of Broken Hill. Are we going to create a policy which will absolutely say to the world—"We want to shut off communication with you?" I say that is a most suicidal policy, and one which must ultimately break down; because it will be so clear in the years to come that the interests of the few have been studied at the expense of the interests of the many, that although we may have to come to it through toilsome years, and although this agitation for free ports and free commerce may have to be kept up to the detriment of politics, yet the time must come when the destinies of Australia as a great food-producing country for the congested nations of the world must come into greater prominence day by day. It will then be clear that, compared with the secondary interests which the Government are now bolstering up in this Tariff, those great interests on which the future destiny and progress of Australia depends must be made foremost in our economic and financial systems. If this Tariff is passed, instead of our getting to that state of affairs in the early period of the Commonwealth, we shall have to work through many years of fearful internecine strife in order to achieve our purposes.

Mr. HÄRPER (Mernda).—I have listened with very considerable interest to the honorable member who has just resumed his seat, and I confess that I have considerable difficulty in understanding his position, because I remember well, not so many months ago, reading a speech which he made in Sydney, before federation was accomplished, in which he pointed out that a protective Tariff was a certainty for the Commonwealth. I confess that when I read that speech and another one delivered by the honorable member for Parkes, I came

to the conclusion that they were taking up a very patriotic attitude.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—Does the honorable member mean to say that my speech had the same sentiment in it?

MR. HARPER.—I think so.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I hope the honorable member will not quote me on what he thinks.

MR. HARPER.—At any rate the speech of the honorable member for Wentworth was most unequivocal, and would convey to the minds of all who read it the fact that he had faced the position and recognised that there must be a concession upon the free-trade principles which he and his political friends had so long held, and that that was the sacrifice that was to be made for the accomplishment of federation. I think, then, that we might well ask the honorable member to point out more clearly than he did in his speech wherein he had been disappointed. He has given us the old arguments from the free-trade stand-point, but, as a matter of fact, he knew when he made the speech to which I have referred, that those arguments would have very little application indeed to the Tariff which this Government would have to introduce. All practical men recognise the fact that in uniting six States, five of which have had for years more or less protective policies, and one of which had to some extent a protective policy until 1896, and had only recently adopted free-trade, there must be a concession to the conditions existing in the five States on the part of the one which had adopted a different system of fiscalism. I was also rather taken aback by the very extraordinary calculation my honorable friend made, which showed to his entire satisfaction apparently that because 22 members were returned for Victoria on the protectionist side, therefore, Victoria was dominating the position and crushing New South Wales. As a matter of fact, when I asked the honorable member to explain the calculation, he said that that majority was ruling the position. How does it rule the position? By the votes of the protectionist party throughout Australia, in addition to those returned for Victoria. The votes of the 22 members from Victoria would have no effect whatever, and would not be part of the majority, unless they had the support of the large representation from the other States. I may say that one thing that struck me about this Tariff immediately it was enunciated was—

MR. REID.—Starch!

MR. HARPER.—Mr. Speaker, I trust that the right honorable member will recollect the obligation of *noblesse oblige*. He occupies a prominent position in this country, and aspires to occupy a still more prominent one. Surely, he might set an example of something like decent behaviour.

MR. REID.—That is very true.

MR. HARPER.—I shall deal later on with the question to which the right honorable member refers.

MR. REID.—I should think so.

MR. HARPER.—I was remarking, when I was interrupted, that one peculiar feature about the reception of this Tariff was that apparently the extreme free-traders on the one side and the extreme protectionists on the other were dissatisfied with it. I believe that that is the position to-day; and it certainly goes a long way, to my mind, to prove that the Ministry have fairly attempted to carry out the policy which they said they would adopt, of having a Tariff which would be fair to the whole of Australia, and not an extreme proposal which would please either the one side or the other. We have heard to-night and on previous evenings a great deal about what the Prime Minister said. He has been accused by the last speaker, in very unmeasured terms, of having entirely departed from the obligation which he undertook in his speech at Maitland. I read that speech. I also heard the speech which the Prime Minister made in the Town-hall, Melbourne. I sat within a few yards of him on that occasion, and I can only say that when I read two or three extracts from that deliverance honorable members will agree with me that the Prime Minister, so far from having departed from the understanding with the country, is carrying it out, or endeavouring to carry it out, to the letter. He said—

I shall have to warn you presently—

He was speaking to Victorians then—

that Victorian interests, as well as the interests of the other individual States, must give way to those of Australia at large. The doctrine must apply all round, and if the other States must give way, so must you, in order that a consistent policy in the Commonwealth may be adopted.

A question was raised the other night as to the amount which the right honorable and learned gentleman said it would be

necessary to raise in order to meet the requirements of the States. He went on to say—

We shall therefore have to raise between £3,000,000 and £8,500,000. Not that that is a final estimate, as that must be left to the Treasurer and Minister of Customs; but we will mention those amounts for the sake of argument.

The Prime Minister continued—

The Federal Tariff must produce a large revenue, and must in one sense be a revenue Tariff; but while I have any hand in the government of the Commonwealth it will not be a revenue Tariff accompanied by destruction. It will be a Tariff which will prevent destruction.

Honorable members will observe that the Prime Minister on that occasion said distinctly that a large revenue would have to be raised in order to meet the necessities of the States, and that it would be one which would not be destructive in its character, while it was revenue producing. He said also—

You in Victoria cannot have your Tariff. That is out of the question. We in New South Wales cannot have ours. That is equally out of the question. Tasmania cannot make a Tariff for Queensland nor Queensland for Western Australia. You will have to make a Commonwealth Tariff, which will take account of the difficulties to be solved in the case of every State, and which will act equitably to all States together.

Lastly, I will read this paragraph from the Prime Minister's speech—

Whether we continue the support given to industries at the same level or not, this is a continuance, as far as it goes, of the protection given to those industries. I do not shrink from protection, but it must be recollected that the revenue must be raised, and you cannot have prohibitive duties.

Mr. REID.—There are a number of prohibitive duties in the Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—There is not a prohibitive duty.

Mr. REID.—What about 2d. a lb. on starch?

Mr. HARPER.—I think it is unworthy of the right honorable and learned member to try and put me off my argument. I shall deal with that question in due course, if he will allow me.

Mr. REID.—Why not deal with it now? I should like to get away.

Mr. HARPER.—I listened quietly to the right honorable and learned member when he was speaking.

Mr. REID.—No thanks to the honorable member for doing so. I only wish he had said a word or two whilst I was going.

Mr. HARPER.—With regard to the objections that are being raised to the Tariff, not only here but elsewhere, I should like to say that they are precisely the objections which would be raised to any Tariff which the right honorable the leader of the Opposition would propound. I can easily imagine that right honorable and learned gentleman with his tongue in his cheek, metaphorically speaking, fomenting an agitation against this particular Tariff, when he knows absolutely that, if he were in the position of having to put before the country a Tariff in accordance with his previous principles, there would be as great, if not a greater, agitation than at present.

Mr. REID.—I should like to take the chance.

Mr. HARPER.—The right honorable the leader of the Opposition knows that well, because the duties which are causing all the commotion are revenue duties—those which are put on tea, coffee, kerosene, and other articles which are generally used. Those are the articles which the right honorable and learned member would have to tax if he were in power, and if he had to put what he calls a revenue Tariff before the country. Every man knows that that is the position. Every man who has thought of the matter for a moment is aware that, whenever a Tariff is proposed which takes money out of the pockets of people who have not been accustomed for some time to pay it in that way, they are bound to make a noise about it. I do not think that we can feel indebted in the least degree to the right honorable the leader of the Opposition for his profession of anxiety to deal with this matter in a broader and better manner than the Government are doing. I listened patiently and quietly to his remarks, but I heard nothing whatever of a constructive character from him. He did not indicate what lines he would go upon that would be better than those propounded by the Ministry. He failed to do so for the very good reason to which I have alluded already, namely, that if he had said he would raise the required sum from the sources to which he would have to resort, he would have shown at once that Short was not the friend of the country, but that Codlin—the Government—was.

Mr. REID.—A "coddling" Government.

Mr. HARPER.—We do not feel that we are indebted in any way to the right honorable and learned

member for enlightening us as to the position, or for aiding us to deal with this very important problem. If the Treasurer had not done so, it was my intention to have alluded to the Tariff propounded by the leading free-trade organ of New South Wales, the *Daily Telegraph*. I believe it is the leading, at all events it is the most active, free-trade organ in New South Wales. Just a month ago it published a series of very able articles by its financial editor in which it carefully discussed the question of the amount that would be required to be raised by what it conceived to be a Tariff for revenue purposes only. I do not wish to repeat what the Treasurer has said, but I think we are entitled to take notice of these articles. In the first place it was distinctly stated in the *Daily Telegraph* of 7th September last that—

We have endeavoured to prove (1) that the needs of the States have steadily grown until a Tariff to produce £9,000,000 has become essential. Even with nine millions Queensland and Tasmania are likely to develop considerable deficiencies, and Western Australia will do so as her five years special treatment runs out.

I think, therefore, that we may accept the position that £9,000,000 is the sum which will be required in order to make the States absolutely safe. The speech of the honorable member for North Sydney was a most able one, and showed that he had a strong grasp of the subject. Coming after the somewhat turgid deliverance of his leader it was a relief to me to hear a definite statement from him, and an attempt made to clear up the position. The extract I have quoted shows that, according to the best authorities outside the Government, the sum of £9,000,000 is required. Let us consider what is involved in failure to raise the requisite revenue. The States are dependent upon the money they receive from the Federal Government to keep their finances in order. What would be said of this Federal Government, what would be said of this Parliament, if from any want of foresight or care on our part we placed the States in a position of difficulty at the end of their first year under federation? What would be said of those who were conducting the affairs of the State? I maintain that the Government and Parliament are not justified in running the risk of not getting through. They ought by every means in their power to insure that they obtain a sum sufficient to keep every State

Mr. Harper.

in its rightful position and enable it to manage its own affairs satisfactorily. I do not wish to labour this question, but I do think that in discussing this matter we ought to feel a sense of our responsibilities. I consider also that it is our duty to aid the Government, so far as we can, in carrying out proposals to that end. The main difficulties of the position, which have been discussed freely before, are the bookkeeping conditions of the Constitution, and, secondly, the necessities of some of the States. When we remember that under the bookkeeping sections each State during five years is to receive back from the Federal Government only that amount which it contributes, we can see at once that some of these higher duties were a necessity in the Ministerial scheme, although if New South Wales and Victoria, for example, had been concerned alone, a much lower rate would have sufficed. The Government found, undoubtedly, that it would be necessary to keep up a rate on imported lines sufficiently high to prevent the smaller States from suffering most heavily in their revenue. When we take these difficulties into consideration, together with the fact that £1,000,000, which was formerly represented by Inter-State duties, has been lost, we find that it is an absolute necessity for a large sum to be raised in order that our requirements may be met.

Mr. REID.—We can get a larger revenue from a lighter Tariff.

Mr. HARPER.—Of course that is a matter of opinion. I shall not contradict the right honorable and learned member, but I agree with the Government that it is a necessity to raise this large amount of revenue, and not to do so by a Tariff such as that to which the leader of the Opposition has alluded. The only alternative scheme put before the House has been that suggested by the honorable member for North Sydney. Upon reading his speech carefully this morning, I found that, except for some slight changes which might be made—and some of his suggestions might very properly be accepted in committee—his scheme proceeds entirely upon the same lines as are followed by the Government. There is absolutely no essential difference in principle between the two proposals. The honorable member suggested a reduction of the duty on tea. He favours making it half the amount proposed by the Government. He advocates a reduction of the duty on

kerosene, and the raising of the excise duties upon tobacco and beer. But these are not matters of essential principle. They are rather matters for adjustment and modification, which can properly be considered in committee, but which do not really make any division between the parties upon either side of the House. We have been told that New South Wales will be the chief sufferer by this Tariff. I can scarcely conceive that those who make that statement mean what they say, because that State will suffer no more than will any of the other States. The fact is as we all know, that New South Wales has had a very low Tariff for some years. But having regard to its financial position, New South Wales has just as much need for the amount which will be raised by the duties proposed as has any of the other States. That State annually derives a large revenue from the sale of Crown lands. This money which really represents capital, has been steadily absorbed during the last eighteen years at the rate of £1,200,000 a year. If the revenue thus obtained were devoted either to the redemption of the public indebtedness, as was suggested by the committee which sat and discussed the Public Accounts of New South Wales—

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—They only suggested setting aside of £250,000 odd annually.

Mr. HARPER.—They suggested that that allocation should be made. It was not for the committee to say what amount should be put aside. It must be apparent to every one that when New South Wales receives the large sum of new taxation which she will derive through joining the Commonwealth, that that money ought properly to be devoted to meeting the ordinary requirements of Government, and a sinking fund should be established with the revenue obtained from the sale of Crown lands for the redemption of its indebtedness. I admit that there is a difficulty in getting State Governments to realize their obligations in this respect. That, however, is no reflection on the other States which have been raising a large sum for the ordinary purposes of Government by Customs taxation. It seems to me that the difficulty which has been so much emphasized is really no difficulty at all. Some honorable members speak as if the money raised in New South Wales was to be diverted to the other States in order to maintain them. The fact is that New South Wales needs this money in order to meet

their ordinary expenditure with their ordinary income just as much as do any of the other States. In the Tariff which was published in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* last month, I find a duty upon tea of 4d. per lb. The impost proposed by the Government is 2d. per lb. and 20 per cent. The *Telegraph* said that the duty upon cocoa should be 3d. and 4d. per lb. The Government charge is 1d. and 2d. per lb. plus 15 per cent. The same newspaper urged that the impost upon sugar should be £8 per ton. The Government duty is £6 per ton. The excise upon sugar, according to the *Daily Telegraph*, should be £3 per ton, which is the amount proposed by the Government. The same organ advocates a duty of 4d. per gallon on kerosene, whereas that proposed by the Government is 3d. per gallon. Upon agricultural implements the newspaper in question would have a duty of 10 per cent. with no free list, whereas the Government duty is 15 per cent, with numerous exemptions. We are told that these "infamous" duties which are causing so much indignation are the result of the protectionist system, and the special iniquity of the Barton Government, but any other Tariff which honorable members opposite could put before the country would meet with precisely the same reception so far as outside agitation is concerned.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—How does the honorable member know that? Of whose Tariff is he speaking?

Mr. HARPER.—The Nash Tariff.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—He is not a member of this Parliament.

Mr. HARPER.—It is very amusing to hear honorable members opposite repudiate Mr. Nash and the *Daily Telegraph*. They are in the habit of making a free use of the name of a journal here, which is said to dominate the position. So far as my observation goes, I think that that journal has less influence over Ministerial supporters than has the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* over honorable members opposite. The leader of the Opposition has not propounded any alternative Tariff. The scheme to which I have just referred was put forward by the journal which supports him, and the only other Tariff suggested has been that formulated by the honorable member for North Sydney. That honorable member's scheme, if put before the country, would, I venture to say, meet with a precisely similar reception to that

which is being accorded to the present Tariff.

• Mr. REID.—That is a mere opinion. The honorable member could frame a better Tariff himself.

Mr. HARPER.—Probably I could, although I have not such an exaggerated opinion of my own abilities as has the right honorable and learned member. I feel that I am justified in making these few remarks with regard to the position. I do not wish it to be understood for a moment that I regard this Tariff as being by any means perfect. There are certain very grave defects in it. If the leader of the Opposition had brought down a Tariff, I should very likely have been able to say the same of it. In the nature of the case, considering the circumstances under which this Tariff had to be framed, the unknown quantities with which those framing it had to deal, the new problems with which they had to grapple, and the fact that they had necessarily only the advice of their officers to fall back upon, it followed that many incongruities and mistakes must creep in. Now that we have the matter before the House, and the Government have the benefit of the information which they could not previously obtain, we shall be in a position to see that the inequities and mistakes of the Tariff are properly remedied. Honorable members opposite have said that this Tariff is the Victorian Tariff. I say it is not the Victorian Tariff. There are great reductions made on the Victorian Tariff, and in some cases made at both ends, if I may use the expression, because the rate of duty has been reduced and a duty has been put upon the raw material in many cases. That has led to serious mistakes which will have to be remedied in committee. But taking all the circumstances into account I believe it is a fair and honest attempt to carry out the obligations which the Prime Minister undertook in his speech at Maitland and in the Town Hall at Melbourne. As I have said, it will have my support, but I retain to myself the right which I believe other honorable members will claim for themselves, to give my opinions upon the various items of the Tariff as they come up. If we cannot pass a perfect measure we should at least endeavour to make this such a Tariff as we would like it to be. It must be remembered also that this Tariff is to some extent a tentative measure. We cannot expect it to be a permanent Tariff because as the first Tariff

which brings all the States on to a common platform its various effects will not be at once perceptible. However, Parliament will have the power to amend it at any time in such directions as will make it answer the purposes for which it was introduced. At this late hour I do not intend to trespass further upon the time of the House, but I desire to say a few words with reference to the very extraordinary line of action taken by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition when making his speech in moving this vote of censure. One might have expected that a speech upon such a motion, dealing as it does, or ought to do, with the existence of a Government, would be above all paltry or personal motives; but, to my surprise, I found the right honorable and learned gentleman breaking all the traditions of Parliament so far as I have been acquainted with Parliament.

Mr. REID.—What sort of tradition gives a privilege to a man because he happens to be in business?

Mr. HARPER.—I have been a member of Parliament as long as the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—Does the honorable member claim a special privilege because he is in business?

Mr. HARPER.—I claim my right, and I am not going to be bounced by the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—Only as a man, not as a manufacturer.

Mr. HARPER.—I say that as a member of this House I have a right to courteous treatment. I have been a member of Parliament for twenty years.

Mr. REID.—So have I, but I do not get courteous treatment always.

Mr. HARPER.—I can only say that if the right honorable and learned gentleman does not get courtesy he has only himself to thank for it.

Mr. REID.—I do not mind.

Mr. PAGE.—Why, that is part of the game!

Mr. HARPER.—The right honorable gentleman may not mind, and it may be part of the game, but we are not all as thick-skinned as the honorable member. I think Parliament has its rules like every other game, and the game ought to be played fairly. I say the game was not played fairly by the right honorable member.

Mr. REID.—What game does the honorable member allude to?

Mr. HARPER. — I shall come to the game immediately. I am pleased that the right honorable gentleman has been kept for a little time, because he does not stay very much in the Chamber.

Mr. REID. — Neither does the Prime Minister.

Mr. HARPER. — I am not responsible for the Prime Minister, but I am pleased to have kept the leader of the Opposition for a time.

Mr. BARTON. — I am away hours, while the right honorable gentleman is away weeks!

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS. — Get on to starch.

Mr. HARPER. — I think my honorable friend opposite had better keep quiet, because I may get on to the subject of jam.

Mr. REID. — Starch on jam!

Mr. HARPER. — We can see the evil influence of the leader of the Opposition. Instead of aiding you, Mr. Speaker, in keeping up the tone of the House, he leads other honorable members into unmannerly interruptions and conduct, in my opinion, unbecoming a Member of Parliament.

Mr. REID. — Or a manufacturer of starch.

Mr. HARPER. — I am not to be put out by the right honorable gentleman. I am just as cool as he is. He need not attempt to put me out. I know what to expect from him, and, therefore, I shall say what I intended to say. The right honorable gentleman introduced into his remarks a series of personal observations and reflections on me which I say were utterly unwarrantable, which were ungentlemanly, and which were against all the traditions of parliamentary order and procedure.

Mr. REID. — Mr. Speaker, I really do not know that I am to be lectured in this way of having been guilty of ungentlemanly conduct.

Mr. SPEAKER. — As the right honorable member regards the remark as offensive, I ask the honorable member for Mernda to withdraw it.

Mr. HARPER. — I withdraw the word "ungentlemanly," but outside we should call it "ungentlemanly."

Mr. REID. — Now, Mr. Speaker, here is a clear evasion of your ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER. — I ask the honorable member for Mernda simply to withdraw the statement.

Mr. HARPER. — I withdraw the statement.

Mr. REID. — Now go on about the starch.

Mr. HARPER. — There are a great many things withdrawn in this House that are perfectly true. The right honorable gentleman brought my name into the discussion in a manner which I say was unwarrantable. I am a member of this House, elected by a constituency to whom I expressed my views, and by whom I was returned as representing them in the same way as the right honorable gentleman was returned by the constituency he represents. I submit that he had no right whatever, under any circumstances, to allude to private business or private matters in the way he did.

Mr. REID. — There is no privacy about the Tariff, or there ought to be none.

Mr. HARPER. — Had the right honorable gentleman's insinuations been true, his references would still have been unjustifiable, and how infinitely less justifiable were they when, as I shall proceed to show, they were incorrect. The right honorable gentleman, ostentatiously said that he did not know anything of these matters himself, and he spoke upon the information of a certain gentleman whom he considered an authority. I submit that he has no right to come to this House with the gossip he may receive. He is essentially a pleader, and when he pleads in a law court he has a lawyer to make up his brief for him. It seems to me that whenever he goes on the stump, or comes to the House, he brings a brief to which he allows any one to contribute. Sometimes his brief is "made in Germany;" at other times it is supplied by gentlemen whom he considers to be reliable authorities, but he is so keen a partisan that he never waits for one moment to consider whether his informant may be disinterested, whether he may be an expert, or whether, in adopting the information he gets in this casual manner, he is not contributing to a base form of business rivalry which causes gentlemen to give him information of a more or less reliable character in order to damage a business opponent.

Mr. REID. — I rise to order. The honorable member has been saying something about my contributing to some base form of business rivalry, as if I had got my information about starch from some starch manufacturer.

Mr. HARPER. — I never said anything of the sort.

Mr. SPEAKER. — Order. There is no point of order whatever in what the honorable and learned member has said.

Mr. HARPER.—I—

Mr. REID.—Order! Sit down while Mr. Speaker is addressing the House.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member for East Sydney to set such an example as other members of less experience may be able to follow. I was saying to him, when I was interrupted, that there was no point of order in what he said. If he wishes to make a personal explanation, he must wait until after the honorable member has finished his speech.

Mr. HARPER.—I must apologize, sir, for rising while you were on your feet. I was not aware that you were addressing the House. The first statement of the right honorable and learned member was in reference to my firm, and in connexion with the matter of rice. I am not going into the question in detail. When he talks of one man and two boys and a machine being all that was necessary for this manufacture, it is out of place in Parliament, though it would be very good fun on a variety stage. He showed that he knew nothing of what he was talking about. He said that he gave that information on the authority of an expert, but it was a case, so far as the expert and he were concerned, of the blind leading the blind. He ought to know that it is a large manufacture. When he says—and it is characteristic of all his statements about them—that the Victorian industries are all shoddy industries, or unimportant industries, he shows his ignorance, and nothing more. He went on to say that there was a differential duty in the Tariff and he informed the House that my firm, and two others which he did not name—why did he not name them all, when he named my firm?—were netting from this differential duty £10,000 a year. It is an absolute fabrication.

Mr. REID.—Mr. Speaker, I really must appeal to you. Perhaps this is all in order; I do not know. The honorable member has accused me of making a statement to the House which was an absolute fabrication. It seems to me that that is offensive; I do not know.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is going very near the line of what is offensive.

Mr. HARPER.—I shall say that it was incorrect.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. If the right honorable and learned member regards it as offensive, I must ask the honorable member to withdraw it.

Mr. HARPER.—I withdraw it, but—

Mr. REID.—Order!

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must say that the right honorable and learned member is not showing due respect to the Chair, and sometimes provokes remarks which might otherwise not be made.

Mr. WATSON.—Say it is confoundedly inaccurate.

Mr. HARPER.—It is confoundedly inaccurate.

Mr. REID.—That is right.

Mr. HARPER.—It is absolutely without foundation. If the honorable and learned member or his informant had knowledge, as they profess to have, they would know that this is purely a compensatory duty in consequence of raw material being imported, which turns out a very much smaller quantity of the manufactured article. One hundred tons of rice imported in a raw condition and dressed here turns out about 80 tons, consequently about 20 tons is gone to waste, and that accounts for the difference. Without that compensatory duty it would be impossible to carry on the manufacture in this country. Certain remarks made by the honorable member for North Sydney, exactly cover the case:—

It had been said that a free-trader must put a duty on raw material as well as the partly or fully manufactured article. Nothing of the sort, that is not free-trade; that is protection, and a worse sort of protection even to a free-trader because it is protection of the outside manufacturer. If the raw material is charged by weight, and the weight is larger than that of the manufactured article which is usually the case then to put the same duty on that material as on the manufactured article is a protection, but a protection to the outside manufacturer.

These are the words of a man who understands what he speaks about, who does not come to the House and make statements without inquiry. In every case before he does make a statement, even though he gets information which may favour his view, he is at pains to see that it is true. In that respect his conduct stands out in a bright and shining way in comparison with that of the honorable member whom he follows. I have never been placed in such a position before as to have to discuss a private personal matter on the floor of the House. I ought not to be called upon to do so on this occasion, but I cannot allow the opportunity to pass, because the clear intention of the right honorable and learned member was to cast a stigma on me as a public man, and also to cast a stigma on

the Government as favouring me because I am a member of the House.

Mr. REID.—Absolutely nothing of the sort.

Mr. HARPER.—There can be no other construction put upon it. That is what the right honorable and learned member intended to convey ; otherwise his conduct is absolutely meaningless. His conduct is despicable in the extreme. Perhaps that is out of order, and, if so, I withdraw it.

Mr. REID.—Not at all.

Mr. HARPER.—The right honorable member said—

Now I come to another item about which there has been a great dispute. That is with reference to starch. Starch is manufactured in Melbourne by two or three firms.

I shall not trespass on the House by reading the whole of the remarks which appear in *Hansard*. It is a disgrace to the right honorable and learned member that they should be there, and I believe he will live to regret the day that he ever put such a statement upon the records of the House. He said that starch is made by two or three firms, and that there had been a controversy. There has been a controversy. I had a friendly controversy with the right honorable and learned member. He was courteous on that occasion, and I was. He then made a series of statements on information which, like that about the rice, was incorrect. He made a broad general statement in order to prove the position he had been laying down at the Town Hall meeting in Melbourne, that every protective duty is extorted from the consumer. His graphic words were that the protected manufacturer fixed his price just under the top rail of the fence in order to get all, or nearly all, the duty. These were the right honorable gentleman's prefatory remarks, and then he introduced the name of my firm, together with that of another firm—a proceeding which was equally unfair. The right honorable gentleman made a general statement that these firms sent starch to Sydney, and sold it for 1½d. per lb. less than the same article was sold for in Melbourne. I deny that statement as untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Is the honorable member referring to something that was said in the House?

Mr. HARPER.—The right honorable gentleman referred to a controversy, and I

am stating the facts in order to lead up to what occurred in the House the other night. The right honorable gentleman made a statement then which I refuted. I showed clearly that, so far from the starch manufacturers of Victoria taking the highest amount they could under the Tariff duty, they were, owing to internal competition, selling the starch at an advance of only ½d. per lb. out of the 2d. The right honorable gentleman entirely abandoned that line of argument, and why he brought up the subject again I cannot imagine, because he in his heart knows he was wrong, and that he made a statement he could not maintain. The right honorable gentleman, however, brings the matter up in another form, and makes a series of statements which I say are incorrect—incorrect—incorrect.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why this repetition?

Mr. HARPER.—I repeat the word because I want to keep myself within parliamentary rules, and to convey my meaning as clearly as if I broke those rules. The right honorable gentleman made a statement that starch was sold at a higher price in Australia than it was in London, but I have taken measures which enable me to contradict his information altogether. He quoted from a circular, but he did not give the date of that circular, nor the name of the party who issued it.

Mr. REID.—Yes; I read the name of the firm.

Mr. HARPER.—I did not hear it, and it is not reported in *Hansard*.

Mr. REID.—I shall let the honorable member see the circular.

Mr. HARPER.—I can only say that I took measures, after the controversy with the right honorable gentleman, to ascertain in London what the exact position was, and my information illustrates one of the difficulties in establishing industries in this country without protection. I have, through my correspondents in London, ascertained from Colman and Co. the price at which they supply shipments of starch for Australia, and simultaneously, through another London firm, I have ascertained the price at which the trade in London is supplied. The remarkable result is that, while the price free on board for shipment to Australia is 22s. per cwt., the price for use in London is 34s. per cwt., a difference of no less than 12s., or nearly 1½d. per lb. According to the free-trade argument, the consumer's only safety and salvation

against the rapacity of traders and manufacturers is to have the competition of the wide world. And yet here we find one of the largest firms in Great Britain charging 1½d. per lb. more to the London trade than they charge to the shipping merchants who export to Australia. The argument of the free-trader is that the legitimate price is the competition price. If that be so, how comes it that this commodity is sent from England, and after paying freight, duty, and all other charges, is sold in Melbourne at 4s. or 5s. per cwt. below the price at which it is sold to the London grocers? Germany does the same thing; and the question is—how is it done? The right honorable gentleman talks about free competition being the only means of protecting the consumer, and here we have the London price fixed by competition at 1½d. per lb. less on the shipment. When we find gentlemen talking about 15 per cent. and 20 per cent. duty on an article on which the shipper can afford to give away 50 per cent., we see that it is of very little use to think of getting protection with such rates. In Victoria, under the protective system, an industry has been raised up which enables the trade to be supplied with starch at a price less, to the extent of 2s. or 3s. per cwt., than that at which the grocers in London can buy. I have the price lists of a number of the leading houses in London, and I find that the Army and Navy Store charges 4½d. per lb. for Colman's starch loose, and 5d. per lb. box; the Civil Service Stores supply at the same prices; Herrod's, 5d. per lb.; the Civil Service Association, 4½d. per lb.; Spiers and Pond, 4½d.; and then new Civil Service Stores, 4½d. per lb. The right honorable gentleman told us last night that according to his circular starch was sold in London for a less price than in Melbourne; but from the latest price lists, which came out by the last mail, we see that the article is sold to the consumer in London at a higher price than that at which the colonial product is sold in Melbourne.

Mr. REID.—Our authorities differ, that is all.

Mr. HARPER.—There is no question of difference.

Mr. REID.—My informant has fifty shops.

Mr. HARPER.—I do not care how many shops he has. The right honorable gentlemen added that a gentleman in Melbourne had told him that Colman's starch

in 28-lb. boxes could be had in London at 3d. per lb., but I have Colman's private price list, which shows that the lowest price is 3¼d. per lb.; so that it is absolutely impossible the right honorable gentleman's information can be correct. This shows that honorable members, who talk free-trade, and who seek to lead Australia in a free-trade direction, have absolutely no knowledge of what goes on in commerce. I tell the right honorable gentleman again, and I wish it to be reported throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the London firm makes a difference of 50 per cent. between the shipping price and the price to the London consumer, with the result that firms under the system of protection are supplying grocers in Melbourne at 2s. per cwt. less than Colman is supplying the London grocer.

Mr. REID.—Why did the honorable member put the price of starch up 1d. per lb., the day after the Treasurer's statement?

Mr. HARPER.—That is another illustration of the absolute incapacity of the right honorable gentleman to deal with a financial question, even that of 1d. on starch. I cannot believe that the right honorable gentleman was so innocent as he pretended to be. In his statement here he was most disingenuous. The right honorable gentleman concealed the fact—and has persistently concealed it—that the rise in the price of starch in Melbourne has been brought about by the countervailing duty on the raw material for the production of starch, namely, rice. The new duty on rice is equivalent to something over 1d. per lb. upon the starch produced in that way.

Mr. REID.—I mentioned in my speech that the duty had been put on.

Mr. HARPER.—But the right honorable gentleman did it in such a way as to convey a very wrong impression.

Mr. REID.—I was talking about the starch that you made before that duty was put on.

Mr. HARPER.—The right honorable and learned gentleman is now raising a question which he did not refer to on the previous occasion. However, I am going to deal with that, because I am not at all afraid of the honorable member. He is all right on the Town-hall platform, where he cannot be answered, but I am thankful to have him here, where I can show his absolute incorrectness and unreliability as a

public man. It is a peculiar thing that a comparatively small article, the consumption of which does not exceed 2 lbs. weight per annum per head of the population, should be made so much of in the fight between free-trade and protection in Australia. It is the irony of fate—I think it is the absurdity of fate—that the right honorable gentleman should pursue such a course as he has done at the instance of interested and designing parties outside, who have made him the medium for trying to injure those to whom they are opposed in business. I know the man who gave the right honorable and learned member his information on this subject. When the right honorable and learned gentleman spoke, I knew by the language he used who had told him. I shall not name him all the same.

Mr. PAGE.—Was the information true?

Mr. HARPER.—No, it was not true; but it was one of those untruths that are the worst of all—which are half truths, and which tell only a little of the story. I think I have made it clear to honorable members that the position is very different from that which was stated by the right honorable gentleman. With regard to this additional 1d. per lb., let me make it clear again that the right honorable and learned member must have known that since the 10th of this month a duty has been imposed upon rice which has added 1d. per lb. to the cost of starch. The honorable member now raises a new question by stating that we have raised the price of the starch that we had in stock. All I can say is that any firm would have done that.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member did do it then?

Mr. HARPER.—Of course. A circular was issued, not by us, but by others. As a matter of fact all the manufacturing firms had large forward contracts in the other States which had to be executed and in respect of which the duty has to be paid under the 92nd section of the Constitution Act. Is it not bringing our proceedings down to the level of a farce when, simply because an honorable member belongs to a mercantile firm, his business is discussed in this House by honorable members like the honorable member for Macquarie?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think it is indecent of the honorable member to bring these

matters up and thus advertise his own firm in the House and throughout the country.

Mr. HARPER.—Surely that comes with a very bad grace from the honorable member who brought this matter up.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; the honorable member is entitled to defend himself.

Mr. HARPER.—All I can say is that the attempt which has been made to injure my firm has recoiled upon the heads of those who led the attack. It is very unfortunate that I should have to speak in this manner in regard to two of the items in the Tariff.

Mr. REID.—Blue, I think, is another article.

Mr. HARPER.—I wish the right honorable gentleman were blue. Fortunately, I have nothing to do with blue, but I think that the conduct of the right honorable and learned gentleman is very blue, indeed. The next item that was referred to, and in regard to which the leader of the Opposition showed his unreliability, was that of preserved milk. The right honorable gentleman used the name of my firm in connexion with that article. As a matter of fact, my firm does not make preserved milk, but we happen to be the agents for a small company, with which I am connected as a shareholder. The attack which has been made in connexion with this item of preserved milk, is a malevolent one, and proceeds from interested parties, and it is very discreditable that the right honorable and learned gentleman should allow himself to be made the medium for delivering attacks which are instigated by ill-feeling on the part of some one in the city. The company to which I have referred is an extremely small one, which has done very little business, and all attempts to extend operations to the other States have been pretty well throttled. The statement was made by the leader of the Opposition that this article was sold at 6s. in Melbourne, and 4s. 6d. in New South Wales. All I can say is that the whole export business done by the company does not amount to more than 100 cases per month, and that the prices for the product outside of Victoria have been regulated by the rates charged by importers of European brands of a similar article. These prices have resulted in a heavy loss. It does not require much consideration to enable any one to realize that in introducing a new article it is very often

necessary to accept a price which is not remunerative.

Mr. REID.—And to put the article into packages that do not contain a full pound.

Mr. HARPER.—The duty on preserved milk under this Tariff—although a great noise has been made in this House about it—will be lower in Victoria than under the State Tariff. The duty under the Victorian Tariff was 2d., under the Queensland Tariff 2d., under the South Australian Tariff 1d., under the Tasmania Tariff 25 per cent., and under the Western Australian Tariff 15 per cent., whilst in Canada the duty is 1½d. This matter is no concern of mine, and is of no great magnitude, but a large industry is springing up in the other States—in New South Wales and Queensland—and I would ask those honorable members who talk about the primary industries whether this is not a primary industry? Everything that is contained in the manufactured article comes from the soil, and is produced in Australia.

Mr. PAGE.—What is it made of?

Mr. HARPER.—Sugar and milk—nothing else. As a matter of fact it seems to me that this discussion is being reduced to an absurdity. The attacks which have been made have been most unjustifiable, and I am perfectly conscious that whilst they will not injure me, they will recoil upon the heads of those who have made them. I hold in my hand the price-list of a leading firm producing condensed milk. It contains a list of places to which this firm ships, and I find that while the price is 18s. 6d. a case, they reduce it to 15s. when the article is exported to certain places. Then at the bottom of the list they inform the public of Australia that they will not enter into any proposals for the purchase of their commodity in London for shipment to South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland, or New South Wales. That is just like the case of the proprietors of the reapers and binders. Those who sent for reapers and binders could not buy them in America. They have been told that they must buy them in Australia through agents, and the purchasers here have been made to pay 125 per cent. profit. And so in the case of this condensed milk, it cannot be bought in London for export to certain Australian States, but is sent out here to agents, who are informed that wherever a local article is springing into consumption—and it is a natural industry of this country—the price is to be kept down to a non-remunerative

point. When free-trade agents claim that we manufacturers in this country are extorting money from the public, or as an honorable member opposite unfairly said, putting our hands into the pockets of the people of the Commonwealth, I say that it is high time that this line of argument were discontinued. As a matter of fact, these industries have great difficulties to contend with. In the first place, they have to meet the prejudice which always exists against any new thing. Then again, some of these articles are difficult to produce in this climate. Such is the case with preserved milk. Climatic conditions have to be overcome, and I maintain that if that industry is established in this country by the duty which the Government proposes, within five years the whole of the continent will be supplied with preserved milk of local manufacture, and that means from 250,000 to 300,000 cases a year. I further believe that we shall be in a position to export it as we do butter, and other commodities. I can remember the time when nearly all the butter which was consumed in Australia came from Cork, in Ireland. In Victoria we put on a duty of 2d. per lb., which led to the article being produced locally. Within a few years we were able to supply the whole State with butter, and to export the article, and the duty of 2d. still remains on the Tariff.

Mr. WATSON.—The free traders had 2d. a lb. duty in New South Wales.

Mr. HARPER.—Very likely.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member for Macquarie kept it on for a long while.

Mr. HARPER.—Perhaps it is too much to expect the right honorable member, the leader of the Opposition, to make the *amende* for the unjustifiable attack which he has made upon me.

Mr. REID.—I will when I am replying.

Mr. HARPER.—I think that the right honorable member's allusions to me were certainly not justifiable, because they were not correct; and, as I have said before, the imputations and insinuations were calculated to lead to incorrect conclusions in the public mind. I think that as a gentleman, it is the place of the right honorable member to withdraw them. However, that is a matter which lies with himself.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member has still refused to answer a simple question put to him by the honorable member for Macquarie.

Mr. HARPER.—The honorable member did ask me a question,

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Will the honorable member explain the difference between the Melbourne and Sydney price for starch?

Mr. HARPER.—As I pointed out at the time of the controversy with the leader of the Opposition, the Sydney price was to some extent shaped by the opposition we met with from the importers of English goods, who give off 1½d. a lb. ; and we had, in order to introduce our goods, to reduce our price to a small extent—perhaps 2s. or 3s. per cwt—to meet that competition, and to get a chance of having the article introduced into that State. That, as I said in the newspaper controversy at the time, was perfectly reasonable. It is the only way in which any firm could carry on its business under the circumstances. But the inference which the honorable member seeks to draw, is that when a firm exercised the same right of dealing with its goods as English firms under free-trade did—neither more nor less—only using it to nothing like the extent that English firms do—because they were under a protective policy, they were doing wrong, whilst English firms were charging something like 50 per cent. less for shipments than for the locally sold article. I can only say that these matters are pure matters of business, and every one knows that. But what I object to was the insinuation made by the right honorable member that this was owing to improper action, and that, as a matter of fact, the protective duty was responsible, whilst in reality the protective duty had not been availed of to anything like the extent to which we might have availed ourselves of it. I will say this further—that the whole of this matter has caused me considerable annoyance, and if I have spoken more heatedly on the subject than I should prefer to do, it was because I feel deeply that a very serious wrong has been done to me.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In explanation, I desire to say that the honorable member seems to think that I have made some serious reflection upon him. When speaking upon this question of the price of starch, I was only showing that a higher price was paid under protection in Melbourne than in Sydney under free-trade. I think that was a fair argument to use, and the honorable member has proved it on his own statement.

Debate (on motion by Mr. RONALD) adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION OF CENSURE—STATISTICS.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter, Minister for External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

I hope I may say, in moving the adjournment of the House, that most if not all of the arguments that can advantageously be used on such a motion have been used in the course of this debate. What will happen hereafter, will be within the rights of honorable members, but must largely consist of the reiteration of the arguments already advanced. That being taken into consideration, without any desire in the slightest degree to dictate to the House, I may venture to express the hope that we shall come to a speedy termination of this debate.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON (South Australia).—I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the difficulties that honorable members have in obtaining statistical information, he will make available to the House information which must be in the possession of the Ministry, showing the Inter-State trade and the over-sea trade in detail, in order that we may be able to see of what this £29,000,000 of trade consists—whether it consists entirely of the products and manufactures of the States, or whether, as it has been said frequently, a large portion of it consists of Inter-State trade in imported goods. Honorable members are not in the position of the Government. They have not had a staff of clerks to ascertain the whole of the figures for them, and if this debate has been somewhat prolonged, owing to the fact that we have not had all the information which should have been before us, that must be our excuse. I would ask the Prime Minister whether the figures showing the Inter-State trade, and showing also not only the amount of duty obtained from each of these articles on the present Tariff in each State, but the quantities imported cannot be put before us. All these figures must be in the possession of the Government. If they cannot be given to the House before the conclusion of this debate, they should be available at any rate for the use of honorable members during the debate on the various items of the Tariff. They would be of great assistance to us.

Mr. KINGSTON (South Australia—Minister for Trade and Customs).—All that I can say to the honorable member is that the information he desires can be found in the interchanges of the various States; imports and exports, and quantities, too.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Not in all cases.

Mr. KINGSTON.—If they are not to be found there I do not know where they will be found. We shall be happy to lay before the House copies of the various interchanges.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 11.12 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 23 October, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

Senator DRAKE (Queensland — Postmaster-General).—I beg to move—

That the Senate, at its rising, adjourn until Wednesday next, at half-past two p.m.

It is hardly necessary for me to say anything on this motion, because the reasons that are actuating me in moving it are the same as those stated by the Vice-President of the Executive Council in moving the adjournment of the Senate until to-day.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I am still of the same opinion as I was when a similar motion was under review last week. I think these adjournments are a very great waste of our very valuable time. Personally, I find the holiday, if it may be so called, most objectionable. I really find a difficulty in putting in my time in a profitable way. Though I know there is a very great deal of important legislation which we will have to study, still through these adjournments I do not feel at all inclined to settle down to serious work. I suppose that is also the condition of mind of other senators. I am inclined to think that the attitude which some of us took up last week—that there was no occasion whatever for the Senate to adjourn while a motion of

censure was under consideration in another place—was a justifiable attitude. There is such a very great deal of legislation which must be passed in the interests of the whole Commonwealth, and with a view to running the federal service smoothly, that I think we ought to go right on.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Suppose the Government are defeated, we cannot bind their successors.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator is only meeting trouble half way. If the Government is to be defeated, it will be quite time enough for us to consider that defeat when it happens, and we should not be in any worse position if we went on with the consideration of several of the Bills now before us. This unfortunate delay is possibly going to keep us here right into next year, and I am sure none of the senators who come from other States than Victoria desire that to happen. I do not at all agree with the proposal. I think the motion which has occasioned this delay is, as I have said before, only a means of doing certain propaganda work.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think the honorable senator ought to discuss any motion which is before another branch of the legislature.

Senator HIGGS.—No; but surely we should be permitted to consider what is at the bottom of the proposal that we should adjourn? Nothing has occurred during the past week which, in my opinion, places the adjournment now proposed in any more reasonable light. I think that the more attention we give to the reasons for the proposed adjournment, the more we must feel that there is little or no business in the proposition at all. It must be remembered that we have come from the other States to do business. Next year I imagine that when we, from Queensland, at any rate, will be expected to be in Melbourne, our presence will be required in our own State. I know that others who come from Queensland, as well as myself, will feel it a great hardship if they are obliged to remain in Melbourne during the months of January, February, and March of next year. I should like those who are in a position to express an opinion as to why we should go right on with the business, to do so this afternoon, because I believe that some further information has come to the minds of some honorable senators to show that the position we took up last week was the correct one.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—Like Senator Higgs, I have felt exceedingly inconvenienced by these repeated delays, and I am still of the same opinion as before, that there is no necessity for the Senate to adjourn under the circumstances. I make that statement again, and I do so now, confirmed by the authority of Mr. MacArthur, one of the Liberal "Whips" of the House of Commons. I had the pleasure of travelling to Sydney with him last week. I mentioned what the Senate proposed, and the reply that it was quite unconstitutional and unheard of for the Senate to continue to do its business while the Government were meeting a vote of want of confidence in another Chamber. He said that had we continued to do our business it would have been quite in accordance with Imperial precedent.

Senator DRAKE.—The House of Lords precedent. We do not want our practice to be governed by the House of Lords.

Senator HIGGS.—What was proposed last week was that we should follow the practice of the House of Lords and of every other Upper House.

Senator DOBSON.—It appears to me that we have to make our own precedents. Ministers have not given sufficient attention to the fact that we have certain machinery legislation to pass if we are to lay the foundation of the Commonwealth. There are matters before us of more importance than this motion of censure in another place. At the same time, there are matters that are before us which are not of a contentious or a party nature, but absolutely and positively of a judicial nature. It therefore appears to me that we are shirking our work, and positively wasting our time by refusing to go on. One of the judicial matters, I refer to, is about the first on the notice-paper, dealing with the petition against the return of an honorable senator. We all know that the Senate is getting into disrepute because of the delay which has attended the hearing of that important matter. Why should not that matter have been discussed last week, and why should it not be discussed now? Everything, common sense, our own dignity, and justice demand that we should now or to-morrow discuss that matter, and not adjourn because of what has taken place in another place. I point out that Members

of Parliament may die or may have to resign, and there is no machinery whatever for their election upon a uniform basis. We should have had the Elections Bill introduced here, as we understood was to be the case, last week, and that measure could have been gone on with. Why should we not go on with the Public Service Bill that was introduced in another place? There is nothing particularly contentious about it.

Senator GLASSEY.—How was Mr. L. E. Groom elected for Darling Downs on the death of his father?

Senator DOBSON.—What I say is that there is no uniform method of election. With the machinery we have, we can go on, but it is not as perfect as we should like it to be. I am pointing out that there is a difference between business of a contentious and party character, and business of a purely formal character which must be done by this Chamber no matter who is in office. I think that in making our own precedents, as we must, we are exceedingly foolish in maintaining in the first session of the Federal Parliament that our business must come to a standstill, because a vote of censure upon the Government is moved in another place. I point out to the Minister that the whole complexion of our work has been altered by the debate which has taken place. I do not suppose for a moment that any Tariff proposals emanating from the present or any other Government will be laid upon the table of the Senate before Christmas. That means that we shall have to adjourn or prorogue for a time, and to come back immediately after Christmas, and during the hot weather, in order to enable the Senate to discuss the uniform Tariff, without which we cannot get on. This delay is causing an enormous amount of harm, injury, and disturbance to trade. One hears that every hour one is in the street and is brought face to face with business men. Owing to these delays and this debate it is perfectly certain that no Tariff will be agreed to by Parliament this side of Christmas. All these things should be considered, and Ministers should put on their thinking caps and try to bring the debate in another place to a termination, in order that as soon as possible we in the Senate may know when it is likely that we shall be able to get on with the important business of the Tariff. I do not suggest that we should go on with

business at this moment, because I understand that the Vice-President of the Executive Council is not here, and there may be one or two other senators who have not come, thinking that there would be an adjournment. I understand that the Postmaster-General, with that courtesy and kindness for which he is famous, sent a telegram to our friends who were visiting Tasmania as members of the select committee on steam-ship communication with that State, to inform them that there would be an adjournment this week. I find that the whole of those honorable senators are present to-day, and prepared to go on with business. In order to test the matter, and in order that we may make our own precedents and have this matter fully discussed, I move—

That the words "Wednesday next" be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "to-morrow."

The PRESIDENT.—I point out to the honorable and learned senator that the amendment is a direct negative. The motion before the House is "That the House at its rising adjourn until Wednesday next, the 30th inst.," and if that motion is negatived, the House will meet to-morrow at half-past two o'clock.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER (South Australia).—As honorable senators know, I was one of the comparatively few who took the view that there was no necessity for an adjournment in consequence of anything that was being done in the other House. I pointed out that a number of Bills had been sent up from the House of Representatives which we might fairly go on with, and to which we might devote our time instead of being—and I sympathize very much with Senator Higgs on this point—simply thrown adrift, having our time wasted, and doing no good to ourselves or anybody else. The Senate took a different view about that. Senator O'Connor put the matter as strongly as it could be put from his own point of view. The honorable and learned senator treated it in this way: In the case of a no-confidence motion in either House, he contended that it would be a little indecent to go on with business, and that the challenge that was given was a challenge to him as leader of the Senate, as well as to other members of the Cabinet in the House of Representatives. The Senate generally took that view, and, certainly against my opinions on the subject, agreed to adjourn

until the road was cleared by the no-confidence motion being disposed of. It was on that understanding that we adjourned. We hoped the discussion upon the motion would have been over before now; certainly I hoped so when the adjournment was carried. Senator Dobson has just told us that the members of the Senate visiting Tasmania had notice direct from the Postmaster-General of the intention to adjourn to-day, and I saw in the Sydney papers a statement that the Senate was going to adjourn, and that honorable senators need not therefore trouble to attend. That was undoubtedly the understanding come to, whether rightly or wrongly, and I think it will have to rule so far as this particular occasion is concerned. It would be well, however, for us to treat it as a warning rather than as a precedent, and not to allow the same thing to occur again. Whatever may be my own personal feeling, it appears to me that the Senate deliberately and thoughtfully resolved upon adjourning until the no-confidence motion was disposed of. We adjourned until to-day, believing that in the meantime it would be disposed of. We settled the principle, at all events, for this occasion, and we have now no alternative but to again adjourn.

Senator DOBSON.—We did not do it deliberately or thoughtfully. We had not time to discuss it.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It was discussed a good deal. Having acted upon that principle, which should never be accepted as a general principle, but as a warning for the future, I think that so far as this occasion is concerned we must carry it out. It has undoubtedly had the effect of keeping honorable senators away who are never absent. They have stayed away by direct invitation, and on the assumption that the Senate would follow the resolution already arrived at until this particular crisis was disposed of. Under the circumstances, I hope that the motion submitted by the Postmaster-General will be carried.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—I ought to say on behalf of three New South Wales senators that they had berths engaged in last night's train, and but for news being received in Sydney that last week's procedure would be followed again this week, they would have been in their places to-day. Such being the case, I judge

that it would be quite out of the question for last week's procedure to be varied this week. At the same time I should like to express some regret at the break in our proceedings. I confess I do not see that it would be possible for the Government to go on with their own work in this Chamber, but in view of the fact that we have on the business-paper a considerable amount of private business which has been interrupted, I think, for at least two months, it would have been a fair compromise if the Senate had arranged to allow Government business to stand on one side in favour of private business, until the proceedings now taking place in the House of Representatives had terminated. I hope that should an occasion like this again arise, some such discrimination between Government and private business will be made.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia).—I should only like to say that I was one of those who strongly took the view that was announced to the Chamber by the Vice-President of the Executive Council. It appeared to me then, and it still appears to me, that the constitutional course was that which was then pursued by the Government. Undoubtedly it is a course which involves, and particularly on this occasion, very considerable inconvenience to honorable senators, and more so perhaps from the point of view just suggested by Senator Pulsford, that is in regard to the private business upon the notice-paper. But unfortunately these exigencies are attended on all occasions with more or less inconvenience. The public business has, in the interests of the country, to be pursued in various ways, and it may happen that the pursuit of the paramount public interest in a particular direction may involve inconvenience in individual cases. It therefore seems to me that we must have regard so far as we can in these instances to the constitutional usage which we have adopted, and therefore even if we felt disposed, from the point of view just suggested, to adopt some kind of compromise, that might be a matter for later consideration. We should scarcely be justified, however, in departing from the course we followed a week ago, and upon which honorable senators have felt themselves free to act ever since. I may say that specially feel the inconvenience in relation

to the election matter affecting Senator Matheson. I certainly had hoped that that would have been disposed of to-day, and it is just possible that, so far as I am personally concerned, I may not be able to be here next week when it may be dealt with. Therefore, in adhering to the position which the Government took up, I think constitutionally, on the last occasion when this matter was dealt with and this procedure was followed, I am doing so under a sense of special personal inconvenience in relation to a matter of public business in which I take a very deep interest.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I only rise to ask whether the Postmaster-General when replying will be kind enough to inform the Senate whether the House of Representatives will be prepared to adjourn if a similar motion to that which is being discussed in another place is moved here?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I asked that question before, and I could not get an answer.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 2.52 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 23 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My attention has been drawn by the honorable member for Perth to the report in this morning's *Age* of the opening words of my speech yesterday, when I referred to the honorable member's change from a protectionist to a free-trader. I find that the report in the *Age* may be understood in a sense disadvantageous to the honorable member, and contrary to my intention. It is not what I really said. The report is as follows:—

The Minister of Defence would like to ask the honorable member (Mr. Fowler) whether his avowed change of views from protection to free-trade was due to his change of residence from East to West of Australia? There was no real principle about a change of this kind—it was a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, and what would pay the best.

Those words might be read as referring directly to the honorable member as one who has changed his views for reasons of pounds, shillings, and pence. Of course, I said and meant nothing of the kind. I should be very sorry to say such a thing of an honorable member from whom I have always received the greatest courtesy. I would not think of attributing any such motives to him.

MR. KIRWAN.—The reflection is merely a general one upon the people of Western Australia.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—There is no reflection at all on any one. I have said before, and I said again yesterday, that in my opinion there is no principle in regard to the fiscal question; that it is merely a question of pounds, shillings, and pence—which policy would pay the best. I asked the question yesterday because a large number of persons who were protectionists in Eastern Australia became free-traders when they went to Western Australia, because in their opinion that policy suited them best in their altered conditions; but I in no way attributed to the honorable member for Perth, that he had changed his views for any other reason than because he thought that the policy of free-trade was best for Western Australia. My authority for saying that he was a protectionist before he went to Western Australia was his own statement; for I had no other knowledge of the views which he held previously to going there. I am glad to be able to make this explanation, because I should be very sorry to let it be thought that I in any way desire to misrepresent the honorable member. I notice also that I am reported to have said that the importing class is as a rule composed of protectionists. What I said was the opposite—that the members of the importing class were as a rule free-traders.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 22nd October, *vide* page 6301) on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the Financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner,

revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

MR. RONALD (Southern Melbourne).—Let me say, by way of preface—and as much for my own guidance as in reflection upon others—that it will serve no good purpose to enter into this debate in the spirit of controversy, where men fight for victory and not for truth. We are here as a body of men selected to search out the best policy for the country which we represent, and in that search we ought to use all our social, political, and educational information to discover a policy which will bring about the best results in the financial and commercial relations of Australia. We ought to be altogether indifferent as to who finds the truth—whether it is found on this side or that—so long as it is found; and we should, once and for all, refuse to allow this matter to be submitted to the arbitrament of what I would call federal fisticuffs. Let us hear what is to be said on both sides, seeking honestly to get the truth, and rejoicing when it is found, regardless as to who discovers it; let not our differences sink to the level of a row in the street. Before judging the Tariff proposals which have been put before us, I must state briefly what my fiscal faith is. My fiscal faith, briefly stated, is this: That if we leave the affairs of the country in the hands of the free-traders, they will bleed the body politic white by a ring of importers; while, if we leave them in the hands of the protectionists, they will bleed it white by a ring of manufacturers. Therefore, I say we can have nothing to do with either. The proper compromise between these two extremes is, not the golden mean which some think they have discovered in a revenue Tariff, but rather a combination of the best of both policies. I would have absolute free-trade in regard to all things which we cannot produce ourselves—raw material, tools of trade, and everything that would make for the development and activity of our

industries, and I would have absolutely protective duties upon all things that we can produce. Honorable members see the difficulty which the adoption of such a policy would create; it would give no revenue, and both free-traders and protectionists require revenue. In my opinion, the necessities of the State should be served by direct taxation, which, to my thinking, is the only just and legitimate method of obtaining revenue—direct and immediate taxation, not upon the earnings, but upon the surplus wealth of the people, whether that surplus wealth be derived from land, commerce, banking, or any other source. We must ultimately resort to that form of taxation; but we cannot have it in the financial proposals of the Government, because the Government have been fettered by the Constitution. Strangely enough, an honorable gentleman whose name is stamped upon the bookkeeping and other provisions of the Constitution which bind the Government so that they have no alternative in this matter, has been one of the strongest in denouncing their fiscal policy. That honorable gentleman is the right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, though another honorable gentleman who is held in high esteem by us all is really credited with being the author of them. But whether that be so or not, the honorable member for Tasmania has gained an immortality, and it is very hard indeed that the very man who is responsible for fettering the Government so that they can not do what they will, but have to bring in this Tariff with all its faults, should be the first and loudest in denunciation of it.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—He is not liable for the bookkeeping clauses.

Mr. RONALD.—It is section 87 I am referring to.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—He is liable for only the section which restricts the expenditure.

Mr. RONALD.—It seems to me much like throwing a man into the water after having carefully bound him hand and foot, and finding fault with him for not being able to swim. It has been said that the Tariff proposals are the worst possible. There is a grain of truth in that, but it might with equal truth be said that they are the best possible, for they are the only ones that could be brought before the House, if the Government were to keep their promises

to the country and the pledges which they induced those who intended to follow them to make to their constituents. With these introductory remarks, I shall proceed to show that, though we cannot have a compromise between free-trade and protection, the motion insists upon thrusting upon us the alternative policy—free-trade. I shall proceed to inquire into the merits of that policy, to ascertain whether by its history and its principles it is fitted to become the policy we should adopt in starting our national life. I want to look at the question from an economical stand-point, and to shift the point of view away from Victoria and New South Wales—for we have had enough of that—to Great Britain, where free-trade is seen in working order, and to judge of it by its results as seen there. I propose to test the policy economically in the first place, rather than socially and morally, in regard to what it has done for Great Britain. We have been pointed to her by the admiring finger of those who say—"Look at Great Britain, or, as they generally call it, England—and see the marvellous prosperity—see the marvellous increase of wealth—see the great things which free-trade has done for the mother country." Well, here are some of them: I take a comparison of the exports of home products between Germany and Britain. In 1883 the value of the exports of home produce for Germany was £164,000,000, and in 1898, £200,000,000, being an increase of £36,000,000. Taking the corresponding period for Great Britain, in 1883 the value of the exports of home produce was £240,000,000; and in 1898 £233,000,000, being a loss of £7,000,000. Then if one goes to the value of the exported manufactures: In Germany, in 1883, it was £98,000,000, and in 1896, £115,000,000; in England, in 1883, it was £215,000,000, and in 1896, £208,000,000, showing a decrease of £7,000,000. The book I am quoting from has been in circulation for the last four years, and certainly the advocates of free-trade have never made any attempt to answer the statements, or to show where they are fallacious. I go on to make a comparison between America and Great Britain, in regard to what protection has done for America. Between 1880 and 1898, America had enjoyed an unbroken policy of protection, and here is the result: The export trade in 1880 amounted to

£3,031,000; and the import trade to £16,087,000. In 1898, eighteen years afterwards, we have a strange phenomenon—the positions are exactly reversed. The exports amounted to £16,000,000, and the imports had fallen to £2,000,000. That at once explodes two free-trade theories; the one, that exports balance imports, and the other that when a nation is importing it is wealthy, and, when it is exporting, it is depleting itself of its wealth. That is utterly absurd, because America, during those eighteen years, has been going on apace and prospering, and it is utterly impossible that an import trade could be transmuted into an export trade of £16,000,000 without it being felt in great disturbance of the financial world and depressions in the industrial world. We find that there has been no such thing, but rather the opposite. There has been an increase in prosperity during those eighteen years in America, notwithstanding this great displacement and difference between imports and exports.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Does the honorable member say that America imported only £2,000,000 worth in 1898?

Mr. RONALD.—Yes.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think there is something wrong with the honorable member's book.

Mr. RONALD.—These statements the honorable member can have and verify, but there is the fact that the position was reversed from £16,000,000 of imports to £2,000,000, and that the exports rose from £3,000,000 to £16,000,000. I want to say a word or two about the influences of free-trade on the agricultural industry in Great Britain, and here I speak of a thing of which I have personal knowledge. I have no hesitation in saying, as one who was born and brought up on the land, that free-trade has absolutely destroyed agricultural pursuits in Great Britain.

Mr. FOWLER.—How does the honorable member account for the fact that there is competition for every farm in Scotland?

Mr. RONALD.—Publicans and sinners, and men who know nothing about farming generally, are always ready to rush into farming, and that is why.

Mr. FOWLER.—I know as much about farming as the honorable member does.

Mr. RONALD.—I wish to state facts. After the advent of free-trade, Great Britain could produce nearly all her food

supply, her corn amounting to 21,000,000 quarters; but in 1875 her production of wheat had been reduced to 15,000,000 quarters. That is one solid fact. Here is a bit of personal experience. I had a letter last week from a kinsman who has a large farm in the Lothians, and all writers on physical geography will tell you that the Lothian farms of Scotland are the best in the world. This gentleman had three farms, and he used to grow the finest wheat in the country. He wrote to me only a week ago that he does not now grow a bushel; and that he has turned his farms into grazing land.

Mr. FOWLER.—Hear, hear; the other pays better.

Mr. RONALD.—It pays better, but what has become of the production of wheat so far as Great Britain is concerned? The serious aspect of the problem is that we are dependent on the foreign world for our food supply, for we have only three months' breadstuffs in Great Britain. That is the utmost limit of our store, and Great Britain to her danger, it may be to her ruin, will one day waken up to find that being dependent on the foreign world for her breadstuffs, the waterway being stopped, a very vulnerable point is discovered in our great Empire. It is suicidal for Great Britain to destroy her own agricultural industry, as even the most blind devotees of free-trade will admit that she has done. Thompson, a contemporary of Bright and Cobden, said that it would not be "physically impossible to do without the home agriculturist altogether," and his prophecy has been fulfilled. I now wish to direct attention to the bearings of the alternative policies of free-trade and protection upon the labour question, for that is a matter also of momentous importance. Honorable members on the other side have directed their admiring gaze to Great Britain, and would have us look upon it as the paradise of the working man. They have pointed to what free-trade has done for the working man in Great Britain. Now, let me tell honorable members calmly a few of the things that free-trade has done. Let me tell them of the actual state of the industrial world of Great Britain to-day. Two years ago a grave scandal was brought to light in connexion with a manufactory in Glasgow. The owner of the works was a personal friend of mine, and I do not wish to mention his name. In certain chemical works in Glasgow there were found men

working in connexion with the chrome industry—with turkey-red and other dyes—twelve hours a day for seven days a week, at the rate of 3½d per hour. That in itself is sufficiently startling, and the fact that there were only a few hundred of these workmen does not affect the question. What a deplorable state the industrial world must be in if even a few hundred men could be induced to work at such a calling for such a pittance. Men engaged in this calling do not live more than about three years. The first thing that happens to them is that the cartilage of the nose becomes destroyed. I have seen a man put a lead pencil in one nostril and bring it out of the other. The chrome perforates their bodies, and I have seen men wearing wire cages round their bodies to keep their shirts from touching their skins. When even some hundreds of men can be obtained to work in such an industry for a pittance, what a terrible state the industrial world must be in.

Mr. FOWLER.—Does not the honorable member know that the same state of things exists in Germany?

Mr. RONALD.—That does not affect my argument at all, as the honorable member will see when I deal with that later on.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The same thing exists within a few hundred yards of this House, in Little Bourke-street.

Mr. RONALD.—No, it does not. We were told by honorable members on the opposition side that the workmen in Great Britain had only to strike and they would win every time, and this was one of the statements made by the leader of the Opposition when he was attempting to show that Great Britain was a paradise for the working men. They struck on the occasion to which I have referred, and they did not win, and that was a very tame case in comparison with numbers of which I have particulars.

Mr. McDONALD.—They did not win when they struck in Victoria, either.

Mr. RONALD.—In this book which I have here particulars are given of the condition of the alkali workers, chain makers, slipper makers, and the tailors and tailoresses. I know of the state of the industrial world for the last two or three thousand years—from the Helots in the days of Athens. I know the conditions under which slavery was carried on in Rome, and I have read of the

horrors connected with the employment of slave labour in America, and I am perfectly safe in taking my oath before this Chamber that I know of nothing in the history of civilization equal to the horrors that are described in this book. I know of nothing like them. We are told that we must not mention these things, because we should be traitors to our country, forsooth! but we are in the place where we are required of conscience to speak the truth, and it is with shame we tell it. The revelations in this book are enough to make a man ashamed to belong to the *genus homo*, and far more ashamed to belong to the English race. But I will tell the truth, be the shame what it may. Another book I have is called the “Cry of the Children,” and the revelations in it are also of a terrible character. The man I envy not who cannot be touched by the little children crying for bread; the man I envy not who would not feel in his heart for their little fingers toiling for a pittance. There is no language that can adequately describe the horrible contents of these books, and if they do not appeal to those honorable members who call themselves labour members, all I have to say is that their hearts must be as hard as their brains must be soft. I have still further evidence here in the shape of the official report of the Inspector of Factories to the Royal commission appointed by the House of Lords, and I can best put what I have to say in their own words—

And such having been the scope of our inquiry, and ample evidence having been brought before us on every matter comprised within its scope, we are of opinion that, although we cannot assign an exact meaning to “sweating,” the evils known by that name are shown in the foregoing pages of the report to be—(1) An unduly low rate of wages. (2) Excessive hours of labour. (3) The insanitary state of the houses in which the work is carried on.

These evils can hardly be exaggerated. The earnings of the lowest classes of workers are barely sufficient to sustain existence.

The hours of labour are such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree.

The sanitary conditions under which the work is conducted are not only injurious to the health of the persons employed, but are dangerous to the public, especially in the case of the trades concerned in making clothes, as infectious diseases are spread by the sale of garments made in rooms inhabited by persons suffering from small-pox and other diseases.

We make the above statements on evidence of the truth of which we are fully satisfied, and we feel bound to express our admiration of the courage with which the sufferers endure their lot,

of the absence of any desire to excite pity by exaggeration, of the almost unbounded charity they display towards each other in endeavouring by gifts of food and other kindnesses to alleviate any distress for the time being greater than their own.

That is Great Britain as she is to-day, and not as she has been painted by the other side. Anything more awful than the facts disclosed by this cold official report could not well be imagined. The *tu quoque* argument will be used, of course, and honorable members on the other side will doubtless point to America, and say that things are as bad there, but that does not affect my argument. My argument is this: Here we have revelations as to the condition of affairs in Great Britain which should absolutely prevent us from having any dealings with the sweater, wherever he may be found. Some honorable members would make us partners with, and abettors of, the sweater, by opening up our ports and compelling us to buy his products.

Mr. FOWLER.—Are there no sweaters in Victoria?

Mr. RONALD.—That does not matter. We can deal with the sweaters whom we have here, but we cannot deal with those in Great Britain. We want to deal with the sweaters in the Commonwealth, and under protection we can and shall deal with them, but under free-trade we could not control them. If people knew of the horrors which are described in these reports they would be thunder-struck. I am sure they would rather go with bare feet and unclothed bodies than wear garments stained by blood. I called at the office of Mr. Ord, the Inspector of Factories of Victoria, to ascertain if he had since received any report later than the one I have quoted, but I find that there has been no change. They have a Factories Act in operation in Great Britain, but the competition in the industrial world is so strong that they cannot under free-trade exercise much control through that statute. The great depression and all the evils which accompany it are traced, not to free-trade, because the writer of the work from which I am quoting is a free-trader, but to the influx of alien Jews into London. There are Ghettos in London, as in ancient Rome—places where Jews live, herded together; free-traders tell us that it is because of free-trade and the better conditions of life, but it is due to the greater religious liberty they enjoy, that these aliens go to England. In London

these people repay us for our tolerance, kindnesses, and forbearance by beating down wages to starvation point—to a point where even a bare subsistence can scarcely be earned. The free-traders of Great Britain have admitted these aliens and pauper Jews to work amongst them, and to depress the industrial world, but here free-trade democrats are loud in calling for a “white Australia.” Where, however, is the consistency of the man who would admit the productions of black labour and exclude the black labourer? Such a position I regard as the absurdest of all absurdities. If we advocate a “white Australia,” we should exclude the productions of black labour as well as the black labourer, and exclude also pauper Jews, who, by their cheap labour, depress the industrial market. From an economical aspect of the question, we see the extraordinary decrease in the volume of trade in Great Britain. Another thing that free-trade has done has been to drive people away from their homes. I picked up the other day from Sir Henry Wrixon’s book, *Socialism in Many Lands*, the fact that in 1815 the total number of emigrants from Great Britain was 2,081, while in 1852 the number had increased to 368,000, or over 1,000 per day. We have been told that because population has left Victoria, it is a proof that protection is a failure; but we see that in Great Britain, six years after the advent of free-trade, in spite of the fact that at that time millions on millions of pounds were being spent on the construction of railways, and in spite of the great mechanical and industrial activity that was everywhere present, the population was leaving home at the rate of over 1,000 a day. It would be just as reasonable to argue that it was the fiscal policy of Great Britain that was driving these men from their homes. It must be remembered that these people were not going of their own accord.

Mr. FOWLER.—They were driven off the land.

Mr. RONALD.—They were driven off the land lamenting—

Lochaber no more! Lochaber no more!

We’ll maybe return to Lochaber no more.

These people were being torn up by the roots—their heart strings were lacerated at leaving their homes, but go they must. The statistics of America show that the period from 1846 to 1852 was that of the great outburst of mechanical activity in that

country, and America reaped the advantage of the British mechanics who had been driven from their homes. People left by the thousand for America; and it might just as well be said that this exodus was entirely due to the adoption of free-trade as that the exodus from Victoria has been due to protection. Of course, the discoveries of gold in Australia and California, together with the Irish famine, were all factors, but notwithstanding there is still a large margin to account for. Honorable members opposite traduce Victoria by saying that it is the protectionist policy which has depleted the State of population; but they should read the annals of Great Britain between 1846 and 1852, and explain what it was that drove the people from homes where they had been for generations. I am speaking more particularly now to the labour members, and I ask them if they have considered that, under free-trade, provision is made for a chronic state of glut in the labour market? It is patent that if the ports all over the world were thrown open, and a strike occurred here or in Great Britain, all that the manufacturers would need to do would be to shut down and send to America for the articles that were required, and *vice versa*. If there was industrial trouble in any part of the world, employers under absolute free-trade would be able to come to the assistance of their own class anywhere. Instead of making this country a paradise for the working man, and enabling him to obtain his rights by the brutal method of strikes, which is the method suggested by the Opposition, we should find that plutocrats in other parts of the world would always be ready to come to the assistance of wealth against labour. Under universal free-trade it would be utterly impossible to conduct anything like a fair battle between capital and labour; and I ask labour representatives to consider the fact that industrial disputes are, from the working man's point of view, conducted with greater advantage in protectionist countries. What is the object of our existence as a labour party? It is to see that the people we represent get something like a fair share of the profits of their labour. On this we are all agreed, and we have to consider whether that end can be obtained under free-trade. I hold in my hand a pocket knife for which I paid 6s. in the Mutual Store, Melbourne, and I want to know what the original maker of this knife

got for his work. I shall very likely be giving a liberal estimate if I say that the cost of the labour was 6d., and that the cost of the raw material amounted to another 6d. Where has the other 5s. gone? It has gone to the middlemen and in exchange. As I say, we are here professedly to put a fair share of the results of his industry into the pocket of the workman; but how can we, under free-trade, guarantee that he will get anything like a fair share? Free-trade multiplies the middlemen, whom it is our object to do away with, in order to deal as directly with the workers as possible. The middlemen who are permissible, and whom we can understand, are producers of the raw material, the owners of factories, and the retail dealers. We desire to get as near as possible to the actual workman, and the only way in which that can be done is by producing ourselves. If we depend on a foreign market we depend on an endless chain of middle-men, whom we multiply instead of eliminating. I have dealt with the social and economical aspect, and now I wish to deal with the educational aspect of this great question. Henry George, who was one of the ablest as he was also the only consistent free-trader I ever met, said that we should not manufacture ourselves, but should get others to manufacture for us. The honorable member for Wentworth last night asked why should we go into industries—why should we not let the Germans, Japanese and Chinese do our manufacturing for us, and buy their productions with our exports? My answer is that we should cultivate and develop industries, because industries are an educational institution in any country. Thomas Carlyle tells us that education teaches a man to do something, and we all know that no man who uses tools is anything but an educated man. He may not be a learned man, but an educated man he always is. Therefore, as an end in itself and an object to aim at, we ought to have our own industries in order that we may educate our youth, teach them to adapt means to ends, and make educated men of them. If we do not do that, our young men will grow up “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” instead of being dexterous workers as they ought to be. Because, after all, man is a tool-using animal. His strength lies in the tools he uses; and if we have industries we shall have means whereby men may become dexterous in the use of tools. If, on the

other hand, we obtain all our manufactured goods from foreign countries, the power to use tools will fall into decay, or at least be valueless. These are the great objections I have to the free-trade policy which honorable members opposite seek to impose upon Australia. I could understand such an argument coming seriously from honorable members opposite as that our protected industries are something like children whom we sometimes see in the streets, who are over-clothed, and who in consequence are liable to suffer from pulmonary and other complaints. I could understand some statesmen saying, with regard to certain industries, what a physician might say in respect of over-clothed children—"Make them healthy by stripping off the superfluous garments." But what would honorable members think of a physician who insisted on stripping from an over-clothed child every garment it wore, throwing it into a cold bath, and letting it take its chance? Where is the statesmanship in taking off every garment of protection that our industries have had? If any statesman came forward seriously with such an idea as I have mentioned, I might be inclined to listen to him, but it is a very different thing when a politician adopts the attitude of a grotesque buffoon, and talks about throwing whelps into the water and letting them swim or go under. No serious statesman would ever entertain such a proposal as that, and no serious politician would ever accept it. I want to say a few words now as to the position I occupy upon this question. I owe no obligation to any party or any organ in respect to my presence in this Chamber. I am absolutely a free man in regard to that. Being in that position, I make an offer to honorable members opposite. It is this. If they will convince me that during the 50 years free-trade has been in existence it has increased the volume of trade, and the wealth of the only country where it has been seen in operation; if they will prove to me that the lot of the working man has been better under such conditions, and that it is not infinitely worse now than previously; if they will prove to me that from free-trade the workmen get a fair share of the results of their industry, and that under that policy when we are manufacturers of raw material, and enhance the value of an article as we do, we shall obtain a fair return; if they will assure me that by adopting free-trade we shall not

Mr. Ronald.

be admitting into our country the blood-stained products of the sweated labour world of London, of Germany, of America, and of Japan; if they will assure me that all the goods that will come into our markets under free-trade will be honestly come by—I will go over to them and vote with them. Now I want to say one word in connexion with the maxim in which the policy of free-trade is summed up. Free-trade theorists tell us that their policy is summed up in the single maxim: "Buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest." Now, I must say that to my mind that maxim means, that wherever one meets a simpleton, one should take advantage of him. Let me give an illustration of the working of this maxim. Some months ago I wanted to purchase a bicycle. I advertised for one, and a man came along in answer to my advertisement, and offered me a bicycle for a ridiculously low price, for which I knew he could not have bought it, and at which, I thought, he could not afford to sell it. I said to him, in a half jocular, half serious way, "I wonder whether that is a bicycle which has been reported to the police as missing." The man at once jumped upon the "bike" and rode off. If I had bought in the cheapest market I should not have asked a single question as to how the man had come by the bicycle. That maxim, "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," means taking advantage of one's fellow man on every occasion. It is the maxim of church bazaars, in connexion with which people run to beg, borrow, or steal in order to obtain goods cheaply and sell them at the dearest rate.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Steal?

Mr. RONALD.—Well, I withdraw that word.

Mr. WILKS.—Not steal, commander!

Mr. RONALD.—Yes, commander; the honorable member is up to date. That is the moral aspect of free-trade—one must not ask any questions as to how the goods have been come by, but must endeavour to obtain them at the cheapest rate. What is all this cry for cheapness? Is it not degrading to us as a nation that we should pursue that thing which is working so much sorrow in the world? How is the sweating that exists amongst us caused? It is caused by bargain hunters, who are hunting for cheapness all over the city, beating down prices, not willing to pay a fair

price for a good article, but always wanting to get it cheaper, no matter who suffers. This craze for cheapness is something of which we ought to be ashamed.

Mr. FOWLER.—Do I understand the honorable member to say that there are no bargain hunters in Victoria?

Mr. RONALD.—I am not altogether unaccustomed to public speaking, but I am altogether unaccustomed to interruption. Where I have been accustomed to speak,

I am Sir Oracle,

And, when I ope my lips, let no dog bark.

But I must put up with interruption; it is one of the things which one has to take in the rough and tumble of political life. I am not saying that there is no bargain-hunting in protectionist countries. Men are pretty much the same no matter under what rule. But we, as a nation, ought not to become bargain-hunters. It is one thing for the individual, or for one's wife, to be hunting bargains, but quite another thing for a nation to do it. We need not degrade the nation by hunting bargains in that way, and I will be no party to it. Let us not, then, adopt this maxim, "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," for it is an immoral maxim. It is the maxim of the commercial world, and the only guide of that world, but history has taught us something better than that. As a nation we ought to be above it. We are our brother's keepers, and we have a right to know how the goods are come by. The only way in which we can do that, is by producing those goods within our own borders. If there is sweating going on we can correct it. I should like to ask honorable members of the Labour party how a demand for a Compulsory Arbitration Bill and for free-trade can be made at one and the same time. There would be no need for compulsory arbitration under free-trade. If our manufactures were produced abroad, what need could there be for such a measure?

Mr. THOMAS.—Would there be no mining going on?

Mr. RONALD.—Certainly; but would the honorable member call into existence a cumbersome measure to regulate mining?

Mr. THOMAS.—I do not see why mining as well as umbrella-making, for example, should not be regulated by such a measure.

Mr. RONALD.—A very small portion of the community would be affected by such a measure.

Mr. THOMAS.—Does the honorable member call the mining community a small section? Do we not want compulsory arbitration for shearers?

Mr. RONALD.—Finally, I would point out that protection is homogeneous with the genius of politics in Australia. We believe in State socialism. That marks the political genius of Australia, and protection is homogeneous with that policy. It is bound up in it. Free-trade, on the other hand, belongs to a kind of privileged class legislation, and the result of that is that free-traders are conservatives. It is declared by Lecky, in his great book on democracy, which I would recommend honorable members of the Opposition to read, that democratic communities are frankly protectionists, and the converse holds true—that conservative communities adhere to free-trade. Why these gentlemen elect to be liberals is that they have had some noble names associated with their faith and creed; the names of such men as Adam Smith, Cobden, Bright, Peel, Gladstone, and Villiers. The names of such men keep the theory alive. It is wonderful what men will sacrifice in the interests of theory and a bundle of unverified hypotheses. The only parallel to this devotion to a theory, in the face of facts and damning evidence against its utility, so far as I know, is the belief which was held in regard to witchcraft. Many years ago kind, saintly, learned men believed in witchcraft, because they had formed a theory, and no amount of evidence that could be brought to bear on them would shake their faith. No matter what was said to disprove their faith, they remained steadfast in it. I do not want to offend honorable members on the Opposition side of the House. I want to give them all credit for honesty of purpose in their support of free-trade, and I believe that they are honest searchers after truth. But this is a fine example of man's devotion to a theory that the world may indeed note and mark. In the face of the most startling, astounding contradictions of the utility of the free-trade policy, they still persevere in their contention and insist upon our adopting it, even though we demonstrate to them again and again that its adoption would mean national suicide.

Mr. KIRWAN (Kalgoorlie).—To my mind the honorable member for Southern Melbourne occupies a rather peculiar

position. His earnestness and enthusiasm in the cause of the working people of Australia I am sure no one in this House doubts. He belongs to a party in this House that has won universal respect. But it seems a very strange thing indeed to one who knows how the question of protection and free-trade is viewed elsewhere throughout the world to find that there are members of the labour party in this Parliament and in the State Parliaments who are adherents to protection. Wherever the cause has been taken up in other parts of the world it is different. It is the democrats of America who are fighting for free-trade continuously. It was the advanced liberals of Great Britain who won the cause of free-trade there, and its operation has proved so successful that there is now no party in Great Britain that favours the policy of protection. On the continent of Europe, in the same way, it is the advanced thinkers, the democrats, who favour the cause of free-trade; and it seems a most singular thing that one has to come to Australia to find men who are professing an interest—and who, I believe, have a very deep interest—in the cause of the workers, but who at the same time are so mistaken in their opinions that they consider protection will advance the interests of the labouring classes. Whilst the honorable member was speaking, some one was good enough to hand me certain figures relating to imports into the United States. The honorable member for Southern Melbourne said, I think, that the value of the United States imports was something like £2,000,000. He did not state the year.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable member gave the figures for the year 1898.

Mr. KIRWAN.—I have a great many figures here showing the imports of that country, and I am sure that at this stage the House must be yearning for a new set of figures. Honorable members must be consumed with a desire to hear some more statistics, but I hope they will bear up under the disappointment when I inform them that I am not going to pour forth all the figures I have received. They merely go to show that the imports of the United States in 1850 amounted to £36,000,000; in 1889 to £154,000,000, and in 1897 to £159,000,000. That shows what reliance can be placed on the statements of an

honorable member who makes such an extraordinary assertion.

Mr. RONALD.—Will the honorable member allow me to explain?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order; the honorable member cannot do so at this stage.

Mr. KIRWAN.—The honorable member made some reference to the state of things that existed in England. It is, indeed, a very deplorable condition of affairs; but I should like to quote for the honorable member's benefit, the opinion of a gentleman whom, I am sure, he will not in any way discredit. I have here a newspaper paragraph referring to a speech made by Mr. John Burns, in which he compared the state of things in Great Britain, with the position of affairs in that protectionist country, the United States. The paragraph is as follows:—

Mr. John Burns, M.P. for Battersea, made some candid remarks on the condition of the poorer classes in New York, when addressing a meeting in that city yesterday.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the honorable member quoting from?

Mr. KIRWAN.—I am quoting from a newspaper which the honorable member regards as a very important journal. If I wished to be nasty, I might say it was a paper which almost owned a large number of honorable members of this House. I refer to the *Age*, of December 6th, 1894. The paragraph continues—

In the course of his address, Mr. Burns told his hearers that his observations in New York had shown him that the houses in Whitechapel itself—the poorest quarter in London—were clean, wholesome, and luxurious, compared with the horrible tenements in which lived the workers of the chief city of the United States.

Mr. TUDOR.—How long was John Burns there?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member resume his seat? It is impossible for the honorable member to proceed if honorable members so constantly interject. I must ask honorable members to refrain from doing so in this way.

Mr. KIRWAN.—I think that the opinion of the member for Battersea in the House of Commons, Mr. John Burns, upon a question of this kind ought to be taken in preference to the opinion of the honorable member for Melbourne South, or of my honorable friend who sits in the corner. Some honorable members seem to doubt the opinion of Mr. John Burns. I should like,

therefore, to give them the opinion of another prominent English labour leader—Mr. Keir Hardie. I take this quotation from the *Sydney Worker*. Mr. Keir Hardie makes a vigorous protest against the term “English pauper labour,” which is so frequently used in America as well as in Victoria. He said recently to an official of the American Federation of Labour—

English labour to-day is not nearly so pauperised as is the labour of America.

Further on he says—

I have had an opportunity of studying the condition of the American workman on the spot, and I unhesitatingly declare that in spite of his protection—perhaps because of it—his condition is immeasurably worse than that of the British worker. The position of the workers of this country has improved considerably since the inauguration of a free-trade policy.

That is the opinion of Mr. Keir Hardie. But I wish to come nearer home. It is not so very long ago that the Melbourne Trades and Labour Council formed a committee to inquire into the condition of certain trades, and the wages paid in those trades. I will read one or two extracts from the report of that committee, which was published in the daily newspapers on 21st March last. The report of the evidence appeared in both newspapers during February.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What committee is that?

Mr. KIRWAN.—The committee formed by the Melbourne Trades Hall. I should like to read the following extract from the committee's report:—

The committee discovered, much to their surprise, from the representatives of industries that were well protected by tariff and bonuses, that it in no sense necessarily followed that the employes were enjoying any better conditions, working less hours, or receiving more pay than previously existed. In protected industries there was a great reluctance on the part of employers to comply with the clause of the new protection doctrine—that of a fair wage for reasonable hours. The wicker workers and millers, the brewers and maltsters, brass-workers, farriers, brush-makers, bedstead and fender makers, soap and candle makers, bone-dust and glue makers, and tallow men, hair-dressers and wig-makers, waterproof factory employes, and cycle builders—in all these trades sweating is rampant.

This state of affairs exists in protectionist Victoria. When the honorable member for Southern Melbourne talks so much about sweating in the old country I think he should look nearer home, and realize that in such a highly protected country as Victoria,

according to the Trades Hall sweating is rampant in the very trades that were supposed to be most protected.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Protective duties alone will never prevent sweating.

Mr. KIRWAN.—I did not intend to discuss the abstract question of protection *versus* free-trade, but I have been led into making these observations by the remarks of the honorable member for Southern Melbourne. I merely rose to place before the House some facts as to how this Tariff has actually affected, and is going to affect, some of the industries which, in my opinion, are most worthy of encouragement throughout the Commonwealth. I have absolute evidence in support of what I am about to say, and if any honorable member is dissatisfied with my statements, I am in a position to convince him of their accuracy. Before giving these facts, however, I may mention that the Prime Minister, the Minister for Defence, and, I think, the Treasurer also, laid much emphasis upon the necessities of the smaller States. They seem to think that the revenue which will be derived under this Tariff is absolutely necessary in order to enable the smaller States to discharge their financial obligations. It seems to me that that is merely an endeavour to conceal the injustice which is being done to those States. I ask any of those right honorable gentlemen to mention the industries in Western Australia, South Australia, Tasmania, or Queensland, which will be benefited to the slightest extent by the adoption of this Tariff. It seems to me that the Tariff is an endeavour to exploit the smaller States in the interests of a few manufacturers in the big centres of the East. Whilst those States are suffering, the only return which Ministers can urge they are getting is summed up in the statement—“Oh, we are saving you from financial trouble.” I shall presently show how absurd is that cry, at any rate as regards the State of which I have most knowledge. The Minister for Defence, in a speech last night, to which I listened with close attention, dealt in a very casual way with a number of these matters, and studiously avoided the very questions upon which we most desired to hear him speak. Personally, I wanted to hear what he had to say—in view of the strong objections of the people of Western Australia to this Tariff—concerning the imposts which it levies

upon the mining industry. In reply to an interjection, he said—"I shall come to the mining industry presently," but he did not come to it. His speech, in my opinion, bears its own condemnation. Like several other deliverances from the front Ministerial bench, it consisted largely in a strong condemnation of the action of the Opposition in bringing forward this motion. But the Minister prefaced his remarks by the statement that if he were in the position of the leader of the Opposition, he would adopt exactly the same course that has been adopted even in regard to the same Tariff. When the right honorable gentleman makes a declaration of that kind, I think honorable members may fairly gauge the value which is to be placed upon his utterances. It was a peculiar commentary upon his speech that at the moment he was delivering it I received a telegram from a very important body, indeed, expressing its opinion in regard to this Tariff. The right honorable gentleman is supposed to be the representative of Western Australia in the Ministry. I say "supposed" because I think that a better term would be the "misrepresentative" of Western Australia, at any rate, so far as this Tariff is concerned. Whilst he was speaking, the following wire from the Fremantle Chamber of Commerce was handed to me:—

The following resolution was carried at a special meeting of the Chamber by a large majority:—This Chamber considers the proposed Federal Tariff oppressive. It will, if passed in its present form, severely harass trade and commerce in this State. It will unduly tax the consumers in this State. It will retard the mining, agricultural, pastoral, and timber industries. Chamber is of opinion that the revenue required can be raised by levying duties on a revenue-producing basis, and urges Parliament to modify that Bill to that end.

That is only one of a number of telegrams which the Western Australian representatives have received since this Tariff was brought forward. They come from every class of people in Western Australia. The workers on the goldfields, through the medium of the Goldfields Trades and Labour Council, have telegraphed a protest, and the Chamber of Mines—a body which represents an immense amount of British capital, and which is worthy of a considerable amount of attention by reason of what that money has done to open up the backblocks of Western Australia—has also put forward a strong

protest. We have, therefore, the mining classes, the commercial classes, and the wage-earning classes all in a state of righteous indignation at the proposals contained in this Tariff, which will press very harshly upon the people of Western Australia. The Prime Minister and his colleagues are very anxious about the financial position of the smaller States. So far as Western Australia is concerned, I should like to point out that the position in that State has changed considerably within the last year or so. The Government which is at present in power is one that does not waste money in extravagances. It does not waste money in building railways from places of no importance to places where there is no population. Neither does it squander money in building harbors and breakwaters where there is no need for them, nor in erecting public buildings in order to satisfy pocket boroughs, and thus retain a certain party in power. The Government which is now ruling Western Australia is doing a great deal of good for the country. It is spending considerably less than did its predecessors in office, and is spending it to more advantage. The Minister for Defence said last night that Western Australia would be very grateful for the position which it occupied. But the present Premier of the State, Mr. Leake, does not view the matter in that light. That gentleman—and I think he ought to know something about the financial obligations of the State—has strongly condemned this Tariff. Indeed, he is addressing public meetings in Western Australia, and doing everything that he possibly can, to show this Parliament how indignant are the people of that State with the Tariff which has been submitted, and how severely it will operate there. Surely if Mr. Leake is not troubled regarding the financial obligations of Western Australia this Parliament ought not to be very much concerned about that particular matter. I represent an exclusively mining population. The mining population of Western Australia, and those who are actually dependent upon the mining industry, number roughly about 100,000. Of that number, there is not a single individual who will benefit by this Tariff to the extent of one penny piece, whereas there is not a man, woman, or child in that community who will not be injured to the extent that the cost of living will be increased. I shall show that the cost of

mining on the Western Australian gold-fields—apart altogether from the tax upon machinery—will be increased by 1s. 6d. per ton, and the cost of living there, which is already high enough, will be increased by very nearly 20 per cent. These calculations have been made on the spot, and have been sent to me. I should like to make one remark in connexion with Victoria. We have heard a good deal in the way of comparison between Victoria and New South Wales. As a stranger to both States, I am bound to say that the difference between their conditions is very marked. I visited New South Wales some time ago, before the introduction of this Tariff, and although the impressions which were conveyed to me were perhaps those of the man in the street, I found there general evidences of prosperity. No one growled at the badness of the times, while every one was hopeful of the future, and the number of unemployed in Sydney seemed trifling compared with what is to be seen in Melbourne. In Victoria, however, there has been nothing but grumbling and growling at the depression. I am one of those who accepted the invitations of a number of the manufacturers of Melbourne and its suburbs to inspect their factories. I was glad to do so. I quite understand the position of those connected with those factories. They naturally dislike the idea of duties which have strengthened their industries being taken off, and they are very anxious to put their case prominently before us. I visited several of the factories, though not so many as I should have liked to visit, and the effect created in my mind was very different from what was intended. I have nothing to say against the way in which the factories are managed, or against their ventilation and general arrangements; but the impression created in my mind was that in the best regulated factories, where the ventilation and the sanitary conditions are good, and there is nothing to object to about the arrangements generally, the persons employed are not such as one would wish to see the parents of the future Australian race. In many of the factories—and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports was with me—the employes were chiefly girls. We thought that many of these were under the age of fifteen years.

Mr. MAUGER.—Thirteen years.

Mr. KIRWAN.—Although they told the honorable member for Melbourne Ports

that they were over that age, they did not convince us that they were so, and it seemed to us that they were resorting to subterfuge in order to secure employment. Those who had recently begun to work in the factories were healthy and rosy-cheeked, but those who had been there any length of time were pale-faced and attenuated—certainly not the specimens of humanity one would expect to produce the great nation of the future that we all expect the people of this Commonwealth to be. It is not to the city factories, or to the sweating dens that we can look to create a great race of the Australians; it is by developing the natural resources of the country that the bone, muscle, and sinew of Australians will be best developed. I am here to speak more particularly for the mining classes of the community. The miner, from a fiscal point of view, is a consumer pure and simple, and cannot be assisted by a protective Tariff. He has to pay duties, but he receives no protection. No less an authority than the Attorney-General has admitted, in a speech which I have by me, that the miners never had anything to gain from protection, and other honorable members have made the same admission. I sincerely trust that these honorable members, even if they do not vote for the motion before the House, will not forget, when we come to consider the Tariff in committee, what the miners have done and are doing for the Commonwealth. With regard to the Western Australian gold-fields, I would remind the House that an immense number of people went from the eastern States into what was practically a desert, and they have endured there all kinds of hardship, including scarcity of water and scarcity of supplies; but by their energy and hard work they have added almost a new province to Australia. The Tariff, so far from assisting and encouraging these people, will discourage them, and will greatly retard the development of the mining industry. It will tend to prevent the introduction of foreign capital for the development of the mines, and to discourage mining companies from introducing machinery, and thus will lessen the amount of money in circulation, and decrease the amount of employment, while it will also increase the cost of living to people who cannot well afford to pay more for the necessities of life than they are now paying. We have heard a great deal about the

harm that may be done to the sugar industry of Queensland by suddenly discontinuing the employment of black labour there, and I desire to show how much greater is the importance to the Commonwealth of the mining industry of Western Australia than that of the sugar industry of Queensland. We have been told that 22,000 individuals are concerned in the Queensland sugar industry, but no fewer than 100,000 people are directly or indirectly interested in the mining industry of Western Australia. The employes in the mines are all white men, and have received a reasonable wage. The output of the sugar industry means roughly from £1,000,000 to £1,500,000. The output of the mines of Western Australia in 1899 amounted to 1,643,000 ozs., valued at over £6,246,000. During 1900, the output was 1,580,000 ozs., valued at £6,007,000. During the first half of this year, the output was 858,112 ozs., valued at £3,303,731. I mention that simply to impress on the House the importance of this industry to the Commonwealth. What affects this industry affects most of the industries of the back blocks. It affects the mining industries elsewhere in Australia, though, perhaps, not to quite so severe an extent. What I say about mining generally has application to the pioneer industries of Australia. I shall give a few instances of how the tax upon mining machinery will operate. There is a mine, the name of which, perhaps, is very well known. For the Golden Horshee Mine a new sulphide plant was ordered some time ago at a cost of about £25,000. It will be landed at Fremantle within the next week or two. The impost which this Tariff will exact from these people who are bringing £25,000 worth of machinery into the Commonwealth will be £5,000. Under the former Tariff—with the 5 per cent. duty—the amount would have been £1,250. So that the total sum which the people who are opening up this mine and giving employment to an immense number of men will have to pay will be £6,250. Were this arrangement not made prior to the introduction of the Tariff, I am told that the mine would have done without the sulphide plant. There is another instance which affects a gentleman well known in mining circles in Western Australia—Mr. A. E. Morgans—who has been the representative of a considerable number of mining

Mr. Kirwan

companies. During the last fifteen months he introduced machinery valued at £110,000 on which he paid £5,250 duty. If the Federal Tariff had been in existence he would have had to pay £80,000 duty. He states that if it had been in existence he would not have faced the extra expenditure, and probably the mines which are now working would have been shut down. I might mention another instance in connexion with three well-known mines in the West, where the Tariff has thrown—for virtually it amounts to that—400 men out of employment, though the Government say that they are going to encourage industries. The Associated Northern, the Oroya, and the Golden Link had everything ready to instal plants to the value of £200,000. But as soon as they found that they would have to pay this enormous duty—£40,000—they abandoned the idea. These plants, if they had been working, would have employed 400 men—not women or children, but men getting a fair wage—and where one breadwinner is quite sufficient to pay for the expense of a whole family. The daughters of these men have not to go and work in factories. That is a specific instance of where the Tariff has prevented the employment of 400 men in the Commonwealth.

Mr. KENNEDY.—In stating that proposition, will the honorable member say whether the proportion of females and children to the adult population is as great in Western Australia as in any of the other States?

Mr. KIRWAN.—No; but women and children are not employed in the mines.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Western Australia has not got them.

Mr. KIRWAN.—We never hear of women and children being employed in the mines. The miners over there—and, if the honorable member looks up the statistics, he will see that it is a fact—have been keeping their wives and families in Victoria for years. These men could not get employment here, and so they had to go west, and have kept their wives and families here.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Not one third of those who left the colony were married.

Mr. KIRWAN.—I would like to know how the honorable member explains away the fact that £30,000 a month has been sent out of Western Australia to Victoria. What does that go for? It is sent in small amounts to Victoria to keep the wives and children of emigrants. I might mention

another instance of a mine that contemplated erecting a new plant. They found that it would cost £8,000 additional duty, and the consequence is that they have completely abandoned the idea. There is a number of instances of that kind. The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, has just handed me a letter which concerns the mining industry, and which is addressed to him from Strahan on the 19th October—

I have been instructed to write you the following:— This chamber views with alarm the protective Tariff introduced by the Federal Ministry, and considers if carried into effect will prove disastrous to the mining industry of this centre; and we also find the numerous complications will render the Tariff unworkable.

This letter is signed by the secretary to the Strahan Chamber of Commerce. I might here quote an authority who is very much respected by mining people, throughout the world, and that is Mr. Richard Hamilton, the manager of the Great Boulder, who never takes an exaggerated view of any subject on which he speaks. He states that the additional cost of working the mines by reason of this Tariff—that is apart from the tax on machinery—will be 1s. 6d. per ton. He works it out so far as it affects the very small district of Kalgoorlie, the technical name of which is East Coolgardie. He states that there is not a single industry or a single individual who will be assisted by the Tariff. He estimates what the Commonwealth will get from that district alone. He says there are 60,000 tons treated per month, and on that the increased expenditure in the working of the mines will be £4,500 a month, or £54,000 a year. That is a nice way in which to encourage industry, and to meet those who are desirous of giving employment to the workers of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister, when he was speaking of the mining industry of Western Australia, quoted a number of figures with reference to the importation of mining machinery, with that air of smug satisfaction that he sometimes assumes, as if they had proved conclusively what he wanted them to prove, whereas they did not do that at all. He evidently tried to show that the mining companies could get all the machinery they wanted in the Eastern States, and that a large amount of machinery was at present being imported from that part of the Commonwealth. He

showed, however, that a considerably larger amount—at any rate that a great deal more—of the machinery imported into Western Australia came from Great Britain; and I may tell the right honorable gentleman that the mines of Western Australia have obtained all the machinery they possibly could from the Eastern States, because the carriage was cheaper. There are also other reasons why they should patronize the Eastern States, but there is a good deal of the machinery they use that cannot be obtained within the Commonwealth except at extraordinary cost. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo, when he addressed the House last week, stated that all the machinery that was needed in Western Australia could be obtained from this portion of the Commonwealth. I telegraphed to the Chamber of Mines at Kalgoorlie to get their exact opinion upon this subject. I wanted to know whether they could get from the Eastern States all the machinery that was required by the Western Australian mines. I have received the following reply:—

We admit all machinery can be made in Australia, if cost be no object; but when quality is considered, high-class steam engines, electrical plant, and crushing mills can be imported 15 per cent. cheaper under old Tariff. Higher quality is required, for the greater is the saving. Owing to natural conditions here, only best quality should be used.

The honorable and learned member for Bendigo seemed to know a great deal about the mining industry of Western Australia, because when certain authorities like Mr. Morgan and others said that the Tariff would do a great deal of harm to the industry, the honorable and learned member for Bendigo calmly said that he did not think it would. Where he got his knowledge with regard to Western Australia I do not know; but one statement he made was almost as serious an indictment of the Tariff as anything that could be said. He stated that mining machinery could be obtained in the Commonwealth as good and efficient and as cheaply as in any other part of the world. If that be the case, which it is not, according to those people who know most about it, why are the machinery manufacturers crying out so loudly for protection? Why do they need protection if they can produce as good an article as can be obtained elsewhere and at as cheap a rate? Those who want mining machinery in Western Australia will act

similarly to other people, and they will go where they can get the best value for their money. They are not likely to go to the old country for their mining machinery if they can procure it as cheaply and as good in the eastern States of the Commonwealth. For one thing the carriage would be ever so much lower. I think the honorable and learned member for Bendigo said that machinery could be obtained more cheaply in the Commonwealth than in Great Britain, and that statement shows the absurdity of attempting to protect the machinery industries. There is one thing which might be impressed upon this House, and that is the very serious difficulties attendant upon mining in Western Australia, even under present circumstances. There are all kinds of troubles to be contended with there, such as the absence of water—sometimes the water they do get contains 15 to 20 per cent. of salt—and the absence of fuel, and of timber suitable for mining purposes, which has to be brought very considerable distances. Then the cost of carriage of machinery and commodities, even by rail, is very considerable; but there are many mining centres which have not yet been tapped by the railway, and to which the carriage of goods sometimes costs £30 and £40 a ton. I know of a case in the northern country where the cartage of a single poppet leg to a mine cost £50. In another instance a friend of mine, who got machinery worth £850, entered into a contract for its cartage to the mine where it was to be used and erected, and had to pay £3,000. All these things severely handicap the mining industry, and but for the fact that the mines are phenomenally rich, they would have been abandoned long ago. When I was telling an honorable member some facts relating to mining machinery in Western Australia, he asked me whether I thought the mines would go without machinery. I certainly think that a large number of the mines will go without machinery if the cost is to be increased to the extent of 25 per cent. As is well known, mines are often worked at a loss or at a bare margin of profit, in the hope of something good turning up at some time or other, and the slightest thing will turn the scale and cause a stoppage of work and the abandonment of certain mines. There is another point, and that is that all this additional expense will tend to frighten British and foreign capitalists from investing

in our mines. There is a number of places throughout the world where good mines, which need capital for their development, exist. There is British Columbia, for instance, and the West Coast of Africa, and, now that things are becoming more settled in South Africa, the mines in the neighbourhood of Johannesburg will probably be started again. All these mines will offer fair inducements to British capitalists, and once we frighten capital away from Australia it will be very difficult to get it back. A duty of 25 per cent. on mining machinery, together with the other imposts that are provided for under this Tariff, will tend to lessen the inflow of capital, which is badly needed to assist in the development of the natural wealth of Western Australia. Serious as the position may be, as far as the mining companies are concerned, it is a still more serious one for the working population. They have expressed themselves very strongly on the matter. The Goldfields Trades and Labour Council passed a resolution the other day in which they expressed the opinion that the Tariff presses unjustly on the workers, and urged that necessities which cannot be produced in the Commonwealth should be placed on the free list. The additional cost to the workers in Western Australia by reason of this Tariff will be, as I have said, something like 20 per cent. In Western Australia there were on the free list a number of articles which are absolutely necessary in that part of Australia, but nearly all of these are now taxed to a very considerable extent. With the fairness that characterizes some honorable members on the other side, the honorable and learned member for Bendigo referred to the one particular line of candles, and simply gave that half truth which is the hardest of all to fight. According to the report of his speech, he seems to have made a great discovery, because he quoted the case of candles on which he pointed out that there was originally a duty in Western Australia. There was a duty placed on candles at a certain rate, but there were three descriptions of the article which were admitted free into Western Australia. These latter are candles specially used by the working classes of the community, and under the Commonwealth Tariff they will be taxed. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo quoted one line of candles on which the duty is 1½d. per lb., and pointed out that

in Western Australia there was a duty of 2d. per lb. On this the honorable and learned member made out an apparently great case, contending that, so far from the duty on candles having been increased in the western State it had been decreased by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. But had the honorable and learned member turned over the page of the Tariff, he would have seen that the particular item to which he drew attention referred to candles which were not otherwise specified. On the next page there are six descriptions of candles mentioned—stearine, paraffine wax, bees-wax, lard, and refined animal fat, three of which were admitted free into Western Australia. Another duty which will bear particularly hard on the people in Western Australia, and, in fact, on the people of the whole of the backblocks, is that on kerosene. These people have not the advantages of civilization, and cannot turn on the gas or the electric light. They have nothing with which to illuminate their homes except candles or kerosene, and the proposed duties on these commodities seem to me to be very unfair. There are quite a number of articles of the same kind, all of which were formerly free, but which are now taxed, such as cocoa, coffee, cornflour, rice, sago, tea, and blankets. I think I have a strong argument which ought to appeal to the members of the Government, in support of the reduction of the duty on rice. We have heard a great deal, perhaps too much, about starch lately, but a paragraph which appeared in to-day's *Age* in regard to rice is almost too good to be missed. The employes engaged in the manufacture of starch held a meeting, it appears, and carried a resolution in which they "view with alarm" the action of the Federal Government in imposing a duty of 6s. 3d. per cental on rice. It must be observed that the alarm is not occasioned by the fact that thousands of people all over the Commonwealth use rice as food, but is occasioned because rice is one of the commodities used in the manufacture of starch. The resolution passed by these employes goes on to state—

We consider that the duty will be detrimental to the best interests of the industry, inasmuch as it will lessen the output and create loss of employment, thereby causing the burden to fall on those least able to bear it.

That may be an argument in favour of a reduction of the duty; but I suppose it would be no argument to say that there are

thousands scattered all over the Commonwealth to whom rice is a necessary article of food. The latter consideration will probably have no effect on the Government, but if I say that there are half-a-dozen, or twenty, or a hundred people engaged in the manufacture of starch, who may be injured by the duty on rice, that may be an argument sufficiently strong to induce the Government to abolish the impost. This Tariff to me is strongly objectionable, because it will press so hardly on those industries which are the life and soul of the Commonwealth. Mining, agriculture, pastoral pursuits—all those industries to which we look to make the future of the Commonwealth—there is a tendency to sacrifice for the sake of a few factories at Footscray or Yarra Bend. The object of the Government, in my opinion, ought rather to be to encourage these great natural industries. If they are encouraged, we shall get a population in Australia which will cause a natural demand for certain other industries; and in that way the energies of the people will be put to the very best advantage. The resources of this Commonwealth are limitless. Australia is not a small patch of country, but a huge area of the world's surface; and the mere handful of people we have here will be best employed, not in the factories of the cities, but in clearing the forests, working the mines, and developing the pastoral and agricultural and other natural resources of this great continent. It seems to me that those who put forward the protectionist policy have very little faith in the future of Australia. But I believe that Australia can stand alone without any protection of the kind. We are naturally protected by our great distance from the great manufacturing centres of the old world; and it is not by encouraging a policy which will create monopolies and tend to promote sweating that we can make the Commonwealth what we always wish it to be. The line of advancement of the Commonwealth should be in the direction of assisting and furthering the development of its natural wealth.

Mr. SAWERS (New England).—In the early part of the session we had a debate extending over two or three weeks, in which the question of protection or free-trade, and the question of fiscalism in a general sense, was pretty well threshed out. I did not venture to take part in that debate, but I feel that I cannot remain silent upon this

occasion, although probably honorable members rightly think that the present discussion has lasted long enough. I feel some difficulty in addressing myself to a subject which covers such a wide field and opens up so many issues, and in compressing my remarks into the brief compass of time, during which I hope to claim the attention of honorable members. By striving in that direction I shall avoid dealing with many figures, or wandering amid the mists of political economy, which one eminent Englishman, D'Israeli, called the "dismal science." But I have never been able to discover that political economy was entitled to the name of a science, because scarcely one authority or schoolman agrees with another, and they are constantly laying down fresh dogmas or qualifications of dogmas. There seems to be no solid ground in this field where one can place his foot.

Mr. REID.—If the honorable member were in New South Wales he would feel that very much.

Mr. SAWERS.—I should like to say, to begin with, that no man in this country has a higher admiration for the talents of the right honorable member who interrupts me than I have, and no one listens to his speeches on any set occasion with more admiration than I do. Each time that I listen to my right honorable friend, on any great occasion, however, I always feel extreme regret that talents so great and eloquence so admirable should be devoted to what I consider a dying and hopeless cause.

Mr. REID.—It was never so much alive in New South Wales as to-day.

Mr. SAWERS.—The right honorable member says that the free-trade cause is very much alive in New South Wales, and we have been repeatedly told in this Chamber that New South Wales is a free-trade State. But though it is never too late to learn, I have never heard any proof that New South Wales has pronounced definitely for a free-trade policy.

Mr. REID.—What! What about the State elections?

Mr. SAWERS.—It may seem extraordinary to honorable members that I should make that statement in spite of the fact that New South Wales has during the last few years had what may be described as the most rabid free-trade policy in the world. But how was the policy of New South

Wales changed from one of revenue tariffism or moderate protection to free-trade? The right honorable member never had a mandate from the people of New South Wales to bring in his free-trade policy.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—He had two mandates.

Mr. SAWERS.—When the general election of 1894 took place, the then Premier, Sir George Dibbs, was defeated at the polls. He not only suffered a personal defeat, but one or two of his Ministers were also beaten. When Parliament met, the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, who was then the leader of the free-trade party, managed to secure the reins of office, and became Premier of the country. He had not a party in the New South Wales Parliament strong enough to enable him to bring in a free-trade policy, but he made a compact with a third party in that House. He came to an understanding with them—not written of course, but implied—that for some concessions which he would make to them, he should secure the entire vote of the labour party. He never could have changed the fiscal policy of New South Wales without the help of that very labour party, a majority of whom were notoriously pronounced protectionists. The very leader of the New South Wales labour party was a protectionist, and the honorable member who leads the same party in this House was a pronounced protectionist. The fault I find with the right honorable member is this—that by securing the support of the labour party, for some hoped for concessions which they never got, he, without a mandate from the country, had the audacity to change the fiscal policy of New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—Does the honorable member recollect the election of 1895?

Mr. SAWERS.—I remember too much for the right honorable member. I say that the majority of the members of the last Parliament in New South Wales, in which I sat, were protectionists, but their mouths were shut because the whole of the labour party were bound by the arrangement made with the right honorable member.

Mr. REID.—Does the honorable member recollect the election of 1895, when my policy was before the country?

Mr. SAWERS.—There is no use in going further into that question. I say again that the right honorable member never had the authority of the people of New South Wales to bring in a free-trade policy; that the

majority of the votes at every election were returned in favour of protectionist candidates; and that the majority of the members in the Parliament were protectionists, although for purposes of their own they did not support a protectionist policy.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The question before the Chair is the financial and fiscal proposals of the present Government.

Mr. SAWERS.—I am afraid the debate has embraced a very wide scope. I have referred to this matter because statements have been made in this House as to the injustice that this Tariff will do to the people of New South Wales, and I think I am justified in stating that it is erroneous to suppose that New South Wales is a free-trade country. It is simply because Sydney is a great importing city with large shipping interests that she returns free-trade members. It is only the metropolitan area that is free-trade. But Sydney is not New South Wales. I should like to say, in reference to the character of this debate, which you, Mr. Speaker, have reminded me is in reference to the Tariff, that it has to a great extent taken the line of the relative merits of the policy of free-trade or protection. Although the right honorable member and those who support him know perfectly well that free-trade is absolutely impossible in a Federal Tariff, yet the whole tone and tenor of their speeches has been to show that free-trade is a sound and proper policy. I should like to put fairly before the House what free-trade is. That great Englishman and able man, Sir Robert Giffen, who may be looked upon as the high priest of free-trade in the old country, has put it in this way: that no industry can or should exist anywhere which is not able to stand by itself against unrestricted competition. To take a New South Wales authority, the honorable member for Parkes puts it in this way—

If the free-trader is asked to impose a duty on a farmer in a foreign country, he rightly replies he will be a party to no scheme which will in any way handicap such a competitor in his test of fitness for production.

The great free-trade organ in Sydney, the *Daily Telegraph*, which is now supporting the right honorable member, states—

It is no concern of any purchaser whether the producers or makers of anything he wants to buy are black or white, or whether they receive high or low wages.

That is a statement of the free-trade standpoint. This question is very much of a social and moral one. I think it is our duty to take into consideration the question whether that which is used by a community is produced by high or cheap labour, or whether it is produced by white or coloured labour. This statement by a free-trade paper published in Sydney is simply an exhibition of absolute free-trade, naked and unashamed.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear. I agree with what the honorable member says when a man can afford to do that.

Mr. SAWERS.—Does the right honorable and learned member applaud the statement I have read from the *Daily Telegraph*?

Mr. REID.—I will applaud the honorable member, too.

Mr. SAWERS.—I take the view that it is the duty of a Parliament to consider the interests of its own people—

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear. It should not bleed them too much.

Mr. SAWERS.—And that any Parliament representing a community has a right—if in its wisdom it thinks fit to do so—to impose a duty upon any foreign article which is produced by cheap labour or by coloured labour, with the object of protecting the industries of its own people. That, in my opinion, is the protectionist doctrine.

Mr. REID.—It is only a lot of crawlers who want protection.

Mr. SAWERS.—Any man who assents to that doctrine is a protectionist. It does not matter how moderate he may be—indeed he may be extremely moderate—but when he assents to the doctrine that a community has a right to promote the industries of its own people, either by offering a bonus or by imposing a duty, however small, on imported goods, that man is a protectionist. I have found him very often in a free-trade party.

Mr. THOMSON.—The right to adopt such a policy is not questioned, but the wisdom of doing so is.

Mr. SAWERS.—We have to discuss the wisdom of it in committee. I stand here as a protectionist, and admit that to be a protectionist principle; but I have heard such men as the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, the late Sir Henry Parkes, and others, denounce protection as an evil and contemptible thing.

Mr. REID.—So it is ; a mean crawling thing.

Mr. SAWERS.—If the doctrine which I have enunciated is an evil, a contemptible, and a crawling one—

Mr. HUME COOK.—The same might be said of the protection to be afforded by the sugar duties.

Mr. REID.—But that is to get rid of the blackfellow.

Mr. SAWERS.—I am astonished at the type of intellect of men who can give vent to such an expression. I may be asked to state still further the principles of protection, and I should like to quote from Lord Masham. He says—

The real point to be considered from the national point of view is whether the duty enhances the price to the consumer in a greater ratio than the united gains of all the producers. If not, the nation must gain. The rule should be, in all cases, to fix the duty at about what might on a liberal estimate be considered the gain and national advantage to the great army of producers.

He illustrates that point by referring to the great industries of England. After showing how many thousands of people are employed in those industries, he asks, in a pointed way, whether it is for the benefit of Great Britain that those industries should be smothered for the sake of importing articles 5 or 10 per cent. cheaper. That to me is the whole point. Why, even that great authority quoted by antique free-traders, Adam Smith, says—

By means of regulations—

which would amount to legislation—

a manufacture may sometimes be acquired sooner than it could have been otherwise, and after a certain time may be made as cheap or cheaper than in the foreign countries.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear.

Mr. SAWERS.—Even the great authority, Adam Smith, has shown that protection, if properly applied, will end in goods being manufactured locally as cheap as, if not cheaper than, the imported goods.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—It is the first time I have heard Adam Smith quoted as a protectionist.

Mr. SAWERS.—Reference has been made to the fact that a number of honorable members of the labour party are free-traders. I have been astonished at all times to find that a member of a labour party or any one imbued with the hope and

aspiration of improving the conditions of the worker of his own country could declare himself a free-trader. Much has been said in regard to the Factories Acts, the raising of wages, the minimum wage, and short hours, but is it not evident to the poorest intellect in this country that if we raise wages and shorten hours, and yet keep our ports open to the products of cheap labour and long hours in other countries, the industries of our own country must go down ! It seems to me that that must be the inevitable result.

Mr. THOMSON.—Not at all.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member for New England is absolutely right.

Mr. SAWERS.—It seems to me to be so inevitable that it has only to be stated to be clear to a man of any intelligence.

Mr. FOWLER.—How does the honorable member account for the fact that wages have risen, and that the hours of labour have decreased in England under free-trade ?

Mr. HUME COOK.—That has taken place also in Germany.

Mr. SAWERS.—I will illustrate what appears to me to be the whole point by referring to the attitude of Mr. John Morley, a great Englishman, who formerly represented Newcastle, which is the centre of trades unionism in Great Britain, and a great mining constituency, compared with which any mining electorate in Australia pales into insignificance. That gentleman lost his seat as the representative for Newcastle in the House of Commons, because he would not vote for the eight hours principle. He opposed the movement not because he did not believe that eight hours work a day was ample, nor yet because he was imbued with Tory instincts, or anything of that kind. He opposed it because, being a statesman and a thinker, he knew perfectly well that to reduce the hours of labour in the industries of Great Britain, and to raise the minimum wage, would have the effect of throwing those industries into the lap of foreign countries. It was not as an enemy of the working man that he opposed the movement, but because he knew that the inevitable effect of it would be that the trade would be lost to Great Britain.

Mr. SPENCE.—They only work seven and a half hours per day in the coal mines there.

Mr. SAWERS.—The honorable member knows perfectly well that John Morley was not an enemy of the working man. To my mind the proper way to deal with the great question of the regulation of hours and wages is not for one country to move in that direction, but to have something like an international agreement on the subject. Honorable members who support the cause of free-trade are fond of talking of buying in the cheapest market. The honorable member for Southern Melbourne, in the course of his speech this afternoon, denounced cheapness. Is it not evident that if we are to buy cheaply we must sell cheaply? If the doctrine of buying in the cheapest market is to have universal application, it means that the people here must sell their labour cheaply in order to compete in the markets of the world. I should like to quote from a writer who expresses this point more forcibly than any language of mine could do. In an article dealing with the question of unrestricted competition, a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* sets forth that—

It leads to an international industrial warfare of the most savage intensity. This warfare if permitted to proceed to its logical issue can have but one result; the reduction of the standard of life and comfort—in all countries—to the lowest level at which human beings, in any part of the world, are willing to exist.

Under this law of unrestricted competition, of open ports, ocean tramps, and cheap freights, the inevitable result must be that the manufacturing industries of the world must go to coloured labour, with other conditions, such as the supply of coal, thrown in. It must mean the elevation and aggrandizement of the coloured races of the world, and the degradation and partial ruin of our own. We have heard a great deal about this question, but, as I have not spoken upon it before, I should like to refer to the period between 1844 and the present time, when Great Britain has been under free-trade. During that period of over fifty years, there can be no doubt, and no one denies it, that England has advanced, and has shown most marvellous prosperity. Her exports and imports combined have multiplied nearly three times. I do not for a moment deny that free-trade has served Great Britain well; but is it not fair to ask how she prospered under protection previously to 1844? For twenty five years previously to 1844 she multiplied her exports and imports

about two and a half times; so that under both policies she has progressed and prospered marvellously.

Mr. GLYNN.—For the first half of the century her exports of home produce were constant.

Mr. SAWERS. — The progress which Great Britain made under protection was made under all possible difficulties. There were no railways, no mighty steam-boats, no telegraphs, scarcely anything like modern banking, and few of the conveniences of modern times. All that goes to make life what it is now was wanting in those days. Australia was unknown, the Indian Empire was undeveloped, and England's Eastern markets had scarcely progressed at all. I am a protectionist in Australia, but I should be a free-trader in Great Britain. There is no fiscal doctrine which can be applied absolutely to every country, and under all circumstances. I am perfectly consistent in saying that England is pursuing the right course in sticking to her free-trade policy, though if I were to go into details I might suggest modifications. I think that she is a little silly in turning the other cheek by receiving the exports of countries which exclude her exports and allowing them to come into competition with the products of her own people. It has been denied that, while England has prospered under free-trade for 50 years past, she has practically reached the zenith of her industrial glory, and has almost declined during the past few years; but I cannot understand any one denying that fact. It is notorious that the industries of Great Britain are declining, or at any rate are not expanding, which, in view of the increased population of the world, is practically the same thing.

Mr. HUME COOK. — She is losing her colonial trade to Germany.

Mr. SAWERS.—It is no law of Providence that England is to continue for ever the manufacturer for the world. As one writer has put it, no law of Providence requires that Lancashire shall continue to spin cotton for the whole world. Because of her cheap labour, India has captured a great part of the cotton industry. Lancashire has lost her Eastern market, India and Japan having cut her out; and the present movement will extend until the cheap labour of those countries will cut her out in other markets, too. With regard to the jute industry, it is perfectly familiar to us in Australia that

what used to be called Dundee goods are now called Calcutta goods, which is only another term for Indian goods. It is because cheap labour can be secured in India that manufacturers have built their mills there, and erected machinery, and are now able to cut out the jute trade of Dundee as they are cutting out the cotton trade of Lancashire.

Mr. FOWLER.—The cotton trade of Lancashire is as prosperous as any at the present day.

Mr. SAWERS.—I will give the figures of an eminent Englishman—Mr. Bryce—an ex-cabinet Minister, whom we all know as the author of the *American Constitution*, and who is an Imperial free-trader. He said:—

The United States was developing in many important lines of business in which they might have expected England to hold her own against any country. In the production of electrical plant the Americans were taking the lead, and they had recently taken large contracts for rails for the East Indies.

So that the Americans are actually cutting out England in her own possessions. I could give many statistics which show that Belgium and Germany are also cutting out England in her Eastern markets in iron manufactures. Mr. Bryce goes on to say—

They are obtaining English contracts now.

Further, he makes this melancholy admission—

Between 1891 and 1897, Germany increased her export trade by £21,000,000; the United States by £31,000,000; and, during the same period, the export trade of Great Britain fell off by £15,000,000.

I might cite still more astounding facts, and I ask what could be said if the position could be reversed, and our friends on the opposition benches could tell us that the export trade of Germany and the United States had fallen off by so many millions?

Mr. GLYNN.—70 per cent. of the exports of the United States are raw material—agricultural products, largely.

Mr. SAWERS.—If the facts could be reversed, would not honorable members tell us that they were a triumphant evidence of the virtues and righteousness of free-trade? But, as it is, they are dumb as dogs, and have no answer. I do not mean to say that the falling-off in England's trade is any proof that she is pursuing a wrong policy, because the reasons are not far to seek. I do not know if honorable members noticed a paragraph that was published the other day

in the *London Daily Telegraph*, but it is so significant that I am determined to embody it in my remarks. The *London Daily Telegraph* is a newspaper of high standing, which has always been a supporter of the English Liberal Party, and a staunch free-trade organ. The paragraph says—

We know that America has taken the place held by ourselves for a century and a half, and has become the greatest exporting nation. From 1879 to 1895 the outward trade of the United States showed practically no expansive power force. In the latter year—1895—commenced one of the most astonishing movements in the records of commerce. American exports increased in the period from 1895 to 1900 from £165,000,000 to £295,000,000. This means an increase of almost 80 per cent.

Of course, some people would not be convinced under any circumstances; but, in my opinion, honorable members opposite, instead of arguing this question, ought to throw up the sponge in the face of proofs so convincing as these. We do not denounce free-trade, but we protest against their denunciation of protection. Is it not silly in the extreme, when we find that the countries of Europe have progressed under protection, and that the United States of America have made so great an advance under it? If free-trade has suited England, can it be denied that protection has suited America, and that it is possible for a country to advance under that policy. I have heard honorable gentlemen denounce American duties from time to time, but it has never affected my principles as a protectionist, because I admit that protectionists may go to ridiculous extremes, just as members of religious bodies may do. I am prepared to believe that in some cases they have gone to absurd extremes in the United States, but where would America be to-day if she had not adopted protection? The adoption of that policy has lifted her into the proudest position in the world. If it is said that she occupies that position in spite of her protective policy, that still proves that protection cannot be so wicked and evil a thing as honorable members would have us suppose. Mr. H. W. Wilson, in the *Fortnightly Review*, of July, 1901, says—

Mr. WILKS.—He is a croaker.

Mr. SAWERS.—It would be well for many of us to sit at his feet occasionally. Mr. Wilson was referring to certain contracts showing the advance of the American

export trade in iron and steel. He says—

In the case of the Gektick Viaduct in Burma, a structure 2,260 feet long, and 320 feet high, the lowest English tender was at a cost of £26 17s. a ton; the work to be erected in three years. The tender of the Pennsylvania Steel Company was £15 a ton; the work to be erected in one year. The difference is simply astonishing. As the next instance, I will take the tenders for the Uganda railway bridges. The highest British tender was for £18 10s. a ton, delivered in 104 weeks; the lowest £15 5s. a ton, delivered in 60 weeks.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—Was the cheaper one the American? They did not guarantee how many years the work would last, or how long it would be safe.

Mr. SAWERS.—That is worthy of the honorable gentleman, and it simply means that the experts who accepted the tender were such idiots as to accept rotten material.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—To go over that bridge in ten years' time would be dangerous.

Mr. SAWERS.—Mr. Wilson says, further—

The highest American tender was £14 5s., delivered free on board at New York in 48 weeks; the lowest was £10 6s., delivered in any British port, and the time, 46 weeks.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—That is because they pay such low wages in America.

Mr. SAWERS.—Is it not a triumphant vindication of the argument I have used this afternoon? Mr. Wilson adds—

The above figures are an ironical comment upon Lord Playfair's remark made in 1887.

Some honorable members have a great respect for Lord Playfair, and I think he has already been quoted in the debate.

Mr. HIGGINS.—A very good man, too.

Mr. SAWERS.—A very good man, too, in his own way; but men are not all wise. Mr. Wilson quotes Lord Playfair, and he says that in 1887 Lord Playfair, speaking of Great Britain, said—

We are a great exporting nation. The United States cannot be so, for her cost of production is raised so high by protection that her exports are of small account in the markets of the world.

Here we see the free-trade authority, Lord Playfair, at whose feet many free-traders have sat, telling an English audience that the United States could not become an exporting nation. I have already given honorable members facts in opposition to that statement. Doubtless the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney, and

the honorable member for Wentworth, have often said the same thing, but, surely the stern logic of facts must make them begin to think that there is something wrong with their theories.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is about time.

Mr. SAWERS.—Surely it is about time? Nothing is so powerful in this world as facts. I must ask attention to another quotation from the same article in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Mr. Wilson, more important far than any words of mine. He says—

In England we have seen the Midland Railway ordering 40 locomotives across the Atlantic. We have seen the Great Northern, Great Central, and Barry railway following the Midland's example. We have seen an order for 8,000 tons of rails and fishplates sent to the Carnegie Co. by the Great Eastern, because, in the words of the chairman . . .

And he quotes the words of the chairman of the company—

We had no option, but to go where we knew we could rely upon good material—

There is an answer to my honorable friend the member for Wentworth—

and prompt delivery, and at a price below what we should have been compelled to pay in England.

Mr. WILKS.—Prompt delivery was the trouble. They are working overtime in England, and cannot fill their orders.

Mr. SAWERS.—One may knock until he is sick; but some honorable members are so staunch in this matter that all the knocking in Christendom will never affect them. I travelled last week from Melbourne to Sydney, and when approaching Sydney I got a copy of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and one of the first things upon which my eyes rested was a cable to this effect, dated London, October 18th—

Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, in the course of a letter to Mr. J. G. A. Baird, M.P., explained the reasons why the Indian Government placed a large order for locomotives with German firms.

Here is the Government of India having to go to the Continent for locomotives for Government railways.

Lord George Hamilton said he hoped that British firms would expand their powers of production.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear!

Mr. SAWERS.—Is not that just what I said? Did I not state that they are not expanding, and that they are incapable of meeting the conditions of modern industry?

Mr. WILKS.—They have to turn orders away.

Mr. SAWERS.—We are told they have not got the material, and that the workshops are filled up. But why do they not enlarge their shops like the United States manufacturers, and render themselves able to accept any contract or any call upon their energies?

Mr. FOWLER.—They are well enough satisfied with the products of their industry.

Mr. SAWERS.—They are well enough satisfied, and so are the Chinese satisfied with their system of government.

Lord George Hamilton said that he hoped the British firms would expand their powers of production. A Hanover firm had tendered for the locomotives at a price 25 per cent. lower, and a delivery in half the time of the British tenders.

Those are the words of the Secretary of State for India, given in explanation, and surely it must bring a tinge of shame to free-trade cheeks to think that the English Government had actually to go past their own industries and their own workmen to send orders for locomotives, to be used upon Government railways in India, to a German firm. I know that nothing I could say would affect the opinion of the honorable member for Parramatta, but he certainly should see that he must be astray, and that there must be something wrong in his fiscal belief when he reads such statements as these. I know it is useless to pile up more evidence in this matter, and my time is limited. The evidence is overwhelming and cannot be ignored even by those who shut their eyes to it. English free-traders are constantly telling the people of Great Britain that they must form colleges, must become expert, must copy German example, and so on; but all that is only a begging of the question. In Germany they have cheaper labour than in Great Britain.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Under protection.

Mr. SAWERS.—And they have protection. I do not deny it, and I hate this doctrine of cheapness. But in the United States, upon all authority, workmen have superior wages. The honorable member for Parramatta has had some experience in these matters, and I want him to tell me whether the mighty steel furnaces in America would be in existence if it had not been

for the adoption of the system of protection by that country, or that the country ever would have reached such a commanding position that, to quote the words of Mr. Carnegie, "she is able to defy the competition of the civilized world."

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Royalties have had a lot to do with it.

Mr. SAWERS.—I should like to pass now to another matter, and to refer to a criticism made by the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney. I did not hear him make the criticism in this House, but I know he has made it, time after time, on public platforms in dealing with this great fiscal question. It is a criticism intended to sneer at and cast a slur on Victoria. Speaking of Victoria, the right honorable and learned gentleman says, "You have more people employed in Victoria than in New South Wales, I admit; but look at the poor women and helpless girls you employ." He tried to cast a slur on Victoria because women and girls are employed in its factories. If we have proper conditions, why should we not give work to helpless women and girls?

Mr. WILKS.—Under proper conditions we ought to keep them out of factories.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—It is better to do that than have a labour bureau.

Mr. SAWERS.—What was the intention of the leader of the Opposition in casting slurs of that kind? It was to show that it was the effect of protection to bring about a preponderance of females over men in the factories. I had the curiosity to turn to the statistics of Great Britain, and I found, from the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1900, which may be regarded as a faithful authority, that England employs in her factories 40,558 male children under thirteen years of age, 45,941 female children, and over 610,000 women. The number of males employed was not given for that year, and so I had to go back to 1896 to get that information. In that year it says that the males employed in her factories—I do not think that children are included here—numbered 412,841, and the females 664,846. Here we have the females in English factories far in excess of the males. What, therefore, is the use of an argument of that kind? If the honorable gentleman's sneer was directed against protection, it applies with double force to free-trade. I shall

now refer to the special test which the leader of the Opposition has applied in public meetings again and again, and that is the test of the savings bank. In 1900 Victoria had £9,110,818 in the savings banks, and New South Wales £10,069,434, but the rate per head in Victoria was £7 16s. 8d., and in New South Wales £7 9s. 4d. Time after time the right honorable and learned member has told his audiences that the best test of a country's greatness and prosperity is the savings of the people. I think he stated the other night in Melbourne that in 1896 the working classes in Great Britain had £154,800,000 in the savings banks. He asked—Is not that a proof of the advantages and glory of free-trade principles? And he urged that the advantage of a policy of free-trade is that the people of Great Britain were so prosperous that the working classes had in their savings banks over £154,800,000.

Mr. WILLIS.—Will the honorable member give the figures for 1898 and 1899?

Mr. SAWERS.—I do not keep the figures for each year beside me. I am dealing with the year which the leader of the Opposition selected. He said that the amount of savings in Great Britain is a proof that free-trade is a righteous and proper doctrine to apply universally. But I would remind the House that at the end of the protectionist period Great Britain had more money in her savings banks than had the combined countries of Europe in theirs. What are the facts now? Sixty years have now passed away, and we find that, in comparison with the deposits of £154,800,000 in the savings banks of Great Britain, the people of France have saved £164,800,000, the people of Austria £178,600,000, and the people of the United States—all protectionist countries—£446,600,000.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Surely it must be a mistake?

Mr. SAWERS.—I wish it would occur to the intellects of honorable members opposite to think that it is a mistake and hunt up the figures for themselves.

Mr. WILLIS.—The honorable member's own side said so.

Mr. SAWERS.—They said it in sarcasm! The methods of the leader of the Opposition are disingenuous. When a public man quotes the prosperity of one country, with the intention of leading his audience to imagine that it is owing to a particular fiscal policy, it is disingenuous

not to give the results in other countries. We expect something better from a public man than disingenuousness of that kind. I know that it will be said—"Look at the vast population of America. Look at her peculiar circumstances." But I shall give a little illustration, which will knock all argument of that kind sky high, from a magazine article, in which a quotation is made from Mr. Carnegie's *Gospel of Wealth*. In 1890 the New England and middle States, with a population of 17,300,000 persons, had 3,420,000 depositors in their savings banks. One out of every five had a banking account, and the deposits amounted to £255,000,000. A population equal to a little more than half that of Great Britain had in 1890 in their savings banks £255,000,000. Surely honorable members must begin to question their theories, and think that there is something wrong. If I could only get doubt into their minds I am sure that an investigation would settle the question. I do not intend to delay the House by going into comparisons between Victoria and New South Wales. I am not afraid to enter into such comparisons, because they come out all right so far as Victoria is concerned. I have no wish to copy the example of the honorable member for Parramatta by detailing the trifling difference in the cost of goods sold in the shops of Sydney and Melbourne. I looked up the matter, and I found that the prices are pretty much the same. There is a slight advantage in favour of Sydney, but in some cases the price is actually cheaper in Melbourne. Many reasons might be given to explain the difference, and even if the case were slightly different it would not affect my contention. If Victoria had had the coal-fields of New South Wales, I wonder what her position would have been.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Hear, hear; or the pastoral industry.

Mr. SAWERS.—I will leave the pastoral industry out of consideration, because the particulars as to that can be easily ascertained, but the coal industry affects, in many and insidious ways, the prosperity of a country. If Victoria had only had coal-fields such as those of New South Wales—even allowing New South Wales to keep her own—what would have been the position here?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What would have been the position if New South Wales had had the gold-fields of Victoria?

Mr. SAWERS.—In 1899 Victoria had 3,159,312 acres under cultivation, whilst in the same year New South Wales, with all her vast territory, had only 2,440,968 acres. I regret to say that the prosperity of New South Wales—and no man could uphold that better than the honorable member for Wentworth, if he were to speak out that which he believes to be true—is, in a great measure, a spurious prosperity, due to her excessive borrowing, and the wicked and iniquitous system of spending the proceeds of the land she has sold. During the last 50 years about £60,000,000, which has been derived from the sale of land, has been expended in New South Wales, and that amount ought to be added to her debt, when comparisons are made between her and other States. In June, 1900, the Victorian national debt amounted to £49,000,000, whilst that of New South Wales amounted to £65,000,000.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What about the municipal debts?

Mr. SAWERS.—There are municipal debts in both States, and it will be to the credit of Victoria if she has some municipal debts, because she has a municipal system which is of some value, whereas New South Wales is, in this direction, the most backward country in Christendom. In speaking of the money derived from land, I do not refer to the revenue that is legitimately derived from land under lease, but I am speaking of money received for land which has been sold. I have known of land in Riverina to the value of nearly £5,000,000 being sold in one year, and the money being shovelled into the Treasury and shovelled out again for expenditure upon public works. That is not the sort of thing which is calculated to produce real prosperity, because it is equivalent to a gambler getting rid of his property.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has not Victoria done the same thing?

Mr. SAWERS.—I should like to say a few words in reference to another matter which has been mentioned, and that is the cheap clothing trade. The cheap clothing trade, or cheap trade of any kind, is the result of the application of the free-trade doctrine of unrestricted competition. As long as there is unrestricted competition, unless there are powerful trades unions to

protect the industries, the result must be low wages and hard conditions for the workers. The poor unfortunate women of the East end of London have no trades unions to limit the operation of unrestricted competition, which has been carried to its fullest extent with results which are a disgrace to civilization. Thousands and thousands of women are working in the East End of London at rates of wages so low that 6s. per week is the maximum, and the pay often falls as low as 4s. per week. This is simply the result of the doctrine of unrestricted competition as applied to any industry. It is unfair to throw all the blame upon the sweaters, and to apply all the curses to them, because they are victims alike with the sweated of this accursed doctrine of unrestricted competition. The great question of fiscalism is not a hard matter of buying and selling—it is a moral question above everything else, and we are doing right in protecting our own citizens, and especially in protecting helpless women and children in their struggle to make a living, by refusing to allow cheap sweated goods of other countries to come here, simply because we can get them a trifle cheaper. I wonder whether the free-traders who go home and clap their wives on their shoulders asking for approval of the bargains they have made, in the way of purchasing clothing for their children, realize that those clothes were made practically with the sweat and blood of women in London. While the trades unionists are clamouring for justice for themselves, let them put their feet down upon these cheap importations.

Mr. HIGGINS.—A great quantity of the sweated goods from the East End of London go into New South Wales.

Mr. SAWERS.—Yes; the New South Wales stores are packed with such goods. One of the most painful sights I see as I walk along the streets of Sydney, or other towns, is to see the cheap prices at which some of the commoner classes of goods are ticketed, because I realize that that cheapness has been brought about at the cost of the degradation and ruin of thousands of people in London and other places.

Mr. WILKS.—They have had to legislate against sweating in Victoria.

Mr. SAWERS.—I denounce this doctrine of cheapness as a false doctrine, and contend that it is the duty of the artisans

and workers of this country, while clamouring for justice for themselves—clamouring against cheapness in their own case—to think of giving fair play all round, to remember that people are sweated in other countries, and to decline to receive goods that are made at such a terrible cost in flesh and blood.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable member believe in the factory legislation in Victoria?

Mr. SAWERS.—All honour to Victoria for the legislation she has passed. I do not know all about the factory legislation in Victoria, and there may be absurdities in it, such as the provisions which in some cases prevent a man from employing his own son.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not true.

Mr. SAWERS.—Whether it be true or false, I say all honour to Victoria for having passed such legislation, for I am heart and soul with those who desire to protect the people engaged in industrial occupations.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is sweating in protected as well as in free-trade countries.

Mr. SAWERS.—Selfishness is not confined to any particular country, and it is the duty of the Legislature to check it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Can the honorable member explain how it is that he is now so heartily in favour of Victorian factory legislation, although he was so bitterly opposed to the compulsory arbitration legislation that was introduced into the New South Wales Parliament?

Mr. SAWERS.—I am not opposed to compulsory arbitration. I know what the honorable member is referring to. Some two years ago or more a Bill was introduced into the New South Wales Legislature entitled the "Conciliation and Arbitration Bill." The measure was one to which, theoretically, I would give my support, but it contained such iniquitous, stupid, and unworkable clauses that I was compelled to oppose it. The author of that Bill, the Honorable B. R. Wise, Attorney-General of New South Wales, has now introduced another Bill of a similar character, and guided by the criticisms that were poured upon the original measure, he has so greatly improved the Bill that one would scarcely recognise it, and I say, with all my heart and soul, that I hope it will become law. I am absolutely in favour of arbitration. The honorable member for Parramatta

announced himself in favour of federation, but as not in favour of the Convention Bill, and in that he was somewhat like myself in regard to the former Arbitration Bill. But I am in favour of the particular Arbitration Bill now before the Parliament of New South Wales. I would now like to say a few words about another subject. In 1894 the right honorable member for East Sydney, who then, as now, was doing his utmost to obtain office, shrieked out—"Give me 24 hours of office, and I will put an end to the unemployed difficulty for ever."

Mr. WILKS.—That was a figure of speech.

Mr. SAWERS.—A good deal of the statements of the right honorable member for East Sydney are figures of speech. Shortly after 1894, the right honorable member obtained office, and two years later the unemployed difficulty in New South Wales had risen to a scandal. Over 14,000 men were registered as unemployed, and the thousands of women and children dependent upon them were going without food.

Mr. WILKS.—According to the *Age*, there are more unemployed in Victoria.

Mr. SAWERS.—When the right honorable member for East Sydney was Premier of New South Wales, the unemployed difficulty rose to be such a scandal that the free-trade press of Sydney, as represented by the *Daily Telegraph*, in a leading article actually advised the charitable people to put articles of food in boxes at their back doors, in order that the starving poor might get something to eat in the small hours of the morning. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, free-trade newspaper as it is, and with a free-trade Government in office, denounced the state of things in Sydney as a scandal and disgrace, and said that that city more resembled a city of the middle ages than one of the nineteenth century. I do not say that that condition was the result of free-trade, but I do say that it is a scandal and a shame that such comparisons should be possible. I only refer to these facts in order to show the absurdity of the contention that because there is more poverty or dearth in one place than another, that poverty and dearth are the result of any fiscal policy.

Mr. THOMSON.—Why did not the protectionists, when they returned to office, alter the fiscal system?

Mr. SAWERS.—The answer to that is very plain. When the protectionist party

in New South Wales got back to office, we were within "coo-ee" of federation, and it was recognised that it would be absurd to alter the fiscal policy of the country for a few months, seeing that the whole question would be dealt with by the Federal Parliament. I have, however, always deplored the fact that New South Wales did not enter the Federal Union when the Dibbs Tariff was in operation. Had that happened we should have had very little of the howl which we now hear from that State.

Mr. WILKS.—The people upset the Dibbs Tariff.

Mr. SAWERS.—The people were contented and prosperous under the Dibbs Tariff, and would have been quite content, in order to meet the difficulties of federation, to have borne increased duties. We have heard a great deal about pauperism. I do not place implicit reliance on returns of pauperism, because paupers are registered under different systems in different countries. From my knowledge of England, knowing the huge number of charitable institutions there, and the private charity that is otherwise dispensed, I feel that the official returns do not really indicate the amount of pauperism in that country; and I have no doubt that the same is the case in regard to other countries. But dealing with official figures, as found in *Mulhall*, we find that in 1898 France, in round numbers, had 290,000 paupers; Germany, 320,000; and Russia, 350,000. I suppose my free-trade friends expect that Great Britain had fewer paupers, but, unfortunately, the old country topped the list with 810,000.

Mr. THOMAS.—All the paupers of France and Germany go to England.

Mr. SAWERS.—I am glad of that interjection. The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, when speaking of the cheap clothing trade, and the destitution of women and children connected with it, described those people as foreigners. But I turn again to official statistics of foreigners resident in first-class European countries, and I find that in France the number of such residents, according to *Mulhall*, is 1,140,000; in Germany, 524,000; and in Great Britain, which is supposed to be stuffed full of poor foreigners, only 275,000. It would appear, therefore, that England is, after all, not such a favorite hunting ground for the poor foreigner. These

figures simply show how careful a man in the position of the right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, with all the experience gained in the high offices he has occupied, should be before he makes a statement of that kind. I am quite sure that even the honorable member for the Barrier will be satisfied with the figures I have given.

Mr. THOMAS.—I am easily satisfied.

Mr. SAWERS.—If the figures agreed with the contentions of the honorable member and his friends of the Opposition, what a cheer there would be from that quarter of the House. But when the figures are against their position, there is a dead silence or a sneer. I suppose there is no better authority on the question of pauperism and poverty than Charles Booth, who estimates the people living in poverty in London—he does not say registered official paupers—at fully 30 per cent. of the population. That means 30 people out of every 100 in London—"the hub of the universe;" the mighty London, which is the centre of civilization and wealth and luxury—are living in absolute poverty. Mr. Joseph Morley, who is also recognised as an authority, says that 45 per cent. of the persons who reach the age of 60 in Great Britain are or have been paupers. That means that very nearly half the people in Great Britain who reach that age, are or have been paupers. I doubt not that some honorable members on the Opposition side of the House have taken a keen interest in the discussions which have been going on in the House of Commons and elsewhere in Great Britain, in reference to the old-age pension scheme. We have been able to deal with old-age pensions out here, though somewhat extravagantly, as I think will be found out later on, especially in New South Wales. But the difficulties of the problem are so tremendous at home that British statesmen stand absolutely appalled. Nothing has been done yet, but there has been earnest discussion as to how the difficulty is to be met, and even on a scale not one-half of the present old-age pension system of New South Wales, it will cost the English tax-payers at least £10,000,000 to pay old-age pensions. I mention that to show the difficulties of the case, and the destitution and misery which we are always told are least in the richest and best and most prosperous country in the world. I do not wish to say anything that

will lead any one to suppose that I desire to disparage Great Britain. I am a Britisher, and love my country. But we are entitled to say, in answer to honorable members on the opposite side, that "All is not gold that glitters" in England, but that there is much misery and poverty, which all England's best men deeply deplore. Much of the debate which has taken place—and possibly it may be said much that I have said—has been somewhat wide of the real question before the House, which is the Tariff. But I have always thought that discussion in detail upon a Bill of any kind should be reserved for the committee stage. If honorable members opposite believe that the Tariff proposals of the Government are so iniquitous and unjust to the people of this country that they are not worthy of discussion in committee, of course I do not object to their taking the course they have done. But I take a different view. I find, for example, that leaving narcotics and stimulants out of the question, this Tariff comes down, on an average, to something like 23 per cent. duties, with a big free list. Much of the discussion that has been launched against the proposed increase in Australia generally, and in New South Wales particularly, is not levied against the protectionist elements of the Tariff, but against the necessity for conserving the solvency of the States. It is well known that we have to make provision to meet the necessities of the States, and that we must raise a large revenue through the Custom-house.

Mr. THOMAS.—Why?

Mr. SAWERS.—I would dare the leader of the Opposition to challenge the Government upon that point. It is recognised that the money must come through the Custom-house, and much of the increased prices which may follow do not arise through protection, but are the result of federation, and of that sacrifice which all true federalists were prepared to make. I myself might prefer a somewhat different Tariff. I should like to vote for straight, clear-cut protection on certain defined lines, which I would propose to encourage particular industries. I should be in favour of raw material coming in free, and of as big a free list as possible under the circumstances. No honorable member on this side of the Chamber wants to raise the prices of commodities unduly, but we are bound by a sense of our responsibilities

as members of this Parliament to provide sufficient revenue. We are told that the revenue which the Government expect to raise is too great. The honorable member for North Sydney has suggested an alternative Tariff, which would bring in something like £8,048,000. I prefer to take the opinion of responsible Ministers of the Crown as to the amount which is necessary. They have had all kinds of information given to them from the various States, and after studying all the circumstances have come down asking Parliament for a £9,000,000 Tariff. I do not think that any private member is in a position to say that that amount is not necessary. I do not say that the honorable member for North Sydney does not possess ability, but he is not in possession of sufficient information to qualify him to say what should be the amount of the Tariff. I shall, as I told my constituents, do what I can to preserve existing industries. If moderate duties will do it, I shall be prepared to assist in creating new industries in this country. The honorable member for Kalgoorlie has spoken of the great hardships that this Tariff will throw on mining enterprises. If the honorable member's statements can be borne out in committee, after the Ministerial explanation, I certainly shall be quite prepared to vote against the Government, as I would against any Government, rather than do any injustice to a great industry. But that is no reason why I should support the amendment of the leader of the Opposition. We have heard much about the farmers. I think the farmers will be taken great care of by honorable members on this side of the Chamber. The farmers have put most of us into Parliament. There are not many farming representatives on the Opposition side of the chamber. Talk about the interests of the farmers comes with an ill grace from the left of the Speaker's chair. I shall do my best in committee to protect the farmers. But let me say this about them—they are quite prepared, I believe, to make some sacrifices for United Australia, but they are not short-sighted enough to support a free-trade policy, because they know that it is a matter of extreme doubt whether they can compete in the markets of the outside world.

Mr. FULLER.—They are doing it every day.

Mr. SAWERS.—To some extent. But does the honorable member say that the

farmers of this country will be able to send their wheat to compete at Mark Lane prices in the future? The wheat-producing countries of other parts of the world have greater facilities for growing wheat than have the farmers in the interior of Australia, who have to pay railway freight and other expenses before their produce reaches the foreign markets. What the farmers of this country realize more than anything else, is that, of all markets, a market at their own door is best; and if we can, under protection, build up a nation with a big population, will it not be better for our producers to find that they have a splendid market at their own door, than to have to depend upon the prices they obtain in European markets? No Tariff, of course, can be considered perfect. Even Ministers will admit that this Tariff is open to amendment. I regret exceedingly that federation should have found New South Wales with so low a Tariff. It would have been greatly to our advantage in this discussion, and would have made the problem easier of solution, if the right honorable member the leader of the Opposition had never altered the fiscal policy of New South Wales, and if that State had remained under the Dibbs Tariff. The right honorable member at that time had little idea of federation. I shall feel it to be my duty in committee to study the interests of my large constituency, but at the same time I shall remember that it is my duty to rise above provincialism, and to recollect that I am not the member for New England in a State Legislature, but the member for New England in the Parliament of Australia, and that I am bound to take not a provincial, but an Australian view.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has not the honorable member a word to say for New South Wales?

Mr. SAWERS.—I have everything to say in favour of New South Wales. The interests of New South Wales are the interests of Australia, and the interests of Australia are the interests of New South Wales. Whether a particular trade will flow through the channels of New South Wales ports, or through the channels of South Australian, Queensland, or Victorian ports, is to me, as a nationalist, a matter of supreme indifference. That, I think, is what many honorable members fail to understand; they fail to rise to that view of the

situation; we have too much provincialism. We should surely strive to frame a Tariff, not for the benefit of one State only, but for the benefit of Australia. I doubt not, but that when the Government proposals have been discussed and settled, this Parliament will have passed a Tariff which will meet with the approval of the majority of the electors of the country. I believe that it will be a Tariff which will yield that ample revenue which is essential for the development of the various States, as well as for all the purposes of civilized government. If New South Wales, as has been said, is to receive under the Government proposals more than she requires, then I say fortunate is she beyond all her sister States in being in that happy position. It will enable her to reduce various taxes and burdens upon her people. She will be able to reduce many burdens, and in doing so take into account the interests of the mining as well as the farming community.

Mr. POYNTON.—She can take off the land tax.

Mr. SAWERS.—I am not here to talk about the land tax. If, as it is said, New South Wales should have an excess of £1,000,000, she will be able to assist her mining enterprise, reduce her iniquitous probate duties, and ease the commercial community by reducing her stamp duties, and affording relief in many other ways.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Are we to dictate to New South Wales?

Mr. SAWERS.—My reply to that is that each State must put her own house in order. New South Wales is able to manage her own affairs, and it is not for us to dictate to her in what direction she should reduce taxation. If she has too much revenue, let us congratulate her on her happy position. I would say, in conclusion, that I trust that whatever Tariff may be passed, it will uphold existing industries, and that, within the limits of moderation and prudent statesmanship, it may still further assist Australia to advance along the pathways of industrial enterprise and national progress.

Mr. F. E. MCLEAN (Lang).—I am not at all astonished at the very remarkable speech delivered by the honorable member for New England; neither am I surprised at the readiness with which he adapts himself to his new surroundings, and becomes immediately an advocate on behalf of his adopted State of Victoria.

Mr. SAWERS.—More provincialism.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—And takes upon himself so readily and so naturally the responsibility of vilifying and detracting his own State of New South Wales.

Mr. SAWERS.—That is very ungenerous.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am not astonished, because during the three years that I sat with the honorable member in the State Parliament of New South Wales, I recognised always that he was a consistent and determined opponent of everything in the shape of progressive legislation. The honorable member has tried this afternoon to explain why he speaks strongly in favour of the establishment of wages boards in Victoria, and why, as a member of the State Parliament, he spoke so strongly, and voted so determinedly against the adoption of a system of industrial arbitration in New South Wales. But it will take more than the honorable member's explanations to convince me that he is any different from what he always was—a determined opponent of everything that made for the prosperity and progress of the great masses of the people.

Mr. WATKINS.—The same remark would apply to the honorable member for Wentworth.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Perhaps it might ; but if the honorable member had not projected this matter into the debate, I should have been only too pleased to proceed immediately to the discussion of the motion before the chair. It is little short of a calamity to the politics of the Commonwealth that many of us who have come here prepared to discuss on their merits, and without respect to any provincial considerations, the proposals of the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs, should be driven back into a discussion of State politics simply because certain honorable members have taken it upon themselves to misrepresent historical facts, to misquote matters that occurred in our several States, and to furnish for the guidance of this House statistics and opinions which are utterly unreliable. The honorable member for New England stated that he was opposed only to certain principles in the measure that was introduced into the New South Wales Parliament to establish industrial arbitration. I find that he stated distinctly that he opposed the Bill itself because it contained principles which he thought were departures from the principles of human freedom.

Mr. SAWERS.—A very good reason, too.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—He said—

Mr. Sidney Webb, at whose feet the Attorney-General seems to have sat—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am afraid I cannot allow the honorable member to follow that line of discussion. The question before the House is the financial and fiscal policy of the Government. I only permitted the honorable member for New England to touch the question of arbitration, because it was necessary for him to do so in reply to an interjection. The honorable member can refer incidentally to the matter, but he must not discuss it at length.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am quite willing to recognise, Mr. Speaker, that your decision is right, and I will not pursue that line of argument further. I was trying to point out the consistency with which the honorable member for New England has opposed everything tending towards the welfare of the great masses of the people ; and as an illustration of that, I was merely quoting something to show—

Mr. SAWERS.—Why, the honorable member's own leader, the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney, was the greatest opponent of that Bill.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am not responsible for the action of leaders or of associates. I simply mention the fact that the honorable member for New England opposed absolutely this particular Arbitration Bill. I have instanced the fact, not with a view of discussing the question of industrial arbitration, but as showing the perfect consistency of the honorable member's conservatism.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think the right honorable the leader of the Opposition even voted against the Commonwealth having power to legislate on industrial matters.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable member for New England, not content with dragging this matter into the discussions of the Federal Parliament, has attempted to dispute the fact that the great majority of the people of New South Wales, from which State he comes, are strongly in favour of the policy of commercial freedom, and have again and again declared, in the most emphatic and unmistakable manner, that they will not allow the shackles of protection to be placed upon them. The honorable member commenced by stating that at the election of 1894, which brought the right honorable the leader of the Opposition into power in New South Wales, no mandate was

given upon the fiscal question. If there was any mandate given at that election—if there was any interpretation whatever to be placed upon the views of the electors as expressed upon that occasion—it was that they had determined that the unfortunate fiscal policy which had been fastened upon them accidentally should be removed at the earliest possible moment. The honorable member has even quoted history incorrectly. Sir George Dibbs was not defeated at that election; he was returned to Parliament.

Mr. SAWERS.—I did not say that he was. I said he was defeated at the polls.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—He was not defeated at that election; he was returned and was permitted—

Mr. SAWERS.—He was defeated by Mr. Piddington.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—That was in 1895. Sir George Dibbs was permitted from 1894 to 1895 to assist in preventing the enactment of free-trade and Liberal legislation. I do not want to prolong any discussion upon political events in another State, except in so far as they relate to the particular work that we have in hand in this Parliament at the present time. I do not think that it is possible for the interests of the people of New South Wales as one of the component parts of this Commonwealth, to be fairly considered and dealt with, unless the political history of those few years is taken fully into account. In 1894 there was an absolute and unmistakeable mandate from the people of New South in favour of a reversion to the old established policy of that State. That mandate was coupled with a request for direct taxation, including a land tax, and I think that in the minds of most liberal members free-trade and direct taxation are inseparably associated.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is the honorable member's free-trade associated with a land tax?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—My right honorable friend thinks to score a temporary victory by raising the bugbear of a land tax in connexion with the discussion of these infamous fiscal proposals of his; but we are not going to be drawn in that way. We are here to advocate a revenue Tariff as opposed to his proposed protective Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—A revenue Tariff which the honorable member says is inseparably connected with a land tax.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—There must be a connexion between free-trade and direct taxation. If we want absolute freedom of trade—a freedom of trade which reduces the burdens of taxation through the Custom-house, it must be associated with a system of direct taxation; but, so far as the Federal Parliament and our present work are concerned, direct and indirect taxation are not in conflict. Rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, the understanding has been arrived at that the revenue of the Commonwealth shall be derived through the Custom-house, so that the question the right honorable gentleman would like to import into this discussion does not arise. The two policies were bound together in New South Wales in the years 1894 and 1895, for the simple reason that the revenue that was dispensed with by the removal of customs duties had to be made up by the imposition of more liberal and rational taxation. The honorable member for New England has denied, notwithstanding two elections in which the policy of the free-trade Government was clearly placed before the country and immense majorities voted in favour of it, that New South Wales has ever pronounced emphatically and unmistakeably in favour of free-trade. It might be well to remind my honorable friend that he himself came into the Parliament of 1898 pledged not to interfere with the fiscal policy of the country. He and all those who followed the Minister for Home Affairs, would have been unable to obtain a seat in that Parliament had they not given the solemn pledge that, pending federation, they would uphold and maintain the existing policy of the State.

Mr. SAWERS.—That was our only chance of defeating the anti-federalists.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—In both campaigns I was an ardent advocate for the adoption of the Constitution Bill, though I must confess that the proposals of the Minister for Trade and Customs have given me very serious cause to reflect upon the wisdom of my action. I was as strongly in favour of the adoption of the Constitution Bill as was any man in New South Wales; and I am here to-day to do what I can to perpetuate the established policy of that State, and, if possible, to make it the policy of the Commonwealth. Even if the statements already made are not true, we have still the fact that, at the recent elections for this Parliament, the free-trade

members returned by that State to the House of Representatives outnumber the protectionist members, and an analysis of the voting shows that those who sit on this side of the Chamber had the most pronounced majorities. How is it, if the people of New South Wales have not spoken in favour of free-trade, that out of the six representatives of the State in the Senate five are pronounced free-traders, and the nominees of the free-trade and liberal party, while the sixth is a man so universally esteemed, of such high character, and so thoroughly popular, that he received a very large number of votes from free-traders.

Mr. WILKS.—The next protectionist on the poll was 25,000 votes behind him!

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I mention these facts as a set off against the misrepresentations of history which we have had from the honorable member for New England, although the facts which he has mentioned may appear to be true to his own imagination. But the honorable member has not been satisfied with denying that certain votes in New South Wales meant certain things; he has taken upon himself to show that the State was in an awful condition, and would have been much better off if it had adopted a contrary fiscal policy. Amongst other things, he instanced the fact that the large land revenue has been spent instead of being set aside to pay off the national debt. I am sorry that it has been necessary to constantly refer to these matters, but it has been continually asserted in this Chamber that New South Wales has been living upon borrowed money. During the seven years, between 1894 and 1901, the loan expenditure of New South Wales averaged between £1,500,000, and £1,750,000 per annum.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is not so bad!

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—My honorable friend's idea of expenditure may be shocked by the statement that New South Wales has spent £1,750,000 of loan money in one year. That is because he has had the control of the affairs of a very small State. A vigorous, healthy, prosperous State, which has taken upon itself the responsibility of constructing railways and developing its territory, cannot allow its public works to languish for want of capital. If the money had been expended upon non-productive works, and works which should be constructed out of revenue, I could understand the objection being raised.

But in this Commonwealth all the States have undertaken the management of their own railway systems, to the exclusion of others, because I suppose that in every State, as in New South Wales, it is very difficult to get a private railway or tramway Bill sanctioned by Parliament. Therefore the whole system of tramway and railway construction, which constitutes the great internal carriage system of the States, is in the hands of the State Governments, and they must overtake the growing requirements of a prosperous people. If they fail to do so they are retarding progress, and checking production. As honorable members know, the works which have been constructed out of loan moneys in New South Wales during recent years have been of a reproductive character. They are works which will be justified by any financier in this Chamber upon a close analysis of the expenditure. But some honorable members talk about land revenue as if the whole of the land revenue of New South Wales were derived from the sales of land, whereas only a portion of it is thus obtained. A very large portion of the instalments which are paid by selectors on their balances represents interest on the purchase money—in fact, the larger proportion.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is the other way about. The largest portion of the money is principal.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The Minister must admit that, having extended the terms of payment up to something like 64 years—

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Only in a very few cases.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I recognise that 64 years is the longest term. But if we take the shortest term in which free selectors have to pay their balances, I say, unmistakably, that the larger portion of their instalments represents interest on the balances due to the State. At any rate I am one of those who thoroughly condemn the system of using the proceeds of land sales as ordinary revenue. I am not here as an apologist for any policy which may have been pursued in any State which is contrary to sound financial business or sound economic theory. But I would point out that this has absolutely nothing to do with the question which we are discussing. I wish to come back to my argument, as I have been drawn aside from the line of my

own thoughts by the speech of the honorable member for New England. I desire to deal with this question purely as one relating to the Commonwealth. I unhesitatingly affirm that the chief mistake which the Government have made in framing their Tariff has been that they have forgotten that they were legislating for the Commonwealth of Australia. The underlying and vicious principle in this Tariff is that it is framed to suit one of the States of the Commonwealth, absolutely regardless of the interests of the other five. The Minister for Trade and Customs is a protectionist. He does not deny that in any shape or form. I believe that the majority of his colleagues are protectionists. Hence it was not to be wondered at that a Tariff framed by a Government composed mostly of protectionist politicians should be largely protective in its incidence. The people of New South Wales and their representatives in this Parliament, whilst themselves soundly free-trade, thoroughly recognised that it would not be possible to frame a Tariff for the Commonwealth which would be exactly in harmony with their own ideas. They were prepared to make concessions. The very fact of their entering this Federal Union was proof that they were willing to make concessions. They expected that large concessions would be demanded of them. But, in the wildest of their dreams, they did not expect that they would be asked to make the concessions which this Tariff demands of them. As reasonable men, who thought that the principle of compromise would enter into the deliberations of the Cabinet, they believed that they could safely trust the Government and the Parliament representing the whole of Australia to frame a Tariff which would be a fair and honorable settlement. Is this Tariff a fair and honorable compromise?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Does the Minister for Home Affairs, who promised a 10 or 15 per cent. Tariff—

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not promise anything of the kind.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Does the Minister, who would have jumped at a 15 per cent. Tariff at any time in New South Wales, and who would have considered that he had received all the protection for which he had been striving for years, contend that this

Tariff is a fair compromise between the rival policies of the various States?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do, most assuredly.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I certainly do not know upon what principle of averaging the Minister arrives at his compromise. If he were to add up the average rate of the duties prevailing in each of the States, and divide the result by the number of States, he might in that rough-and-ready way arrive at something which would be quite as fair as the Tariff submitted by the Government. But is that a fair way of arriving at a compromise when we remember that the leading partner of the union is absolutely free-trade in her policy, and that she has also the largest import and export trade of any State in the Commonwealth? It seems to me that the magnitude of the trade of the mother State—of her imports and exports—and of the interests that have grown up under her free-trade policy, should have been regarded in the framing of this Tariff. Had a Tariff been produced which would have been revenue producing, though its incidence might have been slightly protective, honorable members upon this side of the House would not have been found resisting it, as they feel compelled, in honour and justice to their own constituents, to resist the production of the Ministry. The Prime Minister promised at Maitland that he would produce a Tariff which would be revenue producing without involving the destruction of industries. I do not know whether he used the term "destruction" in connexion with this Tariff question—whether there was underneath that statement the inference that a free-trade policy, or that the adoption of a revenue Tariff would lead to the destruction of manufacturing and producing industries. I do not understand why he did not speak out plainly and unmistakably upon that occasion, and let the free-traders of Australia know what were his intentions. As it is, honorable members have been elected to this Parliament from New South Wales and Victoria who are pledged to revenue tariffism, and who are now asked to vote for a Tariff which, so far from being designed to produce revenue, has, as its first consideration, the protection of certain favoured industries which have grown up in Victoria. In introducing the Tariff the Minister for Trade and Customs did not say it was a revenue Tariff first and a protective Tariff afterwards.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the honorable member say that I did not state that revenue was the first object?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—If the right honorable and learned gentleman says that he did, I will not repeat my statement.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not blame the honorable member, because the misrepresentation has been so frequently made, but I distinctly said that revenue was the first consideration.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am quite prepared to allow the Minister for Trade and Customs to express his own views.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I never said anything else.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am certainly under the impression that the right honorable and learned gentleman showed very much more enthusiasm and energy in defending the principle of protection than he did in unfolding the benefits of the revenue aspect of his policy. However, we have to face the present position. Whatever their pledges were to the people—whatever compact might have been made between the States in the past—we are face to face with the fact that the Government are trying to fasten on to this young Commonwealth a protectionist policy—a policy intended to bolster up certain manufacturing industries that have grown up in this particular State of Victoria. I do not hesitate to say that the introduction of this Tariff marks an absolute breach of faith with the people of the Commonwealth. I go further. I say that this Tariff is a direct violation of the federal compact. Because, after all, a compact of this kind does not depend upon the mere letter of a written Constitution. There were certain fair and honorable understandings between the States when they agreed to join their lot in this great Commonwealth. The understanding was that there would be fair dealing—that there would be concessions—that there would be compromise—and that the policy of any particular State would not be allowed to dominate the rest.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Neither does it.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Before I have done, I shall show the honorable gentleman that the policy of a particular State is to dominate. At any rate the policy of the honorable gentleman's State has not received any consideration, and has not entered into the policy of the Government in this Tariff at all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We could not have a free-trade policy if we were to secure the revenue required.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman has justified his policy by slandering his State.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable gentleman says it was not possible to apply the New South Wales Tariff to the Commonwealth under existing conditions. We admit that much, but we say that no attempt to compromise has been made as between the Tariff of New South Wales and the extreme protectionist Tariff that was in existence in Victoria. What interests have we in New South Wales that have grown up under the policy of free-trade?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—None.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—None whatever?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I suppose our commercial supremacy and our shipping interests are nothing in the mind of the honorable gentleman. The honorable gentleman, I admit, never got much support from the commercial community or shipping interests, or from the people who occupy the great metropolis of Sydney. Nevertheless, I think he must recognise that they have the rights of citizens in their State, and the rights of citizens of this Commonwealth, and there has been an absolute disregard of the interests of the people of the great commercial centre—shall I call it the great commercial emporium—of New South Wales. Our shipping interests that have grown up under a free-trade policy have been ruthlessly disregarded in the framing of this Tariff. I shall be able to show later on that the manufacturing industries of New South Wales are not the small and petty things that they have been represented to be, but that, on the contrary, under a free-trade policy, and without the coddling that has been given to the industries of the adjoining State, a very large and important manufacturing interest has grown up in New South Wales. I shall be able, also, to show that a very large proportion of the manufactures there have sprung naturally from the great shipping interests of the port of Sydney. Are they to be ruthlessly disregarded, and are we to be told that there has been a fair compromise in a Federal Tariff, which absolutely ignores them? I am willing to admit that the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, in speaking at Maitland, was not so clear

and emphatic in regard to revenue tariffism as he had been during the Federal campaign, and some time prior to the formation of his Government. The very fact that he took into his Ministry avowed protectionists, the very fact that he was associated with men from the other States who were strong in their advocacy of protection must, to some extent, have modified his own original views; but when the right honorable and learned gentleman was before the country trying to induce the people of New South Wales to accept Federation under the Convention Bill, then it was that he told them that there would be no possibility of a high Tariff being fastened upon the people of the Commonwealth; that it would have to be a compromise; that it would be a Tariff in which no single State could have its own views embodied—one in which a compromise would have to be arranged between the conflicting views of the various States. Now the right honorable gentleman calls this thing an Australian Tariff for the Australian people. I say it is the worst Tariff ever placed before any Legislature in Australia, and it is a Tariff that is going to sound sooner or later the death-knell of this Government. The honorable member for Hume may sneer.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do sneer.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable gentleman may sneer, but I should like him to go to Albury to-morrow night to defend this Tariff. I should like him to go to Albury, Cootamundra, or some place in his own electorate to defend it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall go to Sydney quickly enough; let the honorable member make no mistake.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I should like the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government to go to Maitland to defend this Tariff. I challenge any one of these gentlemen to go and defend the Tariff, as laid before this House, and explained by the Minister for Trade and Customs, before their constituents in New South Wales. Unfortunately, Senator O'Connor is not a member of this Chamber, and we have not an opportunity of hearing his explanation; but he certainly told the people of New South Wales that he would be no party to the imposition of a high protective Tariff. The honorable gentleman ridiculed the idea that the fiscal question could arise in this Parliament. The conditions of the Constitution, he informed us, were such that they

made it impossible for either free-trade or protection to become the policy of the Commonwealth. Well, there is an attempt being made now to make protection the policy of the Commonwealth. We are to judge of this Tariff not merely by the words of Ministers themselves, but by the words of their apologists in this Chamber. What have the speeches delivered in support of the Government been but speeches in support of the principle of protection. The honorable member for Gippsland, who made an honest, straightforward speech in this House, spoke in favour of the principle of protection, and the one doleful story he had to tell was about the decay of Great Britain under free-trade. One after another honorable members who have spoken in support of the Government have found their stock-in-trade in the same doleful story.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—What is the honorable member's stock-in-trade?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—It reminds me very much of the debates that used to be current in our debating societies upon such questions as "Will England decay as the great nations of antiquity have done?" We have been told not only that she will decay, but that she is in decay now.

Mr. RONALD.—Is it true?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I think it is about the greatest fairy tale my honorable friend ever tried to tell. It is about on a par with the £2,000,000 of imports which America received in 1898.

Mr. RONALD.—That was in steel and iron. I made a slip, and looked at the wrong column in my figures.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—It may be also that the honorable member made a slip about the prosperity of the United Kingdom. Is it not possible that he may have been mistaken? Is it not quite possible that, in spite of all these doleful stories, England may yet be a nation that holds commercial supremacy in the world? At any rate, I still feel inclined, in spite of these doleful stories, to follow in the footsteps of the mother country, and to try and mould for this country a policy that shall follow the same lines. (*House Counted.*) We have been told over and over again by honorable members supporting the Tariff that British agricultural industries, manufactures, and exports have been declining and that Britain's choicest population has been departing to

other lands where more favorable conditions prevail. The most bigoted free-traders, if there are such people, for most free-traders are too liberal to be bigoted, would not contend that a policy of free-trade would prevent the enterprising sons of Britain from seeking to colonize other lands and to improve their fortunes by taking their lot in younger countries where it must be obvious better conditions will prevail for the masses. While England has been sending out her sons to the ends of the earth she has been extending her colonial empire in such a way that she has attained to a position which has never been equalled before. Her power as an empire is unparalleled in the history of the world, and even in these States, in Canada, and in all parts of the empire this population which we have been told has been running away because of the disastrous policy which she has been pursuing has really been colonizing and establishing the same great principles of free government that have proved successful in the mother country. I shall admit cheerfully, if it is any concession or comfort to honorable members opposite, that the progress of America has been most remarkable. There is no necessity for a free-trader, arguing on the lines we are taking, to say anything against the marked prosperity of the American Republic. But it is only fair, in instituting comparisons of that kind, to remember the vast extent of that territory, the variety of climate and soil, and the possibility of developing a standard of living and a state of prosperity which could not be attained by natural conditions in any other part of the world. There has been no argument adduced to show that this restrictive policy—this policy which has restrained her from developing her energies to the fullest extent—has in any way assisted in the building up of that great and mighty republic. On the contrary, we have indisputable evidence brought before us now—the testimony of representatives of the labouring classes—that with all their natural advantages, with all their free institutions, the worst forms of poverty and destitution exist in the great States of the Union. It is a regrettable thing that it should be so, and I am not here to-night to attribute all this to the mistaken policy they have pursued. I believe that these problems of pauperism are far deeper than this fiscal question. I believe that under any fiscal conditions, there will be problems

to be solved that will tax the intellect of the keenest amongst us, and when we have finished with this Tariff and with the fiscal affairs of the Commonwealth, we shall only have begun to deal with the great questions by the solution of which we can alone effectually establish a high standard of living amongst our people. But let us begin well. Let us begin with all the advantages that are to be gained by the experience of the past. Is our experience of the mother land and of America such as to lead us to fetter this young Commonwealth with the shackles of a high protective policy. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo last week referred to the attitude of honorable members on this side as if an attempt were being made to deprive the industries of Victoria of their rights, to invade the industrial conditions here, and to throttle the industries which have grown up. Is there in this State any industry worthy of the name which has not grown up in the other States where they have had no fetters of this kind? Where are these industries which are going to be destroyed if free competition is allowed to come in? I ask, where are these great industries employing the thousands of stalwart hands? The statistics of the Commonwealth show us clearly that there are very few more hands employed in the manufactories of Victoria than are employed in those of New South Wales? And if in New South Wales they have built up industries without protection, if they have employed a large population without protection, and if it can be shown successfully that those industries are on a healthier and sounder foundation, how are we going to invade the rights of Victoria, and destroy her industries by lowering the Tariff? That is all we are seeking to do. No one has asked that a policy of absolute free-trade should be established in the Commonwealth. We have admitted frankly that it would be impossible under present conditions to secure an absolutely free-trade policy, and that the nearest approach to it that we could hope to secure would be a fair revenue Tariff. Does the honorable and learned member for Bendigo believe that, if such a Tariff were established, the Victorian industries would be destroyed all at once? He has admitted to this House that the very important industry connected with the manufacture of mining machinery would not be affected if it had no duties at all—

that it has developed to such an extent that mining machinery can be manufactured here at such a price, and of such a quality, that it can hold its own against imported machinery. If that be a fact, then protection is a farce so far as it is applied to mining machinery. If, however, it is not a fact, and if the honorable and learned member has exaggerated to some extent the importance and magnitude of this industry, all I have to say is that the small proportion of protection that would be left to it under a revenue Tariff would at least afford fair compensation for any disturbance of existing conditions.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Shall we not get revenue under this Tariff?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — I presume that the calculations made by the Minister for Trade and Customs are correct; I have not challenged them. We are not in the position of experts who can challenge these figures, and for the purposes of controversy we have accepted them. We suppose that the Tariff will raise the revenue that is expected from it; but it has been argued that if a revenue Tariff, which would not be designed to protect various industries, were introduced, it would lead to desolation in Victoria, that factories would be shut up, and vested interests would be interfered with. We had the poetical imagination of the Prime Minister running into thoughts of bare feet pattering on the pavement. His imaginative faculty was slightly stimulated at the time, and imagination is the basis of poetry.

Mr. BARTON.—I disclaim any pretensions to having a poetical imagination—I leave all the imagination to the other side.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am glad to hear the Prime Minister disclaim the possession of any imaginative faculty; but I regarded his little flight the other evening as highly imaginative. We are told that if a revenue Tariff—not a free-trade Tariff, which would give no revenue at all—were established in this Commonwealth, the industrial interests of Victoria would be threatened, and that men would be thrown out of employment. My answer to that is that in New South Wales, where there is no form of protection, various industries have grown up, and large numbers of people are employed. In fact, there are only 5,000 more persons employed in manufacturing pursuits in Victoria than in New South Wales, the numbers being, I believe, 60,000

for Victoria, and 55,000 for New South Wales. I do not wish to make any comparison between the numbers of males and females employed in these industries, because that has already been sufficiently referred to. As a matter of fact, however, taking the figures as though the male and female employes stood upon a footing of industrial equality, we have 60,000 operatives in Victoria, as against 55,000 in New South Wales. I believe that the figures furnished to this House in a recent return gave rather a greater advantage to New South Wales, but it is sufficient for the purposes of my argument to adopt the figures I have mentioned. If we in New South Wales have been able, under a free policy, to establish industries which employ 55,000 people; and if this development has taken place without any form of protection, why does the honorable and learned member for Bendigo suppose that the whole industrial fabric of Victoria is going to crumble into dust if we lower these duties from 25 per cent. to, say, 15 per cent.? Is this the result of 30 years of protection in Victoria? Have these industries which were set upon their feet by a policy designed to create employment, and to make Victoria a working man's paradise, no firmer basis than that? If we reduce the duties—not abolish them—but reduce them to something like a reasonable proportion, will the whole fabric of Victorian industry go to pieces and leave us thousands of unemployed workmen? Shall we hear the pattering of bare feet upon the pavements, and all that sort of thing? What can be done in one State can be done in another. The free policy of New South Wales has demonstrated the possibility of establishing large and important industries without the fostering aid of a protective Tariff, and I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that instead of these industries crumbling to the dust, and instead of large armies of unemployed being thrown upon the streets, as the result of a revenue Tariff, it would very quickly be seen that a great impetus had been given to production in every form in Victoria, and in all the other States. I firmly believe that the lower these duties are, the less they press upon the people, and the less they interfere with the free exercise of the people's energies, the more our production and our manufactures will extend in every direction. There is just another point to which I wish

to call attention. I have spoken of concessions and compromises, and of the advantages that were to be connected with this federal union. Let us remember that by the introduction of Inter-State free-trade, the State of Victoria, with her manufacturing industries, immediately gains free access to all the markets of Australia. Surely that is a fair compensation for any reduction in the duties. Victoria already had the New South Wales market, which had not been closed against her, except for a few brief years when the protectionists held sway in New South Wales, and even then the scale of duties was so low that it need not have interfered very much with trade if Victoria had been in a superior position to New South Wales. The markets of all the other States have now been thrown open to Victoria. The 20 per cent. duties have gone down in South Australia, and also in Tasmania; and the Queensland markets are open to the Victorian manufacturer, who has now a wider range over which to distribute his produce. Is not that wider market a fair compensation for any small sacrifices that the Victorian manufacturer may be asked to make in the direction of accepting a lower Tariff? The idea of compromise that exists in the minds of the Government is a kind of Irish reciprocity, that is all on the one side. It appears that the high Tariff people are to have all their own way, and that the low Tariff people are to be levelled up to protectionist ideas.

MR. CHAPMAN.—Does not the honorable member know that in dozens of cases the Victorian Tariff has been reduced?

MR. F. E. McLEAN.—I do; and I know also that there are a number of sham reductions. The reduction of a duty does not necessarily mean that there will be any more revenue derived from the duty. The duties may be sufficiently high to exclude the goods subject to them; and if they are it is an absolute farce to call them Tariff reductions. Take the case of timber, which is a kind of compromise between manufacturing and natural production. Undressed timber in large sizes of 12 inches by 6 inches and over has a duty of 1s. per hundred super. feet; and in the Victorian Tariff the duty was the same. The duty on undressed timber in what I call the medium sizes is 1s. 6d. per 100 super. feet; and in Victoria the duty was the same. The duty on undressed timber in

what I call the smaller sizes is 2s. 6d. per 100 super. feet; and in the Victorian Tariff it was 4s. That is claimed as one of the reductions; but a duty of 2s. 6d. per 100 super. feet is sufficiently high to be prohibitive, and has been fixed, as the right honorable gentleman knows, for the purpose of keeping these small sizes out of the market and providing employment for the local saw-mill owner. That is the policy which has existed in Victoria all along, so that the mere reduction of figures is an absolute farce. Why is the Tariff scaled, unless it is intended that this 2s. 6d. duty on the smaller sizes shall keep small-sized timber out altogether, and give protection to the Victorian saw-mill owner, and, I suppose, incidentally to his men?

MR. HUME COOK.—Where are the biggest saw-mills—in New South Wales or Victoria?

MR. F. E. McLEAN.—In New South Wales. The honorable member interjected the other day that we had to come to this side of the Murray in order to find saw-mills.

MR. HUME COOK.—No.

MR. F. E. McLEAN.—I heard the honorable member's interjection. I have here a return which was laid on the table of the House, and which will give the honorable member all the information he wants about saw-milling.

MR. HUME COOK.—New South Wales will get protection.

MR. F. E. McLEAN.—New South Wales does not want, and does not ask for, protection; and that State knows its own business better than does the honorable member. I want to quote these figures in order to show how Victoria stands in comparison with New South Wales—how Victoria stands with the fostering influence of this high duty, which it is now intended to reduce, but to reduce only to a figure that will still make it prohibitive. This return was laid on the table of the House, to order, on the 20th September, 1901, and it shows that in Victoria, with the high protective duty on these small sizes of timber—and on all timber, for the matter of that—there are 109 saw-mills, which employ 1,467 men. That is not a very grand achievement for 30 years of protectionist policy, as compared with that of New South Wales, where there are 259 saw-mills employing 3,004 men, or just twice the number employed in Victoria.

Mr. HUME COOK.—There cannot be saw-mills without timber.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I know that there cannot be saw-mills without timber; but the honorable member does not pretend to say that the timber supplies of Victoria have yet been exhausted?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Victoria has not nearly the supplies of timber that New South Wales has.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I admit that Victoria has not anything like the forest lands that we have in New South Wales, but, on the other hand, there is not in Victoria anything like the difficulty that is experienced in New South Wales in reaching the forests. New South Wales has almost insuperable difficulties in developing the saw-mill industry, as any New South Wales representative, no matter on what side of the House he may sit, must know. The inaccessibility of the forests, so far as port and shipment are concerned, together with the state of the rivers and harbors, would seem to indicate that nature has conspired against the successful establishment of the timber industry in that State. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, and with a free-trade policy, we find that New South Wales employs twice as many hands as Victoria, and has more than twice the number of saw-mills. I simply take timber as an illustration; but there are in the Tariff scores of similar instances where we see a duty reduced—that is a figure reduced—though it remains sufficiently high to exclude the imported article. As a concession to a free-trade colony that is absolutely meaningless. The honorable member for Gippsland, to whose speech I was referring previously, had a lot to say about the balance of trade, and he seems to hold very strongly to the idea that a nation which imports more than it exports must be rapidly going to the wall. But it is absolutely impossible to establish anything like a theory of national prosperity or national disaster upon mere figures of exports and imports. There is one part of the honorable member's speech with which I thoroughly agree; and I hardly know how one who arrived at certain conclusions which appear in one part of that speech, could advance the somewhat extraordinary ideas which are found in another part. Mere figures relating to the external trade of a country can never by themselves establish anything like an index to national prosperity.

It would be quite possible, though it would be a very extreme case, to imagine a country having very little import or export trade, and still, with a vast territory, varied resources, and a large amount of internal trade, having a high degree of national prosperity.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I contend that internal trade is better than external trade.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I know; and that is why I am puzzled how the honorable member reached the extraordinary conclusion that a country which imports more than it exports must be going to the wall. I find that every country in the world has at some time or other imported more than it exported. An extraordinary fact is that Victoria, during the ten years from 1890 to 1899, exported £150,748,000 worth of goods, and imported £164,798,000 worth, the excess of imports over exports in that period being £14,000,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I expect Victoria borrowed a lot of money.

Mr. ISAACS.—That was the boom period.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—From 1883 to 1892 Victoria imported £62,000,000 worth.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The back of the land boom was broken in 1891, long before the crisis came. But in any case I do not attach any value to these figures. I do not regard Victoria or any other country as being on the verge of bankruptcy because it imports more than it exports. The figures are meaningless, except as showing that the theory of the honorable member for Gippsland is wrong. The honorable member has tried to establish the theory that Great Britain is going to the wall as fast as possible, because for a number of years she has imported more than she has exported.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I showed that the balance was going mostly into British pockets; otherwise Great Britain would be going to the wall.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—In New South Wales we find the very opposite state of affairs. During the same period of ten years, while the imports of New South Wales were £211,000,000, the exports were £238,000,000—an excess over imports of £27,000,000.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—New South Wales was prosperous.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am afraid that the honorable member and a number of other honorable members imagine that the crisis never struck New South Wales. They

seem to think that they had their little boom and their little crisis all to themselves, and that it never reached the rest of Australia. It does not seem to have entered their minds that the destruction of Australian credit, caused by the collapse of the land boom in Victoria, had its effect throughout the Australian continent, and interfered with trade and commerce in every direction. To the remotest corner of the continent the effect of the collapse of the boom was felt. I am not trying to adduce anything from these figures except the fallacy of the honorable member's theory that a nation must be going to the wall because it imports more than it exports, by showing that his own State, which according to his opinion had a sound financial policy, had an excess of imports over exports to the amount of £14,000,000, while the State, which was on the wrong lines, and had a fiscal policy in which he does not believe, actually exported, during the same period of ten years, £27,000,000 more than it imported. I do not attach any significance to these figures beyond this—that it appears to me that in New South Wales there has been in recent years a large development of the export trade. It is patent to every man who studies the industrial history of these States that there has been in New South Wales a remarkable expansion of agricultural industry and of the export trade. I have to make another admission here. A great many of those who have tried to establish comparisons between these two States have alluded to New South Wales as the oldest State, and have asked why she did not prosper in the earlier years of her history. I am here to admit—and I think that my friends who come from New South Wales will agree with me—that up to the year 1880, or up to 1875 or 1876 at any rate, there had been a great want of energy and of push and go on the part of those who were in authority in New South Wales. The progress of that State was not as great prior to 1875 as it has been during the last quarter of a century. But let honorable members take the figures in regard to population, in regard to land settlement, in regard to agriculture, during the later years, and they will find that there has recently been a most remarkable expansion in production and in the growth of population. What is the secret of it all? Under a free-trade policy, and without any protection, there

has been, during these recent years, a remarkable growth of settlement, a remarkable increase in the output of wheat, a remarkable growth of the area under cultivation. This has taken place to a marked extent during the last five or six years, since the free-trade policy has been upon its trial. The facts cannot be disputed. There are many statements that can be disputed, but there are many facts that seem to me to be uncontrovertible, though there may be other reasons accompanying them. I am going to take, for instance, the figures given in the *Statistical Register* for 1900, in regard to the production of wheat. What do I find? I will take the year 1894, as being the last year in which the policy of protection was in force in New South Wales. I think the protectionist policy ceased in the middle of 1895. In 1894 the production of wheat amounted to 6,502,000 bushels. In the year 1895, which was a protectionist year during half the time, the production of wheat amounted to 7,041,000 bushels. But in 1900, last year, the production of wheat had risen to 13,604,000 bushels, actually twice the production of the year 1894, when the protectionist policy was in full force in that State. When one State in this union can actually double its production of wheat in the short space of six or seven years under a free-trade policy, is there any reason to believe that devastation is going to overtake the agricultural industry of the Commonwealth, if a lower Tariff than that proposed by the Ministry should be adopted? I say the facts are all against honorable members opposite. But I do not wish to follow the example of a great many honorable members who have preceded me, in establishing comparisons between the State of New South Wales and the State of Victoria. I think myself that while many of those comparisons are very fair as object lessons in regard to the working out of opposite fiscal policies, they are often attended by an amount of Inter-State bitterness which, perhaps, it is as well to avoid in discussion of this kind. However, I do not hesitate to say, from my own personal experience and knowledge of the conditions of life that prevail in both States, that I firmly believe that the policy of free-trade, so far from lowering the standard of living in the adjoining State, has rather improved the social condition of the people, and the means of employment. I do not think there can be any doubt about that. But I do not

wish to be drawn into a controversy that would involve these comparisons between the two States, and which engender so much bitterness. I would point out this, Mr. Speaker: that if we are to live under friendly conditions in this new union, if we are to preserve the truly federal spirit which has brought this Commonwealth into existence, it will be absolutely necessary to avoid the course which has been adopted by this Ministry in throwing down the challenge to the people of New South Wales, and in establishing a policy which they must know is absolutely repugnant to the great majority in that State. What would be the effect of this policy if we, in New South Wales, were not a loyal people? What would be the effect of this ruthless disregard of the wishes of the people of one of the States? I venture to say that if it were not for the loyal instincts of the people this policy would lead to an immediate agitation for the repeal of the union. Why? Because the Prime Minister has, so to speak, brought the State of New South Wales into the federal union by leading them to believe that such a Tariff as this would be an impossibility. I challenge the right honorable gentleman to go upon the platform in New South Wales, from which he spoke during the referendum of 1898 and 1899. I challenge him, in the light of the statements he then solemnly made to the people of New South Wales, to justify the policy which has been laid upon the table of this House. There has been an absolute breach of faith. I repeat it—there has been an absolute violation of the Federal compact. The people of New South Wales joined this union in the full belief that we would treat one another as fellow citizens of a great Commonwealth and as having interests that had to be conserved and protected. We were willing to make reasonable sacrifices for a common end. But what sacrifice is the right honorable gentleman and his Government asking New South Wales to make? Not merely to submit to a scheme of taxation that is against all their traditions, but to submit to it in its most odious form and in the highest degree. I do not want to exaggerate or speak upon this matter in language that is at all intemperate, but I do not believe that the Prime Minister in his wildest protectionist days—if he ever was a wild protectionist; and I always took him to be an exceedingly

Mr. F. E. McLean.

moderate man, indeed—would ever have dared, even if he had had a two-thirds protectionist majority behind him in New South Wales, to introduce a Tariff such as this. It would have led to an outburst of indignation sufficient to sweep any Government from power.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — There is a £29,000,000 free list.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — I know all about that, but the extent of the free list, so far as a reduction of taxation is concerned, is nothing. One million of taxation on a trade of £29,000,000 represents the smallest fraction of customs duties on the gross trade that one could possibly imagine.

Mr. BARTON. — But does not the honorable member see that if five-ninths of our goods are to escape taxation, there must be a higher rate of taxation on the balance?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — We have conceded that.

Mr. BARTON. — Only to deny it.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — If the Prime Minister had been in the House prior to the adjournment for dinner he would know that I conceded that at the very outset. There has been some controversy as to the necessity of raising £9,000,000 of revenue, but we will admit at any rate the necessity of raising £8,500,000, and we will admit that the people of New South Wales, by the act of federal union itself, gave away, to some extent, their right to perpetuate an absolutely free-trade policy.

Mr. EWING. — What is the honorable member talking about.

Mr. BARTON. — The honorable member himself does not know.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — I know very well what I am talking about, and the Prime Minister will know also when he goes to Maitland.

Mr. DEAKIN. — Let us have arguments.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — I do not want the Attorney-General to tell me what I am to say.

Mr. DEAKIN. — And we do not want reflections cast on honorable members, but arguments.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN. — Does the honorable and learned gentleman think, that coming from the State where free-trade has been the established policy, I have no right to declaim against the treachery of this Government? This is a fair time to declaim against the attempt to fasten this odious

Tariff on the people of an adjoining State.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Let the honorable member go on declaiming.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—If the honorable and learned gentleman is so used to the cajolery of argument, so accustomed to his own professional ideas of speech, that he thinks there is no function for a Member of Parliament to perform, except to argue, all I can say is that if argument could have settled this question it would have been settled by honorable members on this side of the House, long ago. Arguments have been adduced, facts have been quoted, and logic has been presented to the House by honorable members of the Opposition, day after day, and night after night, sufficient to have converted the whole bench behind the Government. It is not argument that is wanted by the honorable and learned member. Votes are what he wants.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That is what the Opposition need.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The less argument that enters into the minds of his supporters the better for the policy which the Government have introduced.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What does the Opposition want?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—They want a fair deal for their own States. They do not want advantage to be taken of the financial necessities of the States; they do not want advantage to be taken of the Australian union, in order to secure the establishment of a policy which is odious to them, and which they believe would be destructive of the highest interests of the Commonwealth. When the honorable and learned member interrupts and dictates as to the form of speech that an honorable member should adopt in this Chamber, I think it is almost time to ask whether we have any right to be here? I was saying when the Attorney-General interrupted me, that the Prime Minister will know what this discussion is about when he goes to Maitland, and I shall endeavour to show what it all means. I have heard the taunt hurled across this Chamber that it is only a question of the incidence of taxation. It seems to me that the incidence of taxation is everything. It is very largely a question of how this Tariff is going to bear on various interests, and how it is going to affect the various individuals who constitute the electors of the Commonwealth. Taking the broad view, that

the revenue should be raised with the least possible interference with the industry of the people, and with the least possible oppression to the great masses of the people, and that under any circumstances no more should be raised than is absolutely required for the purposes of the Government, we regarded this Tariff as one that should be resisted. Does not the Prime Minister know the difference between a revenue and a protectionist Tariff. If he does not, then what did he mean by all his talk of a revenue producing Tariff which would not destroy industries? What did he mean by that, but that he intended to introduce a Tariff which would bolster up certain industries. During this debate, a remark has been made by an honorable member on the Government side of the House, that the free-trade party in New South Wales kept on the sugar duties in that State as a measure of protection to the sugar industry there. What are the facts of the case? The right honorable and learned gentleman at the head of this Government, as a member of the State parliament of New South Wales, voted against the retention of those sugar duties. In New South Wales he regarded it as his public duty to vote against the proposal to retain the duty of £3 per ton on sugar.

Mr. BARTON.—That is not correct.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The Prime Minister cannot get away from it. A vote of censure was proposed against the Government for proposing to retain that duty.

Mr. BARTON.—Not for that, but for a breach of faith. The honorable member ought to take that home to his own party.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am going to tell the true facts about the retention of the sugar duty. They have not been presented to the House before. Let it be borne in mind that the Prime Minister voted against that duty.

Mr. BARTON.—That is not correct.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I must be dazed.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable member is.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Did not the right honorable and learned gentleman move a vote of censure against the Reid Government for bringing in the proposal to retain that duty?

Mr. BARTON.—No. It was for a breach of faith in regard to the compact which virtually existed between both parties, that pending the election the Tariff should not be disturbed.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—That is a very clever and lawyer-like evasion of the fact.

Mr. BARTON.—But it is true.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not a lawyer, and I say it is absolutely correct.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The Minister for Home Affairs was one of the party that was trying to get into office. The old duty of £5 per ton had been in existence for very many years as a revenue duty. It had been in existence, I believe, almost from the inception of responsible government in New South Wales as a revenue duty. In effect it had had a protective incidence, and under what started as a purely revenue duty the sugar industry had grown up. When the free-trade party came into power in 1894 they decided that the sugar duty should be repealed, and a scheme was evolved which gave it a five years' life. The duty was to be reduced at the rate of £1 per ton per annum until finally extinguished. In 1898, however, it was found that the state of the revenue actually required the imposition of more taxation. The right honorable and learned gentleman who now leads the Opposition in this House then came down to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, and asked for the imposition of a tax of 3d per lb. on tea, and he proposed to retain the £3 per ton on sugar, and one or two countervailing duties on articles in which sugar was used for manufacturing purposes. That, it is said, was a breach of the fiscal compact. Could any fiscal compact relieve a Treasurer from the necessity of carrying on works in his State, and providing the necessary revenue? The leader of the Opposition took the only course open to him at that time, in order to restore the financial equilibrium of the State. It was no breach of any compact. So far from being a protective duty it was proposed simply in the interests of the revenue, although we have always admitted that it had a protective incidence. Are we going to establish the Tariff of the Commonwealth upon the lines of the purely provincial Victorian Tariff? The honorable member for Kalgoorlie has placed the House under a deep obligation by giving us information as to the probable effect of the proposed Tariff upon the importation of mining machinery into Western Australia, and I hope that, whatever may be the result of the vote upon the motion before us, the Government will give earnest consideration to his representations. It will

be a very serious thing if, in framing a Tariff for the Commonwealth, we impose burdens upon the mining industry of Western Australia that will seriously hamper it. I gathered from the speech of the Minister for Defence that he sees that Western Australia is likely to be harshly dealt with under the proposed Tariff. If the honorable and learned member for Bendigo is correct in his statement that the manufacture of mining machinery can be successfully conducted in Victoria without protective duties, why should a burden be placed upon the miners of Western Australia, and a check put upon their industry? Now that we have established intercolonial free-trade, and the productions of the various States can be freely exchanged, I should like to remind honorable members that the provincial protection which formerly existed really had its foundation in the cry for the conservation of the home market and retaliatory duties against other States. If any honorable member carefully studies the history of protection in Australia he will find that that has been its backbone. We hoped that, with the destruction of the provincial boundaries, and the establishment of free intercourse between the States, enlightened statesmen would see that the old cries would have no meaning to the people. How can the proposed duties develop the agricultural industry of the continent? How is the competition of other countries likely to affect our agriculturists? We have been told that New South Wales has imported breadstuffs from abroad which she could have produced herself; but it was only very rarely and in bad years, when her harvests had practically failed, and wheat was at a very high price, that importations from America were possible. Honorable members know that grain cannot be landed in Sydney or Melbourne from America at a profit at any time when there has been a fairly good season in Australia. It was only during times of shortage that we were compelled to import breadstuffs from abroad.

Mr. FOWLER.—And the importation was in the interests of the consumers of the State?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Yes, and they were entitled to cheap bread. The people from whom we imported agricultural produce were, for the most part, brother Australians, to whom we have always given

the advantages of free-trade, and with whom we have now entered into federal union, and secured those advantages from them. Now that the Inter-State barriers are down, are we to believe that the continent will be inundated with foreign agricultural produce?

Mr. CHAPMAN.—What about New Zealand?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I do not regard New Zealand as a foreign country. If the proposed Tariff is directed against New Zealand—as the honorable member's remarks would imply—I regret the imposition of duties to hamper the free exchange of products between New Zealand and the States of the Commonwealth.

Mr. CONROY.—They have no cheap labour there.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—No. New Zealand is entitled to every credit for the way in which she has developed her resources.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Under protection!

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I have already clearly demonstrated that protection has nothing to do with agricultural production. Does the Home Secretary attribute the doubling of the New South Wales output of wheat within five or six years to protection? In 1894, when New South Wales had a limited protection, and duties upon grain, her production of wheat was 6,500,000 bushels, while in 1900, with a free port, her production was 13,000,000 bushels.

Mr. ISAACS.—Did that happen without State encouragement?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I am rather astonished that an honorable and learned gentleman who wishes to establish a national department of Agriculture should throw contempt upon State encouragement of farmers.

Mr. ISAACS.—Quite the contrary.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I approve of everything that will encourage the farmer, except the tyranny of those who would prevent him from freely exchanging his produce where he pleases. I do not know of any special encouragement that has been given to the New South Wales farmers, except wise and liberal land laws, and I hope that we have not reached a stage when we shall allow our controversies to so blind us to facts that we shall taunt one another upon matters of this kind. The agricultural industry is so large and important that it behoves both the States and the Commonwealth to do everything within

reason to encourage the settlement of the people on the soil, and to educate them to the highest pitch of agricultural science, so that they may be in a position to fight upon the fairest terms with all the nations of the earth. We are not going to do the farmer good, or to stimulate agriculture, by framing mere paper duties. Some of the proposed duties are merely duties on paper. They are intended to delude the farmer by making him believe that he is sharing in the distribution of benefits, when the only effect of the Tariff upon him is to increase the prices of the commodities he uses. Let those honorable members who represent agricultural constituencies try and persuade the farmers that this Tariff is going to increase the price of their products, the output of their products, or the area of the land under cultivation. How is it going to do that? The two largest States of this union have reached a point at which they can export their surplus products.

Mr. KENNEDY.—How many of the staple products are they in a position to export as surplus agricultural products?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable member is a farming representative, and he knows as well as I do that we are exporting our surplus products. We are exporting wheat, for example—not to a very great extent, I admit—but we have reached the point at which we can supply our own requirements; and if production is stimulated to a greater extent it cannot possibly give the farmer a better price for his products. We are exporting butter, and I do not see how the duty upon butter will give the farmer a better price for that article, either in the home market or in the markets abroad. If it can be shown to me that the farmer or the factory worker is going to receive a benefit, as well as the manufacturer—that the policy of the Government will stimulate manufacturing enterprise and industry, and open up the vast avenues of employment foreshadowed by the prophets of protection—I am perfectly open to conviction. We are starting a new Commonwealth, and I do not think that any of us are so prejudiced that we are not prepared to learn something. But the simple fact stares us in the face that the producers of Australia are not threatened with an inundation of foreign products. Indeed, the only port which has remained open in the Australian continent has not been inundated with foreign products. I

can show that it has not been inundated with foreign manufactured goods, as some honorable members have claimed.

Mr. EWING.—Why do the ships go to Sydney?

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—They bring goods to us, and take away our products. But does the honorable member want to set up the monstrous doctrine enunciated by a previous speaker, that the aim and end of national existence should be to maintain ourselves independently of all foreign countries? That is a state of happiness, if I may so call it, which can only be attained in an absolutely barbarous country. The honorable member for Gippsland talks about ocean transit, and the means of transit, as black-mail—as something that is levied upon the producer. The radical difference between the free-trader and the protectionist—and it is almost a pity that we have to repeat these statements—is that the former regards every improved means of transit as a direct stimulus to production. We regard the ocean steamer that brings us the products of other lands, and takes away our products to other lands, as being a blessing and not a curse. The protectionist idea seems to be that we should be self-contained—that we should be able to produce everything that is required for the happiness of our own people. Then where is the necessity for interchange? If every people upon the face of the earth became self-contained, it is obvious that trade would become a thing of the past, and we should relapse into that glorious state of things which existed in perfection before ocean navigation was known at all. I suppose that the only way in which a community can become self-contained and independent is by having no trade at all. But civilization involves the idea of the inter-dependence of nations. It is the inter-dependence of nations, the interchange of goods between them, the establishment of means of communication between one country and another, that constitutes civilization itself. What distinguishes a civilized from an uncivilized people, is their contact with other nations, their trade with other nations, and their interchange of commodities. Now, however, we are asked to look upon all these things as evils, and to regard the ability to produce everything within our own Commonwealth as the highest ideal of national

greatness. I fail to understand why the advocates of protection do not carry their argument still further. If the ability to produce everything that is required for our own people is a good thing for the Commonwealth, surely it is an equally good thing for the States. I was reading the other day of a proposal which was seriously made in the State of New York, but which I am pleased to say was declared illegal by the Supreme Court of the United States. That proposal was to prevent the use of stone in buildings in the State of New York if it had been quarried in any other State of the Union. That is the legitimate outcome of the protectionist doctrine. If it is a good thing to shut ourselves within the circle of the Commonwealth, it is a good thing to shut ourselves within a narrower circle; and if it is a good thing to trade with our neighbours, it is equally good to trade with any one who is willing to purchase our commodities.

Mr. MAUGER.—The protectionists were strongly in favour of federation all through.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—I might reply to the honorable member, but my better judgment induces me to refrain from making the observation which I am tempted to make. We are welded together for good or for ill in one indissoluble union, and we have to learn to pull together. I recognise that it is a fair thing to make comparisons between the industries of one State and those of another. But I hope that these comparisons will always be made in such a way as not to engender Inter-State bitterness. I wish to say, in conclusion, that the people of New South Wales have come into this union expecting fair play. That is all. We do not seek to fasten our policy upon the union.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member said before the dinner-hour that he supported federation in order to secure the New South Wales fiscal policy for the whole of Australia.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable and learned member is altogether at sea. Even if I had said that, I do not know that there is anything in it to regret. Whatever our remote ideas may be, and however much we may be buoyed up by the hope that better counsel will prevail in the Commonwealth, we are practical enough to recognise that in the immediate present nothing but a Tariff compromise is

possible. If that is any consolation to the Government, we admit it freely. But we say that this Tariff is not a compromise. It is an attempt to fasten upon the whole of the Commonwealth a particular form of fiscalism. There is no lowering of the duties—

Mr. MAUGER.—Nonsense.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—There is no lowering of the duties so far as Victoria is concerned in order to make fair compensation for the wider market which the Commonwealth offers to that State. I suppose it will be admitted that the Commonwealth does provide Victoria with a wider market. South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland in themselves furnish markets that it is quite worth the while of Victoria to have. If the Inter-State duties are to be remitted, and Victorian goods are to be allowed free access to those States, is it not fair that New South Wales, which had least to gain by coming into the union, and which was the most reluctant to join it, should have a reasonable amount of consideration in the framing of the Tariff, and that in it the principle of revenue tariffism, as opposed to protection, should be honestly observed? I apologize for having spoken at such very great length. The matter, however, is of such importance to the whole of the Commonwealth, and particularly to the State of New South Wales, in which taxation will be enormously increased, that I think we should insist upon right lines being observed in the framing of this Tariff. The amount of the Tariff may be over-estimated, the Treasurer may be asking us for more than he really requires, but we are not going to quarrel about that. We shall admit, for the sake of argument, that a Tariff of £8,500,000 would be necessary, but we see no reason why in raising a Tariff of £8,500,000 respect should not be shown for the convictions, traditions, and vested interests that have grown up in one of the largest, most populous, and oldest States of the union.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—No one dreams of reproaching the right honorable the leader of the Opposition for adopting the course he has taken of promptly challenging the Government proposals. The right honorable gentleman is the leader of a party of very pronounced and very decided views, a party that in some respects, I am sorry to know, when it finds occasion to refer to Victoria, mingles a little acrimony with its

arguments. But, putting that aside, and I believe time will cure that, I believe it is a party which will yield to none in sincerity, in patriotism, and in a desire, a genuine desire, to advance the welfare of this country. We stand at the present moment debating one of the greatest questions which can agitate this or any other community. We stand facing each other across a very clearly marked and well-defined line—the line of fiscal policy. We take widely divergent views of much of the evidence that lies around us. We are in absolute antagonism as to what is the wise economic system to adopt for the Commonwealth; but we are, I feel proud and happy to say, in entire accord in this—that we all desire to place Australia, so far as wise legislation and administration can place her, on the very pinnacle of prosperity. At this particular moment, when we are about to take an initial step—a step that must under any circumstances materially influence, and probably for a considerable time direct and control a great portion of our fiscal history, I do not regard it as unfitting or as an unbecoming thing on the part of the leader of the Opposition to formally ask this Chamber whether it is prepared, in the name of the people of the Commonwealth, to ratify and to indorse the proposals put forward by the Government. There is no doubt that the right honorable gentleman has performed his task in his usual able and skilful manner, and it behoves us to recognise the height of the occasion. I feel bound to acknowledge that this debate has been carried on in a manner that reflects credit upon the Federal Parliament. The circumstances under which the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney approached his task were, I believe, not of the most encouraging nature, from his stand-point. We remember, and we must remember, and it is hard indeed to deny it, that he is asking us to disregard what I believe to be the plain understanding upon which this Government received its gift of power. He is asking a majority of this House to forget the pledge under which they were returned as supporters of the Government, and to disregard the promise that the Government gave the country, and which, in my opinion, they could not possibly satisfy without exposing themselves to some attack like the present. Therefore, when we remember all the circumstances,

and when we remember the rather chilling reception that the views of the right honorable gentleman met with upon the address in reply, I think it speaks volumes for his courage and for the courage of many of those honorable members who follow him, that they should endeavor now to raise, what I believe the general opinion of Australia, and certainly the wider experience of the world, teaches us is the standard of a dying faith.

Mr. WILKS.—Why, the streets of Melbourne are crowded with free-traders now.

Mr. ISAACS.—Yes; the proof of it is the majority in this House. Before I proceed to deal, so far as the time at my disposal will permit me, with the substance of the right honorable and learned gentleman's speech, and with the arguments so well put by our honorable friends on the other side, I should like to say two or three words about the nature and character of his address, and of the addresses we have had following his. Now, with regard to the speech of the right honorable and learned leader of the Opposition, to a large extent—and I say this by way of prefatory observation—it consisted of a dissection of details. I have no hesitation in saying for myself that upon many points of detail, and many important points, it will be my duty to offer the freest commentary, and, if necessary, a strenuous opposition, because there are items in this Tariff which demand a great amount of explanation—I want to speak quite frankly—and to say there are items in this Tariff that I cannot reconcile with any fiscal system. There are items for which I can find no reasonable grounds for inclusion in the Tariff, either from a free-trade or a protectionist stand-point. There are items of duties which I believe press unnecessarily upon some of the occupations and upon the daily life of the people, and I believe that when this Tariff is finally dealt with they will no longer find a place in it. But, sir, that is no reason for voting against the Government upon this occasion. The proposal of the leader of the Opposition is not a proposal to deal with details. It is not a proposal to lop away a few superfluous branches. It is a proposal to lay the axe at the root of the tree. In that respect I cannot follow the right honorable and learned gentleman. There is another observation I should like to make upon the speech, and it is, that as an effort of pure destruction, its object was unmistakable.

But as an attempt to construct any policy for the Commonwealth, to take the place of that which he condemned, it was absolutely destitute and bare. That is not sufficient. Before he can fairly ask any body of honorable members in the House to precipitate a political crisis, he should have something to offer in the place of that which he has attempted to destroy. We saw the right honorable and learned member, with his accustomed ability, set himself with vigorous arms to tear down the structure which it has taken the Government with all their care, attention, and honesty of purpose months to erect, and when he had resumed his seat what glimmer had we from him of any substitute he was prepared to offer? Absolutely none. I want to emphasize this point, that when he had finished his address to the House and to the country, he had left us absolutely in the dark as to whether he proposed to put further duties on some of the articles in the Tariff, whether he proposed to reduce the already too restricted free list, whether he proposed to still further carry the Tariff in the direction I object to, by putting on duties which must be borne by the consumer, or whether he proposed to replace a portion of that Tariff by direct taxation. I was in utter doubt when he had resumed his seat as to what his intentions were. I did not know whether he intended to put on direct taxation of any kind, or, if he did, whether it would be of that particular kind which is favoured in leaflets that have been apparently industriously circulated among my honorable friends on the other side, or whether he intended to favour that form of taxation which is sometimes called a single tax, utterly out of place for federal purposes, I should imagine, but which was supported also in leaflets somewhat ostentatiously displayed by speakers on the other side. Before we are asked to enter into what would be a political cataclysm, before we are asked to inaugurate the political history of the Commonwealth with disorder, we should have a distinctly better policy to offer to the people. We should have a very good reason for disorganising trade once more, and that reason should be one that is open and plain to the people of the Commonwealth, and not one that is left to conjecture of the haziest kind. In the speeches of the honorable members for North Sydney and Wentworth, especially in that of the latter, we had an indication of the kind of

Tariff which some of my honorable friends on the other side would favour; a Tariff which the honorable member for Wentworth told us last night would, if he had his way, have absolutely no free list. Is that such a Tariff as the people of the Commonwealth would tolerate? Is that such a Tariff as would find favour with the people of New South Wales, or of Victoria, or of any other State in the union? Will honorable members who pose as the friends of the working man, who declaim against taxing babies' food, babies' boots, and all sorts of things, come down to the House with a proposal that not a single item of import shall escape taxation on its entering into the Commonwealth? Not only will they take no means in their power to encourage local production, but they will take care to put a tax that cannot be evaded or avoided on every article which is consumed? That is a position which I think ought to be fairly put before the people of Australia, and it is one which having been advocated from the opposition side will require a considerable amount of displacement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Distinctly no.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It has never been advocated.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is one of the policies put forward.

Mr. ISAACS.—Do my honorable friends tell me that I did not hear the honorable member for Wentworth aright, when he said that he preferred to have no free list?

Mr. SAWERS.—The future Treasurer.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What did the leader of the Opposition say? Be fair.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—The honorable member for Wentworth said no free list.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not want to use any word that savours of sharpness; but I desire to put my views before the House. In all probability, should the event occur which is desired by my honorable friends opposite, who would be the Treasurer or the Minister for Trade and Customs, who would lead in this matter?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Sir William McMillan.

Mr. ISAACS.—If the lieutenant-general of the Opposition held the position of Treasurer or of Minister for Trade and Customs what would be the probability, on his own admission, of having one single article admitted into the Commonwealth free of duty?

Mr. COOK.—The honorable and learned member is not fair.

Mr. ISAACS.—When my honorable friends pose as friends of the farmer they must tell him that not a single agricultural implement must come into Australia untaxed. When they tell the farmer that they are his friends let them couple it with the admission that they want to tax his cream separator, which is free under this Tariff, and his reaper and binder. And when they speak to the miner let them say that they want to tax mining machinery, and do not go to them with differing proposals. Before they want to displace the Government let them at least agree among themselves.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Why does not the honorable and learned member be fair and say what the leader of the Opposition stated in regard to the free list? He stated distinctly that there would be a free list. The honorable and learned member is like an advocate.

Mr. ISAACS.—My honorable friend had a very fair show to put his views before the House. If we judge his speech by ability we can recognise its great merit, and if we measure it by square miles we can say the same thing, I trust that he will now permit me in my own unsophisticated way to put my views before the House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I only want the honorable and learned member to be fair.

Mr. ISAACS.—I want to deal with one phase of this matter from a neutral stand-point for the consideration of both sides of the House, and I wish, in order to do that, to submit the words of an authority—a free-trader who has graduated in the school of Adam Smith, and who occupies the position of Professor of Political Economy in one of the provinces of Canada. I wish to quote a few words of his in a recent work he has issued which have, to my mind, a striking appositeness to the present situation. My honorable friends say that we should by way of preference have a free-trade Tariff. If they really mean that it will involve a good deal of direct taxation. But then they say they recognise a little difficulty in the way of doing that, and want a fair revenue Tariff. I wish to point out the observations of the gentleman to whom I have referred—Professor Davidson—in his recent work, published in 1900, on *Commercial Federation, and Colonial Trade*

Policy. At page 84 he uses words which, I think, ought to weigh well with honorable members on both sides of this House, as showing the views of even free-traders as to the sort of 'Tariff' that a federation, and especially a young federation, ought to have. Speaking of Canada, he says—

By the 91st section of the British North American Act, the Dominion of Canada is given power to raise revenue, either by direct or indirect taxation, and it has raised revenue by direct taxation. But practically the Dominion is barred from levying direct taxes. By section 92 of the Act the provinces are restricted to direct taxation, and it would be more or less an invasion of their sphere for the Dominion to levy direct taxes—a fact which is practically recognised. Indirect taxation must be levied largely on imports, and cannot, when the volume of imports is small, help being protective, and protective to a very considerable extent. Even the late Lord Farrer recognised that free-trade in Canada was a financial impossibility; and what is true of Canada is more or less true of the other colonies.

I wish to impress the succeeding sentence upon my honorable friends, because it deals with the next phase of this matter—

For many years to come it may safely be said that considerations of revenue will stand in the way of a purely revenue Tariff.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—If the honorable and learned member will read *Mill*, or *Fawcett* he will find an entirely different view expressed.

MR. CONROY.—Why did the Prime Minister deceive the people of New South Wales upon this matter?

MR. ISAACS.—If my honorable friend the member for Werriwa will take the opportunity to think about this matter I am sure that he will not disturb me. I appreciate the view that my honorable friends on the opposition side take when they are driven—because that is what it comes to—to the admission that they cannot have a free-trade Tariff. I wish to say a few words in reply to some observations which have been made with regard to the Prime Minister. I heard that right honorable gentleman in Melbourne—I was not at Maitland, but I heard his deliverance in Melbourne—and I am perfectly certain that there was not one of my honorable friends on the opposite side who failed to note what he said at Melbourne.

MR. CONROY.—He spoke with different tongues at Melbourne and Maitland.

MR. ISAACS.—No one could have been more clear or more distinct than the right

honorable gentleman, in his Melbourne speech, in conveying the fact that he had resolved that whilst taking care as far as he could to raise the necessary revenue, he would afford sufficient protection to prevent the wanton destruction of industries. The people of this Commonwealth knew that full well, and I know that it was appreciated in the sense in which I refer to it. I have reason personally to know it, because, although I have a constituency largely connected with the mining and farming interests, I was opposed by the president of the Free-trade League in Victoria. Now can any honorable member tell me that there was any mistake about that. I regard that as convincing proof that the Prime Minister made his mind perfectly clear to the people. However, I have differed, and do differ from the Government on some of the items of their Tariff I cannot, as an honest man, refrain from saying that their intention, as expressed on the platform at Melbourne, before one of the largest meetings I have ever seen, they have apparently honestly endeavoured to carry out. I am sure that the position is well appreciated, but I will go further and venture to say that if my honorable friends of the other side will look at the reports of the New South Wales Parliamentary Debates of February, 1899, they will find that it was admitted by them in their own House of Assembly that a protectionist Tariff would be necessary for the Commonwealth. If that is the position, what is the complaint on that score? Let us face this question fairly, and deal with it on its merits; do not let us attempt to cloud it by any aspersions. When my honorable friends find that a free-trade Tariff is impossible, and that a pure revenue Tariff is impossible, they say—"Let us come as near to free-trade as we can." They say—"You Victorians are benighted; you have never had the free light of Heaven cast upon your fiscal enquiries. We admit that you cannot rise to the full height of free trade, skill and knowledge, and, as the American comedian sang—

If you can never be like us,
Be as like us as you can.

Then they say to us—"Come as near to this free-trade Tariff as you are possibly able." Now, that is the debatable land, and that is the point which I must admit, in fairness to the right honorable

the leader of the Opposition, was emphasized by him in his speech. He also emphasized it in his speech on the address in reply in a manner which I wish to acknowledge was most eloquent and most able. On this occasion, at all events, he found himself amidst surroundings that were a trifle unsympathetic, and, as he complained afterwards, a little unresponsive, and he did what is frequently done by party leaders—he told this House that he appealed over our heads. He said to us—“I am not speaking to you so much as to those behind you. I am appealing not so much to you as to the constituencies.”

Mr. WILKS.—He did very well on Monday night for a start.

Mr. ISAACS.—Yes; the right honorable gentleman did very well on Monday night, and he did a very adroit thing, for before he ventured to express his views, he took care to find out what was the temper of the meeting, and to satisfy himself that it was properly constituted before he proceeded to address it. I wish to say, with reference to the right honorable gentleman's appeal to the country in his speech on this motion, that it was the sort of appeal that always commands from me a very large amount of sympathy. It follows an idea that is at the very base of my political education and faith, but there is one flaw in the right honorable gentleman's argument on this occasion. When he told us that he appealed to the constituencies he forgot that the appeal to that tribunal had already taken place. He forgot for a moment that that tribunal had been approached a few months ago, and had given its judgment, and that we were here not to question that constitutionally given judgment, but to loyally endeavour to carry it into effect. On some future occasion no doubt the right honorable gentleman, and my honorable friends behind him, will have an opportunity of renewing their attempt to convince the country that their view is the right one. They will have an opportunity of exercising the prerogative that the minority always have of attempting to obtain a reversal of the country's verdict. But, until that time comes, it is our bounden duty to obey the mandate that has sent us here; and that is why the Government ought to be supported. I would further say, that if the right honorable gentleman made his appeal, not in order to

control this House, but for its advice and its guidance, we should look, not alone at the mere handful of people in Australia, but at that larger sphere which is around us in the civilized world—that teeming mass of toilers who range themselves under the banners of western civilization. If the right honorable gentleman appeals to the experience of the wide world, what verdict will he get? What answer will come across the Atlantic from our brothers in both Federations? What answer will come from that mighty empire in Europe which attained its unity and practically its federal form, and certainly its protectionist policy from the transcendent genius of Bismarck? I need not refer to other countries, but I will say that the majority of the 350,000,000 of workers and toilers in Western Europe and America will give a verdict that will be adverse to his contention. We may also appeal to the experience of the mother land; and I want to say that it is not we on this side who appeal first to that experience. It is in response to the challenge thrown out by the other side that we venture to assert our right to controvert the assertions and arguments which have been fairly, but, as we believe, inaccurately put forward relating to the mother land we all love and revere. It is our bounden duty to do that; and when we have done it, can we help seeing that even amongst the 40,000,000 who people that land, there is a change of opinion manifestly proceeding? Fair-minded men in the mother land to-day are recognising, as they must recognise, that protection in the majority of the countries of the world is a fact that must be recognised, even if protection be wrong. That that is a fact which must be reckoned with is too often forgotten. I am going to show, if I am permitted, that not only is there a change of opinion amongst thinking men—philosophers, if honorable members like—and amongst politicians and commercial men, and even in the cotton trade in Manchester, which is the cradle of what I believe to be the free-trade fallacy, but also by official acts, England has been quietly but clearly turning in the direction which will ultimately bring her into line with the rest of the civilized world. I hope to bring before the House considerations which, when fairly and fully looked at, will not only strengthen protectionists on points of principle in their faith, but will, if my free-trade friends consider

the matter, as I believe they will, do much to alter their internal opinion, however little it may change their votes, and do much to shake this superstition which has not even the benefit of antiquity to give it any reverence. It is a superstition that may be most clearly expressed in the words that a nation's industries can best be promoted by absolutely ignoring their existence. Attempts have been made to support this superstition. The honorable member who preceded me said that all the arguments were on the free-trade side, and that he and his friends had approached the question from the standpoint of principle, whereas we had not done so. But whether we approach the question from the stand-point of principle, or from the stand-point of practice, the protectionist doctrine is the one that can best stand the test.

Mr. CONROY.—According to the wealthy man, yes.

Mr. ISAACS.—If the honorable member will only have patience I shall give him some material which will, perhaps, answer him better than immediate reply to his interjection. This is a matter to which the people of the country are looking very earnestly, and I think they regard it as becoming that it should be treated in the manner it deserves. It is not a matter that can be disposed of by flippant observations, and while I hope I shall not be thought for a moment to be lecturing honorable members, I desire to say that I wish to avoid, as far as I can, replying to interjections, and to place my views before the House as shortly as the subject will permit, though, unfortunately, at greater length than I could desire. We have been told only in the last few minutes that on the point of principle protection cannot be defended; and I should like to deal with the question from that standpoint first of all. We have heard time after time, not merely in this debate, but on previous occasions, from the other side the well-worn phrases that are so often used to dignify free-trade, as it is called. I have a vivid recollection of the glowing words of the right honorable member for East Sydney when he told the House and the country that free-trade is synonymous with liberty. He told us that restraint on trade is indefensible, and his argument rested upon the doctrine that all State interference is unjustifiable. I

would like to know how that argument appeals to my honorable friends in the opposition corner. The argument is not new. Every schoolboy, as Macaulay would put it, is able to read it on page after page of our history. So far as I have been able to learn, it is an argument that, with this single exception in relation to trade—and why there should be this exception, reason can scarcely find an intelligible answer—comes from the lips of those who pride themselves on being conservatives, who are worshippers of the doctrine of *laissez faire*. They find in that argument their very last defence when they hear the hand of progress knocking at the door of privilege. Liberty! Why, that is the argument that capital always uses to labour. It is the argument of the man who claims the right, without restriction, to employ any one he chooses, of any sex he pleases, at any price he thinks fit, for as many hours as he can get them to work, under any circumstances and conditions which necessity can drive them to accept.

Mr. WATKINS.—Is it not also the term used by the anarchists?

Mr. ISAACS.—It may be; but it was the argument of the southern slave-owners of America. Freedom of trade, when used as synonymous with liberty, means freedom of trade in commodities, including the most precious commodity in the world, the only commodity the workman can offer—his labour, his skill, his life itself. It was the argument used in early times by the English mine-owner, who claimed the right to harness women to trucks as beasts of burden. It was the argument under which it was sought to suppress the trades' unions, because it was said that the labourer should have perfect freedom to sell his labour for whatever price he could get for it. It is the argument used to-day against the restriction of the immigration of black labour into Australia. And yet that is the argument which is put forward by my honorable friends opposite, as the great argument to support free-trade. I venture to say that if we look at history from the very earliest period to the present time, we cannot refrain from admitting that whenever humanity has stepped forward to rescue the weaker of her children from the grip of a relentless commercialism—a commercialism that has taken for its creed the very same merciless

maxim that is inscribed to-day on the banner of the free-trade party, "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," buy the products of labour, or labour itself, in the cheapest market—I say whenever humanity has gone forward on that holy mission, it has been this false goddess masquerading in the guise of Liberty that has obstructed its progress. If that is true, then Madame Roland was right when she cried: "Oh, liberty—what crimes are committed in thy name!" That is the way the matter stands, on principle; and, if we turn from principle to the teachings of experience, what do we find? When my honorable friends tell us it is England that presents the single instance of the benefits of free-trade, and that she sets an example for the whole world to follow, I should like to say a few words—a very few words indeed—to show why I do not agree with their views about the position of England. I am not going to say that England is decaying. Far be it from me to say that England is decaying. I believe, sir, that there is too much stability in that kingdom, too much in the energy of her people and in the characteristics of her race, to savour of anything like decay. But it is perfectly clear that she is being outstripped in the commercial race by other competitors. What are the true facts? Speakers who have preceded me in this debate have emphasized this all important fact, which is constantly ignored by honorable members opposite, that when, 60 years ago, the mother country cast aside as useless the armour which had shielded her industries through preceding centuries, she had not a rival near her to contest the commercial field. Her insular position had secured her against continental disorders. Her navigation laws had contributed not only to the maintenance of her naval defence, but also to giving her an unequalled capacity for carrying the merchandise of the world. It was her flag, and her flag alone, practically, that sheltered the ocean-borne commerce of the world. Her manufacturers at home had established their factories on a safe and secure and permanent basis. Her workmen had acquired an unrivalled skill and reputation. She had huge accumulations of capital to buttress up her commercial enterprise. Competitors! There were none in sight; and there was only one drawback to prevent her from becoming what Cobden dreamed she would become,

the workshop of the world. That drawback was, as we all know now—

Mr. CAMERON—Does the honorable and learned member forget about the Dutch?

Mr. ISAACS.—It is impossible to forget about the Dutch or about the honorable member either. But the one drawback England had was the want of raw material and cheap food. We must not forget that her limited area, her climate, and the then state of agricultural science, prevented her from growing the necessary food for her people; and it was not within the range of human vision at that time that agriculture could step forward in the way it has done since to increase the output of cereals. Sir, under those conditions—under those exceptional conditions—conditions that the world had never previously seen, and which, I venture to say, the world will never see again—the mother country proceeded to lay aside, not as inherently fallacious, but as no longer useful to her, that economic system by whose aid she had risen to commercial greatness. Other nations were unprepared for the fray. Other nations at that time were practically called upon by England to be her hand-servants. They were called upon and looked upon as being, as was said by a learned writer, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for her; and they were unable to cope with her in the competitive field. For a time she had undoubtedly the most brilliant success.

Mr. WILKS.—Still has.

Mr. ISAACS.—She has a great success, but relatively, a lessening success. And why? Because other nations have awakened to their possibilities—because other nations have developed their resources—because other nations are no longer content to produce raw material, send it to England to be manufactured, and get back the finished products made up by the English workmen. We are told that the policy of a nation that has been so eminently successful, and that has raised it to so high a pitch in the commercial world, is one that we should emulate and follow. The great and magnificent success England enjoyed for many years was thought by Cobden and his followers to be a condition of things that would exist for ever. But there are those to-day—and they are increasing in numbers, and as I shall point out, their thought is reflected in some of the latest official acts of England—who believe, seeing things clearer to-day

than men did 60 years ago, that this free-trade success is after all a mere transient gleam upon the vast firmament of Time, and by no means the fixed and resplendent sun that it was so fondly hoped would for ever irradiate and warm the path of human progress. I do not want to encumber my speech with figures any more than I can help, but I desire to read some very important testimony to the statements I have made. If they are wrong, then honorable members have the means of checking them. I would only say in passing that a pronounced free-trader like Professor Lecky, a man whose sympathies are all with the free-trade cause, but who, as an historian, is compelled, to his sorrow, to chronicle the facts as he finds them, tell us that protection is spreading amongst the democracies of the world, and that even thought in England is tending in that direction. He tells us that free-trade is practically synonymous with freedom of labour, and that it is a wonderful thing that the workers do not perceive it. It is only a matter of time when they will do so.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable and learned member should read the rest of the passage.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Would the honorable and learned member mind giving us the reference to Lecky, and not the mere general statement?

Mr. ISAACS.—I have not got the book here, but the passage I refer to is to be found near the end of the second volume.

Mr. CONROY.—I will get it.

Mr. ISAACS.—If the book is obtained for me I will read the passage. I turn from that to a much more prosaic proof. I will read now a passage from what I consider to be the representative journal of the cotton trade, the *Drapers' Record*. That newspaper claims to have, as I believe it has, the largest circulation of any trade journal in the world, and it is a London publication. In its issue of May 25, 1901, at page 449—I give these references for the benefit of honorable members—

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not want references to an ephemeral newspaper, but I should like the page of Lecky.

Mr. ISAACS.—My honorable and learned friend shall have both. This is an ephemeral newspaper which reflects the feelings and thoughts of the cotton trade in England to-day.

Mr. FOWLER. — What! The *Draper's Record*?

Mr. ISAACS. — Yes. My honorable friend will laugh presently perhaps, when I refer to references which he gave us last night. This journal refers to the advance made by America in supplying goods to the world, including Australia, and it admits that the vast encroachments which the American trade is making on that of England give reason for "very serious consideration and action on the part of our manufacturers." Then it refers to protection as one of the suggested remedies. It is opposed to protection, but it admits, as I shall show, that protection is one of the remedies now suggested in England. It states:—

Protection, a subject we are very content to leave to others, is the stormy petrel of English political debate, and that we are to discuss it again and again in the future there can be little doubt. For the present question, it would seem on the face of it there should be no need for such an answer; for why, we may well ask, should Northampton boots, Leicester hosiery, or Manchester shirts need protecting from rival goods hailing from New York or Chicago, where home consumption is concerned? But it may be the difference in labour conditions in the two countries will leave us a choice of but two remedies—cheaper labour (longer hours) or protection.

In that statement the whole position is summed up.

Mr. POYNTON.—Is the allusion to the cheap labour of Chicago?

Mr. ISAACS.—I was just going to refer to that. The false reason, as I shall show it to be, which is given for this choice of the only remedies—cheap labour, or protection to guard the industries of the country where they come into competition with the rest of the world—is simulated, I believe, to make way for the admission.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Why does not the honorable member quote from "Made in Germany"? It is just as germane as that.

Mr. ISAACS.—No doubt my honorable and learned friend will say at a later period that the mercantile community knows its own mind. I should think so, and I should say that a journal of this kind, when speaking on behalf of the cotton trade of England, knows what it is talking about. When the honorable and learned gentleman gets up will he tell us that the English cotton manufacturers do not know anything about the subject? Then we are told,

as the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, has mentioned, that the reason given for this change is that the wages paid in the cotton trade in America are less than those which are given in the English trade.

Mr. POYNTON.—Who gives that reason?

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable member suggested it.

Mr. POYNTON.—I did not. I asked whether they were afraid of cheap labour in Chicago?

Mr. ISAACS.—I should like to read some extracts from *The Effects of the Factory System*, a well-known work by Mr. Allen Clarke, one of the leading journalists of England, whose sympathies are entirely with the working classes. He deals with the question of the cotton operatives—with this very industry, which we may call the centre of the free-trade craze—and I want to show what free-trade has done for the cotton worker in England. I find that at page 18 he writes—

In 1846 Howe invented the sewing machine, which has not yet taken any of the tragedy out of the "Song of the Shirt."

At page 59 he writes—

Of late years there has been a marked difference in some trades as to the proportions of male and female labour. Take weaving only as an example. Formerly there would be in the Huddersfield district about 70 per cent. of men weavers to 30 per cent. of women. To-day, we believe, the percentages are about reversed—at all events there are not more than 40 per cent. of men, if so many.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is the condition that Victoria is coming to.

Mr. ISAACS.—Mr. Clarke gives in his work some most heartrending accounts of the condition of the factory operatives. He tells us that there are married piecers who are earning 13s. per week. He tells us of the miserable food they have to eat, and of the miserable houses they have to dwell in. And this is an Englishman! This is not some one who is trying to decry his native country. At page 138 he writes—

Female factory labour, whether single or married, but especially married, is the great curse of Lancashire. To take a pistol and shoot a man is moral compared with its effect.

This is in free-trade England!

Mr. FOWLER.—Does the author attribute those conditions to free-trade?

Mr. ISAACS.—No.

Mr. FOWLER.—Is the honorable and learned member aware that the author is a free-trader?

Mr. ISAACS.—Will my honorable friend remember that he has referred us to England as offering an example to be followed.

Mr. FOWLER.—I showed that free-trade is improving the conditions of the masses in England.

Mr. WILKS.—And making them better able to fight the battle of life.

Mr. ISAACS.—If I may be allowed to proceed my honorable friends will find their arguments more than answered. Mr. Clarke writes at page 154 of his book—

The cotton operatives, men and women, work hard, and work long, in hot stuffy air, midst eye-dazzling machinery, and ear-smiting thunder, liable to all sorts of accidents in the mill, liable, because of their occupation, to catch chest complaints when they leave the mill; getting few holidays, and unable often to afford a holiday when the factory engine is stopped for this purpose; weakening and debilitating themselves physically, mentally, and often morally, and transmitting to their children their ruined constitutions and feeble frames, all for a wage that would hardly keep my lady in gloves and bonnets, or my lord in cigars and wines.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—These are arguments against factories, not against free-trade.

Mr. ISAACS.—They are evidence of the misery prevailing in English factories.

Mr. WILKS.—What about the misery prevailing in Victorian factories?

Mr. ISAACS.—I have pointed out the conditions of the individual worker; let us see what effect free-trade has had, not upon factory hands, but upon labour itself, and upon the use of capital by English manufacturers. The manufacturers, finding themselves pressed by foreign competition, are reducing the wages of their employes as low as they can, and when they can no longer reduce them, they are sending their machinery to the East in order to obtain the cheaply paid labour of those countries for the manufacture of goods which go back to England, and are then sent out here and all over the world as British goods.

Mr. WILKS.—If the honorable and learned member wants a country where low wages are paid, let him go to protective Germany.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am not giving statements appearing in an ephemeral newspaper, but the statements of trades' representatives. On page 164 of this book, I find that—

Mr. William Mullin, secretary to the Lancashire Card and Blowing Room Associations, said—"The Lancashire cotton trade was in a deplorable condition." Then, in an article in the

Factory Times, for November 22nd, 1895, entitled "Our Trade: a serious question for consideration." Mr. Mawdsley, the secretary of the Amalgamated Associations of Cotton Spinners, says—"Much as we deplore the fact, there can be no question that the countries of Eastern Asia are more and more preparing themselves for an onslaught on the cotton trade. We are not going to moralise on the fact that the great bulk of the cotton machinery at present being made is for export, though that is a matter which might well be considered. . . . Our export trade is, and must remain, the backbone of our business, and it is consequently abroad that we shall have to look for any relief worth having."

What does Mr. Clarke say?—

The foreign markets from which Mr. Mawdsley hopes so much are already being opened up by others. The Egyptian Cotton Company is building at Cairo; and "many persons are watching the inception of this enterprise with eagerness as to other ventures to follow." While spindles in Lancashire have only increased by 50,000 in three years, those in other parts of the world have increased over 3,500,000 in the same time. Of this increase, over 1,000,000 is in India, China, and Japan.

I should like honorable members opposite, and the members of the labour party, whose sympathies in this direction are identical with my own, to note that it is the workers of India, China, and Japan who are cutting down the wages of the English workers to-day.

In India, the increase in spindles and looms during the last fifteen years has been 270 per cent.; increase of hands, 300 per cent.; increase of cotton consumed, 425 per cent.; and while in Lancashire, mills were standing idle and thousands of operatives out of work, thirteen new mills were in course of erection in India.

Does that not appeal to my honorable friends? Does it not show them that the admission of foreign goods without restraint is depriving the English operative of his living, and, indeed, of his life? Time will not permit me to read more, but it is a matter to which my honorable friends must give the most earnest consideration. During the speech of the leader of the Opposition, I ventured to make an interjection, which has been the subject of some comment in this Chamber and out of it, when I said that it was in England that "The Song of the Shirt" was written. My right honorable friend said, at a later stage, that it had probably not occurred to me that that poem was written in the deepest and darkest protectionist times. Do honorable members know what the terrible duty on cotton was in England when that poem was written? Do they know that the duty upon manufactured calico was 10

Mr. Isaacs.

per cent., and upon calico goods 20 per cent.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What was it on bread?

Mr. ISAACS.—I have here statistics which will show that the price of bread was pretty much the same then as it was many years later. I hope before I have done to give my honorable friends some startling evidence, not from the columns of the newspaper, but from the report of a joint committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, which sat as lately as 1894. I said at a later time that "The Song of the Shirt" was still being sung; but we are not able to hear it quite so loudly. I will give honorable members a proof of that.

Mr. WILKS.—The last Victorian report upon the unemployed will do.

Mr. ISAACS.—My honorable friends will find some instructive reading, prepared, not by enemies of England, nor by those who want to predict her decay, or can by any possibility be charged with disloyalty to her, but by the Earl of Dunraven's committee upon sweating, which sat in 1890. They will find that in the tailoring trades, and in the chain trades all over England, in the boot-making trade—the conditions were not so bad in some places—in the cabinet-making and upholstering trades, and in various other trades, the most bitter sweating exists in England.

Mr. CAMERON.—And everywhere else. The honorable and learned member has to prove that England is worse than other places to make anything of his argument.

Mr. ISAACS.—I want to prove that my honorable friends opposite, when they say that free-trade has made England a paradise to the worker, are utterly wrong. I want to show them that when they attempt to throw dust in the eyes of Australia, and point to England as the great exemplar for our fiscal policy, they are pointing to what is absolutely misunderstood. When they tell the people that in England high wages and the greatest happiness prevail, and that there the workers are sure of employment, they are telling them something which can be easily disproved on the clearest evidence.

Mr. PONTON.—Can the honorable and learned member tell us where this working man's paradise exists?

Mr. ISAACS.—Some day I hope to visit it with my honorable friend. I

shall refer now to the shirt-making industry, to establish the observation which I made, somewhat contrary to parliamentary rules, early in the debate. I find in the report of the joint committee on the sweating system, to which I have just referred, the following passage under the head of "shirt making":—

This is a recognised branch of the clothing trade, and the evidence brought before us seemed to show that the trade is carried on chiefly by women in the East End, that the life of those engaged in it is very hard, that the wages are very low, and that there is an utter absence of any organization.

Mr. GLYNN.—That is what Sidney Webb says is the cause of it all—absence of organization.

Mr. ISAACS.—Why has not free-trade cured it? The essence of the honorable and learned member's argument is that trades unionism is a restriction of freedom of trade. If my honorable friend had lived not so very long ago, he would, upon the same argument, have been found prosecuting some of the workers for combining. The report continues—

Shirts of the commoner description are sold wholesale for 10s. 6d. a dozen. For sewing these shirts with a machine, 1s. 6d. per dozen is paid; for finishing, 6d. a dozen; for cutting out, about 1½d. This came to 2s. 1½d.; and the sweater, according to Mr. Arnold White, gets 4s. This leaves the share of the middleman about 50 per cent. of the gross sum he receives.

Mr. Arnold White brought before the committee four women, all of whom had either worked at shirt-making casually, or had but recently taken it up. I shall read extracts relating to one or two of them:—

Mrs. Casey, whose husband was a dock labourer, and who said that she had several children to attend to, stated that she made shirts at 7d. and 8d. a dozen, that she earned at this work 1s. 2d. a day, and her materials cost her 1s. 3d. a week, besides the cost of a sewing machine, for which she had to pay £7 3s., in instalments of 2s. 6d. a week. Her rent was 2s. 9d. a week. Six years ago she used to get 1s. 9d. to 2s. a dozen for the same shirts. "I begin work," she said, "between seven and eight in the morning, and have to work sometimes till eleven at night. I have to attend to the children." Another woman, Mrs. Liddle, said she was paid 7d., 8d., and 9d. a dozen for common shirts. "I have," she said, "sat up until twelve and one o'clock at night to do a dozen and a half; the children have been so tiresome and cross that I have had to keep leaving off to attend to them. If I could have the little baby put at a home, and had my work regular every day I could earn 12s. a week." Mrs. Attewell, whose husband was a dock labourer, and in partial employ, gave evidence as regards the lowness of wages and the hard work required to earn

them. "Sometimes I have not more than 3s. I do not average more than 3s. By the time I have paid my rent and firing, I do not reckon that I have more than 6d. a day to find bread for the children. I have three children to find bread for. When my husband is not at work, of course I have to find bread for them." When her husband was at work she said she did not do shirt-making. Mrs. Glazier, a shirt-finisher, doing all her work by hand, and whose husband was a dock labourer, had worked at shirt-finishing for four years. Her eyes were bad, and she could not earn full wages, and could only finish a dozen and a half shirts a day, for which she received 3d. a dozen, thereby only earning 4½d. a day.

Will my honorable friend tell me in the face of this evidence and of the evidence given by clergymen before this inquiry, that to-day there is no "Song of the Shirt?" I shall read only one more case.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Protection will not cure that.

Mr. ISAACS.—Protection will give the means of curing it.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports said in the *Review of Reviews* last month that only 4d. per dozen was paid in Melbourne.

Mr. ISAACS.—Let me read another piece of news to my honorable friends, under the heading of "Mantle making." The Rev. Mr. Adamson says—

Some of the best silk mantles sold in the West-end shops are made in his parish for 7½d. each, this being the price paid "for making the whole mantle right throughout, and they have to find their own cotton and silk, and oil for the machine." The sweater, however, only pays 5d. to the worker, and the latter can make 1s. 3d. or 1s. 6d. a day.

I do not think I need go any further. This report was written in 1890. I shall now fulfil my pledge to the honorable member for South Sydney, by reading half-a-dozen lines from a still later report of a joint committee of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. This committee was presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, and its report was presented in 1894. There were labour representatives upon it, like Mr. Mann and Mr. Maudsley. Also there was a minority report, which really went further in some respects than did the general report. What I shall read condenses, I think, for the information of honorable members, what is pertinent to the questions which have been put to me and to other honorable members. On page 10 of the report, I find the following passage:—

The elaborate inquiries made by Mr. Giffen have led him to the following conclusions, which

were submitted by him to the commission in evidence. He considers, on the basis of actual returns for the year 1885 as to great masses of working men, that, taking the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, the actual earnings of adult males engaged in manual labour are approximately as follows:—

| | Percent. |
|--------------------------|----------|
| Under 10s. a week | 0.2 |
| 10s. to 15s. „ | 2.5 |
| 15s. to 20s. „ | 20.9 |
| 20s. to 25s. „ | 35.4 |
| 25s. to 30s. „ | 23.6 |
| 30s. to 35s. „ | 11.2 |
| 35s. to 40s. „ | 4.4 |
| Above 40s. | 1.8 |

Thus, according to this calculation 59 per cent. of the total number earn between 20s. and 30s. a week, and 82 per cent. not over 30s. a week. With regard to the price of food, I find it stated on page 11 of this report—

This being the fact with regard to money wages there also appears to be reason for thinking that, taking together the rise of prices up to about the year 1872 and their subsequent fall, the purchasing power of money is at least as great now as it was 50 years ago, especially with regard to the articles most consumed by the poorer classes, and much greater than it was twenty years ago.

In other words, this committee would not take it upon itself to say that the purchasing power of money was greater then than it was under protection, but it did say that it was greater than it was twenty years ago when free-trade had been in sway for some considerable time.

Mr. FOWLER.—Did the committee recommend a return to protection?

Mr. ISAACS.—No; but I shall show that England has taken many steps in that direction recently. When we find that under free-trade these lamentable conditions occur, we may well ask what benefit is being got? What is the test of happiness?

Mr. BROWN.—Can protectionist countries show any better results?

Mr. ISAACS.—Undoubtedly. Sixty years is too trivial a period to enable my honorable friends opposite to observe the results of free-trade, but a few minutes constitute too long a term for them to listen to what I have to say about protection. What have been some of the startling results of the introduction of free-trade? Has it improved the position of the agriculturist in England? No. In 1895 we find that there were 1,000,000 persons less engaged in agriculture than there were in 1841. Has free-trade increased the independence of England? Certainly not! Why, America—as has been pointed out clearly and unmistakably—

could, within a few weeks, by cutting off the supplies of corn and cotton, reduce England to submission. During the American war we had a wonderful instance of that. The cotton trade had to stop. In Manchester, which is in the midst of a cotton district, £168,000 a week in wages was lost to the workers, and there were half-a-million persons obtaining regular relief. That is the result of free-trade England depending upon other countries for her means of labour, instead of being self-sufficient and self-contained as Australia may be with her varied resources and wonderful climate.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—How could England be self-sufficient?

Mr. ISAACS.—Does my honorable friend say that the conditions of England are so different to those of Australia that we cannot take the former country as an example?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Yes.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then why point to free-trade England as a guide to Australia at all? I want to ask my honorable friends also whether they regard the distribution of wealth among the people as a test of happiness.

Mr. CONROY.—Certainly, we want to see it.

Mr. ISAACS.—At last we have reached something we can regard as common ground. I shall refer my honorable friends on this subject to an authority they will not question—*Mulhall*. There is nothing ephemeral about him. Let us read what *Mulhall* says in his *Wealth and Industries of the World*.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The trouble is that the honorable and learned member will not give us all he says.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have only one lifetime, and I am sure I may depend upon my honorable friend upon some future occasion to add to what I say. I should like to quote this, because it is a pregnant statement. At page 100 of the 1896 edition of his work it will be found that *Mulhall* says—

Eighty per cent. of the total wealth of England belongs to 1½ per cent. of the adult population.

Does that not satisfy my honorable friends opposite? And he points out also that judging by the probate returns, which are very indicative of the condition of affairs—

Fortunes over £5,000 are multiplying much faster than fortunes under £5,000.

And admitting it, as he must, he says that—

This is the reverse of what is desirable, and this congestion seems to increase in intensity the higher we go.

Mr. POYNTON.—Now, give us America.

Mr. ISAACS.—Is that not sufficient evidence of the deplorable contrast between rich and poor—between millions on one side and misery on the other—that our honorable friends have referred to?

Mr. POYNTON.—Give us America now.

Mr. WILKS.—Two minutes of Carnegie will do now.

Mr. ISAACS.—I prefer to take my honorable friends on their own ground, and where they say free-trade has done so much, yet when I come to deal with them there they say “Please move off a little.” I want to say also that if we take the income tax returns it is clear from those of 1868, the latest about which I could read.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh!

Mr. ISAACS.—That was not sufficient I suppose—from 1846 to 1868? I find that 1 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom received 25 per cent. of the nation's income; and reading that by what *Mulhall* says the position in that respect must be worse to-day than it was then.

Mr. WILKS.—These are dusty statistics.

Mr. ISAACS.—I wish to say to my honorable friends that if they will look at a few official Acts of England they will see whether there is a genuine belief on the part of the English Government that free-trade is to be the eternal policy of that country. We have been reminded of Canada. We have been told that Canada, with the most loyal consideration for the mother country, gave her a preference—I think it is about 33½ per cent. in the Canadian Tariff, the Fielding Tariff. Do honorable members recollect how that was effected? Do honorable members recollect that when the matter was proposed to Mr. Chamberlain he said, in effect, to Canada—“Wait, there is a little difficulty in the way. We have at present two treaties—one with Germany and one with Belgium, in which the most favoured nation clause exists; and if you give us this preference Germany and Belgium must share it. So wait.” And the English Government proceeded to denounce the Belgian and German treaties. Why? Because they were anxious to get this protection from Canada. England comes in and gets this preference, which is nothing but

protection. She does not stand upon her recent traditional policy of free-trade, but she breaks through it voluntarily, openly, intentionally, in order to gain protection against the rest of the world in Canadian ports. Is that adhering to free-trade? Do we find the British Government, when it comes to a question of principle, saying—“We stand, and prefer to stand, as the one living example of free-trade in the world?” Not a bit of it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Do not forget the result to Canada.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am not forgetting it. If honorable members will read the most recent journals published in England—if, for instance, they will read the journal called *Commerce*, for last month, they will find that the Canadian woollen manufacturers are so affected by the competition of the lower paid British labour in their lines, that they have told their workmen that they must reduce their wages. And when that paper was published a strike was imminent, because they were losing money.

Mr. GLYNN.—Still, the average against them is 19 per cent.?

Mr. ISAACS.—We can understand it when we consider the low wages which I have pointed out are being paid in England.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And Canada lost her favoured nation treatment with Germany.

Mr. ISAACS.—And as the right honorable gentleman says, Canada lost her favoured nation treatment with Germany. I want to point this out, because these are matters which take place under our very eyes. But is that all? Does England say to her West Indian colonies, the trade of which was departing from England—“We still stand by this ancient”—it is not ancient, it is very recent—“this Cobdenite doctrine of free-trade, and let trade go where it pleases”? Not at all. The British Government have actually given a subsidy to steamers to go across between Bristol and Jamaica, and the first of the subsidized steam-ships, the *Morant*, left in May of this year. Is that not departing from the free-trade policy? If we want a recognition of the encouragement of British industry as against the rest of the world, we have a recent example from the Throne itself.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Surely that is facilitating exchange—subsidizing steamers?

Mr. ISAACS.—Does my honorable friend say that the subsidizing of steamers is not interfering with the freedom of exchange?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is facilitating export.

Mr. ISAACS.—Of course it is facilitating trade, and when we give protection here we facilitate our home trade.

Mr. CAMERON.—When we have supplied ourselves, what should we do with the rest but export it to the best market?

Mr. ISAACS.—I think, sir, that so far as England is concerned, I have proved to demonstration that its free-trade policy has not been a startling success, nor any success, as honorable members opposite have contended. But if we turn across the Atlantic and look at the condition of affairs in America; if we remember that in America the founders of the republic, Washington, Madison, and Hamilton all laid down the doctrine that is existing to-day in America—that in a country of such wide extent, with undeveloped resources, so like Australia, protection was necessary to encourage her manufactures, is it not something we should look to with reverence and respect?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Franklin was the greatest philosopher amongst them, and he did not believe in it.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Oh! he is dead a hundred years ago.

Mr. ISAACS.—I shall not repeat the arguments of some of my honorable friends, who have so eloquently dealt with this question; but I shall refer to the observations of men in high positions in America. I shall refer to the speech of the man who is now President of America, but who was then the Vice-President, Mr. Roosevelt. I will quote from *The American Public Opinion*, of 9th May, 1901, some words that were uttered by him at the banquet of the Home Market Club. He said:—

During the last four years this nation has so conducted itself as not only to add immensely to our material prosperity, but also to add to the heritage of honour which we are to leave our children. It ill becomes us to speak in any spirit of mere boastfulness or arrogance; for to give reign to such a spirit is to insure future disaster. Yet we can do no better work in the future if we realize that we have worked well in the past. I wish to say a word upon the extraordinary domestic prosperity which has been brought about in such large part by the policy for which the Home Market Club has so prominently stood. You of this club have been unswerving in your devotion to sound economic thought. You have with heartiest enthusiasm upheld the finally successful effort to put the gold standard upon as safe a basis as it is possible by legislation to put it. You have steadily advocated a Tariff policy, which, in

its actual working, has vindicated itself by a success which is literally astounding. It has benefited not merely the manufacturer and the wage-worker, but the whole population. It has built up an elaborate and highly diversified industrial system at home, has procured a return for labour which is absolutely unparalleled anywhere else, and, contrary to all the predictions of its opponents, has opened an immense export trade with every part of the world. There may have to be changes in detail to suit the shifting national needs; but you have once for all established the principle that the Tariff shall always protect the conditions of American life by a duty at least equivalent to the difference in the labour cost here and abroad.

Nothing could be more to the point. Nothing could be clearer than this announcement by the Vice-President then, and the President now, of the results of the American economic policy on that great country. I do not need to go to debatable matter. I do not need to take up statistics from any source. I have here the statement of a man who knows what he is talking about, who has fought the fight, and who has secured the suffrages of a majority of his fellow citizens.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—A man who is acknowledged to be a little eccentric.

Mr. ISAACS.—I wish we had some in this country as eccentric. I want to clear away a little fallacy that has been circulated with regard to what the late lamented President McKinley said in reference to this very question. I think they were the last public words he ever uttered. The day before that dastardly assassination he delivered himself of opinions on this very question at Buffalo. These opinions, as expressed, we have been told, indicated an intention to revert to free-trade. So far as I have been able to discover, his words gave no such indication. I have not had an opportunity of seeing an American journal, but I found his words in the English journal, *Commerce*, for 11th September, 1901. This is what he said—

Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously, and our products have so multiplied, that the problem of more markets requires urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. By sensible trade arrangements, which do not interrupt our home production, we still extend the outlets for an increasing surplus. We must not repose in the fancied security that we can for ever sell everything, and buy little or nothing. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labour. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development. Under the domestic policy now firmly established,

what we produce beyond our domestic consumption we should send abroad. The period of exclusiveness is past; the expansion of our trade and commerce is a pressing problem.

Mr. WILKS.—A half-way house to free-trade.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member would be sorry to have to walk the other half.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is the real free-trade that is only obtained by protection. Mr. McKinley went on to say—

Commercial wars are unprofitable, and reciprocity treaties in harmony with the spirit of the times, while measures of retaliation are not.

Now come the words which indicate the whole key to his meaning—

If, perchance, some of our Tariffs are no longer needed for revenue, or to encourage and protect home industries, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

I would like to point out to those who say that a protectionist Tariff cannot give revenue, that America is embarrassed by an overwhelming revenue. When Mr. McKinley was first elected—shortly before the Tariff of 1890—Mr. Gladstone, with an eloquence and a power that he amongst very few in the world could wield, told the Americans, in effect, that to attempt to do what they were desirous of doing, to build up an iron industry that could compete with England, was practically the same thing as trying to grow pineapples in a hot-house. But to-day, what is the iron industry? How has his prophecy been falsified? Very much like the prophecy of Cobden, who said that within ten years all the world would be free-trade.

Mr. WILKS.—He said 50 years.

Mr. ISAACS.—America has not the difficulty that England has in one respect. We were told that in Victoria more women were employed in factories than men. I naturally asked whether that was the result of protection, or whether the same result was obtained under free-trade? When I turn to England, what do I find? Let it never be forgotten that in England, in the textile and the non-textile factories, and also in the workshops under the Factories Act, the proportion of females is alarmingly large as compared with males. There are 2,975,394 males; and 1,508,406 females—over 50 per cent. of the number of males equalled by the number of females. The females, however, as well

as the males, include little children, or half-timers, as they are called. These little children include 27,936 males, and 30,237 females. Of those under eighteen who were employed on full time there were 463,088 young men, and 401,054 young women. In the face of these figures are we to look at the number of women employed in Victoria as a result of protection? In boot and shoe factories there were employed 64,410 males, and 26,365 females; in clothing factories, 95,544 males, and 144,065 females; and in the manufacture of tobacco, snuff and cigars, 8,963 males, and 21,586 females. These figures are taken from the report of the Chief Inspector of English factories for 1898. Now I am going to refer to New South Wales as compared with Victoria. I think I have shewn that if we turn to the older countries of the world we can get no consolation from the free-trade stand-point. But what do we find when we come to New South Wales and Victoria? What are the tests that the leader of the Opposition and my honorable friends on the other side are ready to apply to distinguish the prosperity, as they term it, of New South Wales from the decay of Victoria? The increase of population in New South Wales, so far as the rate is concerned, is surpassed by Queensland, where the increase is almost double, and by New Zealand as well as Western Australia. Those are protectionist States.

Mr. CAMERON.—The honorable member cannot call Western Australia a protectionist State.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not know what my honorable friend calls it, but I call it protectionist. It is certainly not a free-trade State, and it is certainly more protectionist than free-trade.

Mr. CAMERON.—Western Australia has no industries to protect.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. Two or three times I have been on the point of asking honorable members not to interject so frequently, but I was loath to interrupt the honorable member who has been speaking. I must ask honorable members to interject much less frequently, and particularly to abstain from cross-firing by making remarks across the chamber to members other than the speaker.

Mr. ISAACS.—I desire to say one or two words with regard to the supposed superiority of New South Wales under her free-trade Tariff. I am going to ask my honorable

friends from New South Wales if they are genuine free-traders, and, if they are, whether they are prepared to go before the people of New South Wales and tell them that they are ready to apply their doctrine all round? I am desirous to ask my honorable friends to answer that question at their leisure. They can appeal to their past actions, and tell us whether they are prepared to say to the farmers and miners of New South Wales what they are saying to the artisans—that they refuse to countenance any State encouragement or assistance. I ask them if they know what protection really means? Does it not mean this—that you are to give assistance to the worker, to whatever rank or class he belongs, in order that he may meet competition at the point where competition is felt? I want to know whether that is not real protection?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Mr. ISAACS.—How can my honorable friends escape from that position? If we see that in the Commonwealth of Australia there are workers in factories whose products come into competition with similar products from other parts of the world, and we desire to enable those workers to fairly meet that competition, are we not to be allowed to do it, when my honorable friends are prepared—and I am ready to go with them—to assist the primary producers when they send their products to foreign markets to meet the competition there? Allow me to show how that is done, and allow me to show how my honorable friends would not dare to go before the farmers and miners of New South Wales and say—"We are prepared to maintain this principle against you as we are prepared to maintain it against the factories, that you shall go as you please, but you shall not come to the State for assistance." They would not dare to say to them as to the workers in factories—"Succeed if you can, and survive if you can—if not, die." The leader of the Opposition told the country during the elections that his policy was to take all the puppies of industry and cast them into the water, where they were to sink or swim as best they could. Is he prepared to cast the agricultural puppy into the water, or is he prepared to cast the mining puppy into the water, and allow these primary industries to sink or swim without State assistance? I should like to know whether my

honorable friends will say to these industries, as to the others—"We refuse to recognise your claims for assistance." My honorable friends must ponder a little over what I am saying, and see how far they are able to go. The doctrine I have stated is the one upon which the whole argument rests—that the State must say to the workers in boot factories, and in hat factories, and in clothing factories—"You must succeed as best you may; the State is not going to render you any assistance. We are not going to put our hands into the pockets of the taxpayers to help you, but you must face the competition of the world unaided."

Mr. PAGE.—They are doing it now.

Mr. ISAACS.—Well, if they are doing it now, are the farmers and the miners to be placed on the same footing?

Mr. CAMERON.—What help are the farmers and miners getting?

Mr. ISAACS.—Does my honorable friend know anything about the matter? Does he know that in New South Wales during the last ten years they have spent £250,000 in prospecting votes for the benefit of the miners? Does he know that that money has come out of the pockets of the general taxpayer? Does he know that in New South Wales they spent in one year—last year or the year before—£110,000 in water conservation for the benefit of the farmer—all out of the pocket of the general taxpayer? Does he know that £31,000 was provided for agricultural colleges, and that £14,000 was provided out of the pockets of the general taxpayer in the form of subsidies for agricultural societies, whilst £15,000 was spent in the importation of stud stock? Does he know, moreover, that in order to help the producers on the various rivers—the Tweed, the Richmond, the Clarence, the Macleay, the Hastings, and the Hunter—to get their produce, and particularly their maize and sugar, to the markets or the mills, no less a sum than £115,000 was provided out of revenue, and £300,000 out of loans? Are they aware that all this has been done to help industries, to do what? To help industries to raise products and put them upon the markets of the world, at prices which would pay the producers and enable them to meet competition. If the outpouring of this money from the pockets of the taxpayer—and artisans have to help

to pay it—were stopped, do honorable members think for one instant that the grain of New South Wales would find its way to the markets of Europe? No; there would not be any grown, because it would not pay to grow it. I agree with the payment of money in this way, because it was part of the policy of the Government to which I had the honour to belong under the leadership of the present Commonwealth Treasurer. When we expend out of the general pocket hundreds of thousands of pounds in order to assist the general producers—as we ought to do, because it is their right as citizens of the Commonwealth—we ought not to suddenly reverse the position and, taking a high and lofty stand, say that the State will not assist manufacturing industries. To do so would not be fair or right. If those “puppies,” as they are called by the leader of the Opposition, are to be ruthlessly thrown into the water, let us do the same thing all round. Let the Opposition do it if they dare. Let the Opposition go on the platform in New South Wales and, consistently standing by their principles, say that not a penny of the general revenue shall go into the pockets of any particular section or any particular industry. They dare not do it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable and learned member say that building railways is protection?

Mr. ISAACS.—I call it protection to build railways that are unproductive, as they are in New South Wales to a large extent. In that State there are railways which are run at a yearly loss of close on £350,000; in order to do what? To open up the country and enable farmers to send their produce to market. Let me show honorable members that New South Wales is an admittedly protective country in some respects. It may astonish some honorable members to hear that such is the case; but is it not admitted that it is protection if less rates are charged on the railways for goods that are produced in New South Wales than are charged for similar goods that are produced elsewhere? That is done on the railways of New South Wales to-day. I find that wines in bulk or case, if made in New South Wales, are specified in the railway tables to be carried at a less rate than if they are made elsewhere, and the same rule applies to cheese, bacon, ham, and other

produce of the kind. Are honorable members aware that dairy produce, and dried fruit, and other fruit, are actually carried at special rates, if they are on the up journey to Sydney, in order to allow them to get to foreign markets, as well as to that city? Yet I am told that no distinctions are made in New South Wales. I am told that New South Wales is right throughout a consistent free-trade country, when, at the same time, there are in the system of government there such marked distinctions.

Mr. WILKS.—And yet the honorable and learned member wants an Inter-State Commission to destroy all that.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am not talking about an Inter-State Commission. In any case an Inter-State Commission is as between the States of Australia, and not as between Australia and the rest of the world.

Mr. McDONALD.—That does not fit in with the honorable and learned member's argument.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does the honorable member really know whether up to the present moment New South Wales has been protective or free-trade? Another recognition is made in New South Wales in regard to railway charges: and I must not be misunderstood in referring to this matter, because it is, in my opinion, perfectly right that there should be such recognition. While ordinary machinery is carried at what are called first-class rates, or about £3 1s. 7d. per ton for 100 miles, agricultural and mining machinery is carried at B rates, or 17s. 2d. per ton for a similar distance; and that is done for the encouragement of the farming and mining industries. I admit that that is a proper thing to do; and when I am told that no encouragement is given in New South Wales by way of protection, I ask what are these differential rates but protection? We must never forget that the special rates for grain, as compared with the rates for general merchandise, which prevail in New South Wales—and the same condition exists in Victoria—are intended to encourage, and to rightly encourage, the producing industries. That is done, in the first instance, at the expense of the general consumer, but that this encouragement ultimately benefits the country is beyond all question. It helps to develop the country, and indirectly assists in creating population where no population could otherwise exist. How can farmers settle in the country without railways, even if

those railways are non-paying? How can we have great producers of every kind settled in the far interior of New South Wales if they are not given special consideration? And how can we ever have a great industrial community if we are to expose our manufacturers to the inroads of the cheaply-paid and degraded labour of the rest of the world? That is the question we have to meet and solve. When I hear it contended that the people of New South Wales will not have any of these considerations given to producers, primary or secondary, I say that honorable members have not read their own history aright, and are not acquainted with the facts around them. I was very much amused when the leader of the Opposition said that males predominated in New South Wales manufactures. I wonder if he thought that we overlooked the fact that among those manufacturing industries were the treating of raw material, the product of pastoral pursuits, including glue, oil, grease, and manures, in which there are 3,122 males and no females engaged, according to the last report of the State Factory Inspector in 1901; that in smelting and ore-dressing pursuits there are 3,061 males, and in saw-milling 3,750, or altogether 9,933 males.

Mr. WILKS.—These are substantial industries.

Mr. ISAACS.—They are substantial industries.

Mr. WILKS.—The Tariff the honorable and learned member supports would kill them.

Mr. ISAACS.—No Tariff in the world can affect them. No Tariff can affect saw-milling, or the manufactures of glue, oil, and grease, in New South Wales. I want to show that the argument of my honorable friend opposite is destroyed when he says that protection in Victoria conduces to the employment of females as compared with males. Two facts entirely destroy that contention—first, that in England the proportion of females is greater than in Victoria, and next, that in New South Wales nearly 10,000 individuals are engaged in trades that have nothing to do with the Tariff at all. Now what about wages? I should like honorable members to pay attention to these facts, because at the Town Hall the other night, the right honorable the leader of the Opposition dealt with the question of wages. I have taken these figures from the 1901

reports issued by the Governments of Victoria and New South Wales, respectively. The test of whether a policy is good or bad for a country is not to find out what is the highest wage, or even the average wage, but what is the limit to which the avaricious employer can force his workmen or work-people to slave for him. That is the question; what is the minimum wage?

Mr. CAMERON.—What is the purchasing power, not what is the wage.

Mr. ISAACS.—In New South Wales and Victoria the purchasing power of money is practically the same. We need not go further than Mr. Coghlan for that. But I will allow my honorable friends opposite to judge for themselves and make their own comparisons after they hear the figures I shall give them. We will take some of the protected trades. First of all we will take boots.

Mr. WILKS.—Trades which have wages boards.

Mr. ISAACS.—Let me introduce one observation upon that interjection. Wages boards are impossible in free-trade countries. My honorable friend in saying that has struck the weakness of his position. You cannot have wages boards in free-trade countries, because the moment you put wages up beyond the foreign level you are inundated with the cheaper labour products of other lands.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—How long was it after the inauguration of protection in Victoria that wages boards were started?

Mr. ISAACS.—I am sorry for my honorable friends opposite. They appear to be so pained at these points that they cannot restrain themselves for a moment. One can always tell where there is a corn by the exclamation of the sufferer when the tender part is touched. If my honorable friends have not tender corns they will restrain themselves for a little while. Not only is it impossible to introduce wages boards into a free-trade country, but I should like to point out further that the very same party in Victoria that is opposing protection has consistently opposed the Factories Acts. What is the consistency in their arguments? They tell us at one time that in New South Wales—in a free-trade country—wages are higher than they are in Victoria; and with the next breath they tell us that if we do not amend our factory laws business will go to New South Wales from Victoria, because manufacturers can

obtain labour for less wages in that State. It is impossible to reconcile those two arguments. The one cuts the throat of the other. Now let me read what is the minimum wage paid in these two States in certain trades—I do not care whether they are under wages boards or whether they are not. These are facts. In the boot trade, for males, in Victoria the minimum wage for clickers is 42s.; in New South Wales, 25s.; for makers, in Victoria, 42s.; in New South Wales, 20s. For machine operators in Victoria, 42s.; in New South Wales, 32s. 6d. For females in Victoria, 20s.; in New South Wales, forewomen 22s. 6d., down to 10s. for machinists, and 5s. for trimmers, and 3s. for tyers off and bench hands. In the clothing trade, for males, cutters in Victoria receive 45s.; in New South Wales, 25s. Stock cutters in Victoria, 50s.; and order cutters in New South Wales, 50s. Pressers in Victoria, 45s.; in New South Wales, 35s., or 40s. for order work.

Mr. FOWLER.—Is that the average?

Mr. ISAACS.—No; the minimum. I am taking the real test of what the worker has to endure. Trimmers in Victoria receive 45s.; in New South Wales 10s. or 17s. 6d., for orders. Machinists, 45s. in Victoria; 45s. in New South Wales. Coat hands, 45s. in Victoria; New South Wales 30s., or 40s., for orders. Females:—Trousers hands, in Victoria 20s.; in New South Wales 10s., or 20s. for orders. Coat hands—Females, 20s. in Victoria; 12s. 6d. New South Wales, or 15s. for orders. Vest hands, Victoria, 20s.; New South Wales, 7s. 6d., or 20s. for orders. Slop trousers—machinists, Victoria, 20s.; New South Wales, 9s., or 25s. for orders. Finishers, 20s. in Victoria; 8s. in New South Wales. Apprentices in Victoria, 2s. 6d. to 20s.; New South Wales, 2s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. Shirtmakers—Victoria, 16s.; New South Wales, 12s. 6d. Bakers—Victorian minimum wage, 50s. for 48 hours' work; New South Wales, foremen, 50s., and bakers of bread, £1 7s. 6d. I have been at pains to take these figures out as accurately as I could, and think I have been successful. The figures are in print. I shall be glad if honorable members opposite will scrutinize them, and see if they are correct or incorrect.

Mr. WILKS.—Full of errors!

Mr. ISAACS.—Well, I have tried to state them correctly, and if the honorable

member can show any errors in them, I shall be glad to have them pointed out. To my mind those figures are eloquent of the difference between the two countries. They show clearly that what was said was perfectly correct—that you cannot in a free-trade country stop the inundation of lower-paid products.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—Do the workers get the minimum wage in Victoria?

Mr. ISAACS.—They do.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—The factory inspectors say that they do not.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have had some means of looking into the matter, and I believe that although there are attempted evasions, on the whole the minimum wage is paid. However, it is something to have the power of enforcing the payment by law. Now, I would say to my honorable friends opposite that it is perfectly clear that the very founders, not so long ago, of free-trade policy—Adam Smith, Cobden, and Bright—were all opposed to trades' unionism. My right honorable and learned friend, the leader of the Opposition, has, I believe, the proud distinction of holding the Cobden medal. What did his master say? I would ask him whether he adheres to Cobden's opinion, because it is the foundation of free-trade doctrine. He said—Mr. John Morley gives this in his *Life of Cobden*—

“Depend upon it, nothing can be got by fraternizing with trades unions. They are founded on principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. I would rather live under a Dey of Algiers than a trades committee.”

Are honorable members who are free-traders—who are absolute followers of Cobden—prepared to follow him in that?

Mr. FOWLER.—I have heard protectionist manufacturers say the same thing.

Mr. ISAACS.—But protectionists who are not manufacturers do not say so. What did Mr. John Bright say?

Mr. FOWLER.—Another manufacturer!

Mr. ISAACS.—Does my honorable friend disown the great free-trade apostle? Does he say that Mr. Bright is to be discarded? In 1888 Mr. Bright wrote a letter to Mr. Reavis, an American gentleman residing at St. Louis, in which he said—

Whilst your Tariff is in force you need not expect your workmen to be wise. Protection, which means robbing somebody

Mr. CAMERON.—Hear, hear!

Mr. ISAACS.—I expected that cheer. Will the honorable member cheer when I have finished? Mr. Bright continued—

Protection, which means robbing somebody, will not content itself with enriching manufacturers, but will be called in to give higher wages and shorter hours to your workmen.

How is it that I do not hear the cheer of my honorable friend? Because he dare not be as consistent as Bright.

Mr. CAMERON.—I dare!

Mr. ISAACS.—He dares to be as consistent!

Mr. CAMERON.—Did I ever say that I was in favour of wages boards?

Mr. ISAACS.—My honorable friend then objects to give good wages to workmen. He advocates no higher wages and no shorter hours for workmen.

Mr. CAMERON.—I have never advocated either the one or the other.

Mr. ISAACS.—I fear I have occupied the time of honorable members at far too great length. I did not address the House on a previous occasion, but I feel that however much I differ from my friends on the Opposition side we are one in the object at which we aim. We are desirous of obtaining by the right method that which is the great object of our Commonwealth—a fair recognition of the rights of labour. The only difference between us is that I believe it is the regulation of the trade in human labour that will best attain that object, and that it is not the unregulated and unrestricted traffic in human labour that will conduce to the happiness of my fellow creatures. I remember reading some years ago the words of a talented writer—I think it was Arnold White—who pointed out that capital had every possible advantage over labour; that capital was careless of the country in which it lodged; that it had no nationality; it owed no allegiance to any country, and that it could change its form with most infinite facility. In a moment it could be flashed by means of the electric wire from country to country, from continent to continent, from hemisphere to hemisphere; but labour was chained to the soil, and to the one trade. It could not pass even from one occupation to another. It is idle to say that if one industry fails labour can turn to another. Capital can do so, but labour cannot. For these reasons I believe we shall best secure the happiness of our

country, and its future prosperity, by adopting a protectionist policy. I do not say a policy of prohibition, because that would give a monopoly to the internal manufacturers. I am not here as an advocate of the manufacturers' profits, but at the same time I do not advocate free-trade, because that is the other extreme, and would give the monopoly to the foreign manufacture. It is by fair protection that we can, I might say almost, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, properly bridge the difference between home labour and foreign labour. It is that which can best keep out the grinding of the poor, which can enable us to shut out the degrading competition of the east—which we may have to fear sooner than we anticipate—and it is that which will best fit us, I believe, for the companionship and respect of the whole civilized world.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS (Robertson).—As the hour is late I should be glad if the Prime Minister would allow the debate to be adjourned.

Mr. BARTON.—I do not think it is yet time for us to adjourn.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The Prime Minister consented last night to the honorable member for Southern Melbourne moving the adjournment.

Mr. BARTON.—If we were to be always as courteous as that, the honorable member knows he would never allow us to finish the debate.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The Prime Minister cannot see any unfairness in refusing an adjournment to an honorable member of the Opposition.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I feel that I must go on, as it is not the intention of the Prime Minister to grant an adjournment at this hour. It would, I think, be more courteous to allow an adjournment on this occasion because I happen to be on the Opposition side of the House. The Prime Minister might very well have commenced the all-night sitting with a speech from one of his own supporters. However, I have no strong objection to going on, although one cannot help feeling tired and fatigued after sitting here all day, and listening to lengthy addresses. I think it is a privilege to follow the honorable and learned member for Indi. He has given us a very long address, but, so far as I have been able to follow him, he has said very little which will not be replied to very fully

by honorable members who are to follow me. I have made some notes, however, and I intend to devote some attention to the speech that he has delivered. From the very beginning of his address he misrepresented facts as they really exist. I should like to point out first of all that, like many other honorable members on the Government side of the House who have spoken, he is not satisfied with the Government proposals. He says that in committee he will give a determined opposition to the proposals of the Government, and we know very well that when before his constituents on a certain occasion he spoke out most determinedly against such a principle as that which is contained in the Government proposals. Later on in my address I shall quote the words actually used by him on that occasion. The honorable and learned member said that the leader of the Opposition was destitute of a policy to take the place of that put forward by the Government. It could be only an honorable member who is innocent of the career of the right honorable the leader of the Opposition who would have the effrontery to make such a statement as that. I do not think the Prime Minister would say that he entertained any doubt as to what the leader of the Opposition would do if he were called into power. There is not the slightest doubt that the leader of the Opposition would have a policy to bring forward in accordance with the pledges that he made to the people of the Commonwealth, not only upon the mainland of Australia, but in Tasmania, and in the very speech quoted by the honorable and learned member for Indi, in which he referred to the tossing of the puppies into the water in order that they might learn to swim. If it were necessary I could go further. The honorable and learned member says that already there is a too restricted free list, and he presumes that the leader of the Opposition would still further curtail it. Had he been so just to the leader of the Opposition as to read the motion now before the House, he would have noted that it is quite the opposite to that which he suggests. The honorable and learned member has not done himself justice in coming before the House, with a reputation such as he possesses, without having read the terms of the motion that we are now discussing, and especially paragraph (b). The honorable and learned member for Indi says

that he has noticed that single tax leaflets have been distributed throughout the Chamber, and by that remark he endeavoured, I think, to discredit the free-trade party of New South Wales, who are here as revenue Tariffists, and who went to the country as such. We have never put forward, through the leader of the Opposition, other than revenue Tariff proposals. The only publication circulated amongst members, which has come under my notice—and I am a regular attendant here—is a compilation which has been specially prepared for the liberal party in this Chamber, so that they may successfully and accurately bring forward particulars of what has been said and done within the State of Victoria during many years past. In this compilation there is an extract delivered by the honorable and learned member for Indi some time ago, which I think will be interesting to him, inasmuch as it will refresh his memory as to what his views were on that occasion. He said—

And the miner; how is he on a level with the worker in the town? He has a weight around his neck. We are told that the miners patriotically stood by protection in the past. Are we to whip the willing horse to death? Is protection to go on for ever to an unlimited extent—right on, as we are told, to prohibition? Are we never to stop taxing the miner? He is the man who goes through the most arduous labour, and most dangerous pursuits, to win the wealth of the country; and what does he get in return for it? A promise that more burdens will be laid upon him. His pick is weighted with taxation. Every article he wears is weighted with taxation, and when he goes home every article in the house, even his knife and fork, is taxed.

Mr. ISAACS.—That speech was made in the Legislative Assembly in 1892; but it is a garbled extract. I stand by what I said on that occasion.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member admits that he made the speech when a representative of the people, and yet to-night he denounces the views he then expressed. He also stated that the honorable member for Wentworth allowed no free list in his suggested Tariff; but I was present when the honorable member was speaking, and I heard him say that if there were no free list, 10 per cent. duties would raise sufficient revenue for the expenditure of the Commonwealth, and he went on to state what the position would be if there were a free list of so many millions. Free-traders have always provided for a free list. The Minister for Trade

and Customs, the Treasurer, the Minister of Defence, the honorable member for Wentworth, and others, have all had recourse to a certain publication for the proposals and arguments which they have brought forward; and the process of reasoning in that publication is upon the basis that if there were no free list, duties of 11 per cent. would be sufficient, though the honorable member for Wentworth suggests 10 per cent. The honorable and learned member for Indi said further that under the Constitution there could not be a free-trade Tariff; but I appeal to the Treasurer to support me in the contention that it would be possible. I would remind him of a telegram which he sent to Senator Pulsford—I think in 1898—which was published, and which stated that it was possible, under the Constitution, to have either a free-trade or a protectionist Tariff. If it were necessary I could bring forward other evidence to show that members of the Ministry, including the Prime Minister, have repeatedly made that statement.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It would not be possible to raise the necessary revenue under free-trade.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That argument was used by the honorable and learned member for Indi; but if he had read what has been published by men who are deserving of consideration, upon what is possible under the Constitution, he would know that a proposal has been put forward to show that the Commonwealth could be financed with a Tariff producing a revenue of something like £6,000,000; and that would be practically a free-trade Tariff, as we understand the term in Australia. He says further that it is impossible to have a revenue Tariff. I may mention that both in the *Argus* and in a monthly serial a scheme has been outlined under which £8,500,000 might be raised by a 15 per cent. tariff with a free list of £8,500,000. The honorable and learned member for Indi then referred to the leader of the Opposition, who, he said, showed his adroitness at the Town Hall meeting by early asking the people to indicate whether they were in favour of the Government proposals or not. The honorable and learned member added that the leader of the Opposition having taken the vote in question, afterwards knew how to address the meeting. Did the honorable and learned member wish to infer that the leader of the Opposition

would have talked in favour of protection had the meeting been against him?

Mr. ISAACS.—Nothing of the kind. I merely answered an interjection.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I think the honorable and learned member will find it fully recorded in his notes. He went about the matter in a very deliberate way, and I made a note of the point, believing that he was in earnest in his statement. The honorable and learned member further says that he is here to carry out the mandate of the settlers of this State. But the mandate of the settlers of Victoria was to a very large extent in favour of a revenue Tariff, as against a protective Tariff. In the district which the honorable and learned member represents, a very strong vote was cast against him, and in an adjoining electorate one of the strongest free-traders of Australia polled within a few hundred votes of the successful candidate, clearly indicating that there is a strong feeling throughout Victoria in favour of a revenue Tariff, in contradistinction to a protectionist Tariff such as has been submitted by the Government. He further stated that a change of opinion was taking place in England, at the present time, in regard to its fiscal policy. If the honorable and learned member is abreast of events in England and elsewhere, he must know that Great Britain, in pursuance of her open door policy, recently sent her ironclads to China. She had the support of Germany and America in the position which she upheld—because she is wedded to the open door policy of freedom of commerce to all nations—in China. This fact goes to show that the honorable and learned member was not well informed when he said that public opinion in England in regard to the fiscal doctrine was changing. If it were necessary I could quote from all the leading men of England to show that they are strongly in favour of a free-trade policy, and that they denounce the system of protection. The honorable and learned member also stated that a superstition existed that industries can stand by ignoring their existence.

Mr. ISAACS.—I said that they can best be encouraged by ignoring their existence.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I suppose that means that the statement that industries can stand without protection is a superstition. That is really the essence of what the honorable and learned member means,

if he means anything. But I would point to New South Wales in proof of my assertion that industries can be established without the aid of protection. More men and less women are employed in the industries of New South Wales than are engaged in those of Victoria. If we take Coghlan's statistics we shall find that the horse-power represented by the machinery used in the New South Wales factories is greater than that represented by the machinery used in the Victorian factories, and that the output of the former is greater per head than that of the latter. This condition of affairs has been brought about without the assistance of protection. The honorable and learned member for Indi has had something to say about the freedom of England and the sweating which takes place there. If he reads Wilkinson upon *The Alien Immigration of England*, he will find that the East End of London is referred to as the place where sweating chiefly prevails. This sweating is brought about by the influx of aliens from Germany, Russia, Austria, and elsewhere. More than half the population of the East End of London are Russian Jews, who follow the callings of shirt makers, tailors, &c. These people are sweating the workmen of England to such an extent as to call forth keen opposition on the part of the labour organizations of England. As a result 45 labour organizations there have banded themselves together against the housing of these people in the East End of London, and in opposition to alien immigration to England. The honorable and learned member also referred to *Coghlan*, and said that free-trade was declining in England. He spoke of the English artisan. As far as I have been able to gather, from the time of Cobden down to the present, the English workman has continued to improve his position in every walk of life. I will give a few quotations from men who have been leaders of the working classes of England. George J. Holyoake in *Sixty years of an Agitator's life in England*, says—

It seems incredible to one who has lived in the age of protection, that it is necessary to say whether it is good for the working class. Twenty years after free-trade began in England, we found at our co-operative stores that £1 spent there purchased more than could be bought for 30s. in the starvation days of protection.

In the early days of co-operation and of Chartism, the leaders of both parties opposed free-trade on the ground that it would increase competition, and therefore lower wages. On the contrary, the great mass of our workmen receive, on the whole, double the amount of wages they formerly did, and their hours of labour, which extended to twelve or fourteen hours, are now, in a vast number of trades, reduced to eight hours per day. Protection is good for the employer, but bad for the workman, and means the plunder of the general population of purchasers.

Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., for many years secretary to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, says—

I have turned 60 years of age; therefore I have a keen recollection of the difference in the homes of the workers then and now, at least for more than 50 years of it. An artisan of fair standing is better clothed and fed to-day, than were the ordinary shopkeepers of my early time. Then we worked 60 hours a week for about 12s. less than is now paid for 54 or 56 hours per week. The whole of the conditions of life have been raised in every respect. There is no comparison between most things of that day with this day.

The honorable and learned member then referred to the *Draper's Journal*, and he said that the cotton trade of Lancashire was declining. He went on further to say that machinery that was required in the cotton industries of Cairo, China, Japan, and India was being made in free-trade England, and it would appear from his argument that he thought there would be competition with cotton goods made in England, because of the machinery being purchased to carry on the manufacture of cotton goods in Cairo. To me it appears a most fallacious argument, and one that is scarcely worthy of the honorable and learned gentleman. The honorable and learned gentleman had something further to say about the "Song of the Shirt," and he went into detail, just as I am doing here—and I am doing it because it appears to be the custom to do so—to show that in England people are receiving very little money for their labour in the East End of the great city of London. That is not denied, and it is brought about by the sweating I have referred to in this address. But I wish to point out to the honorable and learned member and to those who agree with him that there is another gentleman who has written something upon this question—the secretary of the Victorian Protectionists' Association, Mr. Samuel Mauger, M.P. This is what he says about the condition of affairs in Melbourne, and I think

that the honorable and learned member for Indi should pay some attention to it :—

Shirt-finisher.—Expert hand. Three children. Husband out of work, and cannot get anything to do. Gets 4d. per dozen for finishing shirts. Takes ten minutes to do one. Sometimes works from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m., as she has to lose some time going to and from factory, and must make up for it.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is the date of that ?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—20th September, 1901—

Can only earn two shillings for twelve hours' continuous work. Out of this five individuals have to be kept and house rent paid. Sometimes makes infants' dresses, for which she is paid 4½d. each. Working such long hours has seriously interfered with her health.

Shirt-maker.—Does machining only. Machines shirts throughout to make them ready for finishing. Gets from 1s. 7d. to 2s. 2d. per dozen, but those at the lower rate pay best, as too much work must be put into the others for the additional money. Can do one dozen working twelve to thirteen hours per day. Average earnings 1s. 7d. per day. Widow, four children ; one working ; earns enough to keep himself.

Mole-finisher.—Husband out of work. Little girl helps by taking work to and from factory and sewing on buttons. Gets 2s. per dozen ; out of this must provide own sewings. Can only do one pair per hour ; usually works until 11 p.m., as some time is lost in the morning waiting till work is brought from factory, as this factory insists that its work shall be returned every day. Average about 10s. per week, out of which three individuals must be kept.

Mole-finisher—Widow, two little children, gets 2s. per dozen, and occasionally a line at 2s. 6d. Takes twelve hours to do one dozen. Sole means of support ; finds own sewings.

He says further—

Prior to the present Factories Act and the establishment of wages boards—1. Sweating was almost universal. 2. There was no minimum wage. 3. Long hours prevailed. 4. No record was kept of home workers. 5. Alleged apprentices were unpaid. 6. No check was even attempted upon unfair alien competition.

That is the statement made by Mr. Mauger as secretary for the Victorian Protectionist Association, and it is a reply to the honorable and learned member for Indi, who quoted statistics to show that the workers of England are as poorly paid now as they were in the days of Tom Hood. I remind the honorable and learned member that, in this city, which is so bolstered up by protection, a poor woman, who has six little children to provide for, is sweated almost to the verge of starvation.

Mr. MAUGER.—Not now ; that is all cured.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The statement I have read was written by the honorable member himself, and published in September this year in the *Review of Reviews*.

Mr. MAUGER.—Yes ; but what is it referring to ?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable member should know that best himself.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is referring to a time previous to the passing of the Factories Act.

Mr. CONROY.—But it is under the system of protection in Victoria.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I find that in the debate on the Budget in the Victorian State Legislature the honorable and learned member for Indi, himself said—

As the honorable gentleman spoke, I could not help remembering that national difficulties mean individual distresses, and that individual distresses mean, first of all the suffering of the poor, because the very first thing that occurs in times of national trouble is the loss of the comforts and the necessities of the poor. The poor are the first to lose them, the last to have them restored ; and we know perfectly well that although in times of difficulty the rich relieve the distress to a certain extent, it is in the poor man's cottage that poverty makes her earliest call and her most lengthened stay.

That is the statement made by the honorable member.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is why I object to your free-trade duties.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member says further—

I was therefore most anxious to hear from the Treasurer some remedies for relieving the country from its present distressful condition, and at the same time—for this, I think, is the cardinal thing to be looked at—placing the burden upon the proper shoulders. I must admit that I felt a great deal of disappointment. In the Premier's speech we were promised an income tax and a tax on unimproved land values. The latter was not mentioned by the Treasurer.

That is all I think I need read from the honorable and learned member's speech on that occasion, which is to be found in *Hansard* for 1892-3.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—After 22 years of protection.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That is the statement made by the honorable and learned member for Indi, who is an old politician, and one who has taken a very active part in the Legislature of this State. The honorable and learned member asked members on this side of the House whether we could go back to New South Wales and advocate free-trade. I think the honorable

and learned member is under some misconception as to what free-trade really is, and also as to what protection is. As it exists in Victoria, and as they have it in America, protection is a misnomer. That is admitted by the great thinkers of the day, and with respect to all the arguments the honorable and learned member for Indi used here to-night against New South Wales, because of a certain protection as he terms it which was given to industry in that State, because it was a free-trade State, I say it is the very thing one would expect in a free-trade country, that they should encourage industry, because free-trade should protect a country in the true sense of the word. Protection as it exists here in Victoria is really a misnomer, and Mr. Gladstone himself has said so.

Mr. MAUGER.—About Victoria?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No, in speaking of protection in England, Mr. Gladstone was never in Australia. But there is a gentleman who is in public life in England who has been in Australia. And in looking through this publication I came upon an interesting quotation which I think will show that he believes that protection is a robbery.

Mr. ISAACS.—He did not say that at Waterford.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member also made a severe attack upon New South Wales because she has made grants to certain industries.

Mr. ISAACS.—No; I honoured her.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member appears to be opposed to grants being made by the Crown to open up the mining fields of that great State.

Mr. ISAACS.—No; more honour to her.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member used it as an argument against that State because she encourages water conservation and irrigation.

Mr. ISAACS.—No; I praised her.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—There was no point in the argument at all, unless it was to show that it was not in the interests of the people that it should be done.

Mr. ISAACS.—No; I said that it is a most advantageous and proper practice.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I think the honorable and learned member called it protection, and his idea of protection is placing very heavy duties on the masses of the people. There is another passage which I

shall quote for his benefit from the debate of the 9th August, 1892:—

There is no tax proposed that will not create vested interests, but there are taxes proposed that, so far from ameliorating the condition of the poor, will remove those articles which are the necessities of their very existence further from their reach. The poor man's means of subsistence, his clothing by day and night, his shelter, his tools of trade—all these are removed further and further from his reach, perilously near to absolute deprivation. We have duties of 50 per cent. proposed on some of the necessities of life. Is that a proper mode of relieving the distress of the country? I cannot understand it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Is that from *Hansard*, or the *Drapers' Journal*?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That is from *Hansard*. Then the honorable and learned member made another attack on New South Wales, because she has preferential rates, to show that she had some protection to offer her people against the competition of the adjoining State.

Mr. ISAACS.—No attack.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Let me remind the honorable and learned member that the railways of that State are managed by commissioners, and that it is no part of the policy of the Government to levy those rates, but that it is a part of the administration of the commissioners to levy preferential rates on produce that is carried, though I suppose there will be a time, not very far distant, when these things will be regulated more to our satisfaction. I think I have dealt pretty fully with many of the arguments brought forward by the honorable and learned member. There is something that might be said on the other side, and I think it goes to show that they were very flimsy arguments, and quite unworthy of a gentleman occupying the position he does in the public life of this country. They say that any argument is better than none, and when you have a cause that is waning—a cause that has aroused the indignation of the people to the extent of holding public meetings from one end of the country to the other—it is necessary that the advocates of that system should come forward with some argument, even if it be as weak as that which he advanced. As I must go on at this late hour, I shall say something about the policy of the Government as it was outlined at Maitland. When the Prime Minister was seeking the suffrages of the people of New South Wales on behalf of his followers in that campaign, he went from one end of the country to the other

stating that what was required was a policy that would raise revenue so as to provide sufficient money for the exigences of the weaker States. He said that the difference between his proposal and that of any one who might seek to be Prime Minister must be very little indeed, because a certain amount of money had to be raised. It was quite different from the arguments which he had hitherto used—that we could have either free-trade or protection. He said that there must be a revenue Tariff—one that would raise £8,500,000, and that his proposal was quite equal to any other that might be advocated, and he used arguments to show that the farmer, the artisan, and the cottager would be serving their own interests best by following him and his nominees. When he had gone from one end of the country to the other, making his statements, he found that there was still an agitation going on in other parts of Australia. The Treasurer was making strong protectionist speeches in the vicinity of Melbourne; other gentlemen whom he was associated with were also making speeches to the effect that there must be a policy of protection; and we are now asked here why we have taken up a position in opposition. Do honorable members suppose that we were quite innocent of what was taking place here, and that we were not acquainted with the fiscal faith of those gentlemen with whom the Prime Minister was associated? Undoubtedly we were; and we made it known from one end of the State to the other that this was a protectionist Government, and that the statements of the Prime Minister to the people were not of any consequence—that they were mere platitudes in order to secure their support. And when he found that the agitation was so strong against him, and that he had no opportunity of gaining a majority of the seats in the State, he took up another line of action. He said—“This is a question of returning good men,” and he went from one end of the country to the other on the good man ticket. It was not a question of free-trade or protection with him. This is what he said :—

The incidence of taxation would be so adjusted that it should not fall heavily upon the cottager and the artisan.

I would like to ask him if this Tariff that has aroused the indignation of the cottager

Mr. Henry Willis.

and the artisan from one end of the Commonwealth to the other—

Mr. MAUGER.—In what part?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—In the city of Melbourne itself the people are thronging to large halls to hear what can be said in denunciation of the Government and their proposals. In Sydney, and the country towns of New South Wales, meetings are being held. I received a letter to-day, as well as yesterday, intimating that anti-Tariff meetings are being held from one end of that State to the other, and before this debate is finished honorable members will find that the reports in the daily press will be sufficient to rouse the indignation of the people from one end of this State to the other. On two occasions recently I received a letter from South Australia, stating that the people there must oppose this iniquitous taxation. This journalist, who has a family of ten, and is a member of the Fourth Estate, writes, saying that the taxation that will fall upon him and his family will be too much for him to bear. The incidence of taxation have not been justly fixed for the cottager and the artisan under this Tariff proposal. We were told that raw material would be brought in free for the manufacturer, but that has not been provided for. The Prime Minister said further, that there was to be, not a high protectionist Tariff, but a Tariff which would produce revenue without destruction. Presumably he meant that the Tariff was not to be destructive of industries, and, therefore, that he was going to provide some protection, although he told the artisan that the taxation was to be so adjusted as not to fall heavily upon him. Now, how has that promise been fulfilled? The cottager will have these articles taxed:—Flour, toilet sets (cheap), white and printed bowls and basins, common jugs, common cups and saucers, white and printed plates, condensed milk, starch, blue, glass jugs, sugar basins and butter dishes, workmen's hats, cheap vases, ewers and basins (cheap sorts), glass tumblers (cheap sorts), safety matches, and lemon peel. These articles are all taxed, and the secretary of the Protectionist Union, who claims to be a friend of the working man, cheers the fact that these poor people will have to pay taxes upon these goods ranging from 50 per cent. to 125 per cent.

Mr. MAUGER.—The working people understand it all right!

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The working people do not understand it. The working people of Victoria have for the last 20 years been reading a penny paper called the *Age* which tells them that it is a good thing to be taxed.

Mr. MAUGER.—The best friend they ever had.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The worst friend they ever had. They were first induced to take the paper because its price was reduced to 1d. Had the *Argus* taken the same course which was followed at that time by the *Age*, we should have had the people of the city of Melbourne and its vicinity in favour of a free-trade policy, instead of being in favour of a protectionist policy through having imbibed the erroneous ideas published daily in the *Age*. Now, let us see how the farmer is benefited, as he was induced to believe he would benefit, by the policy of the present Government. The following articles which he consumes are heavily taxed under the Tariff:—Molasses, linseed oil cake, oilmen's stores, salt, rugs, &c., buggy mats, tents, tarpaulins, ammunition, guns, rifles, &c., plain galvanized iron, corrugated iron, lamps and lampware, lanterns, lamp stoves, agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural machinery and implements, mould boards, ploughshares, plough-plates, sheep-shearing machines, portable engines, traction engines, road-making ploughs and machines, knife sharpeners, nails (wrought or pressed), wire nails and others, spikes, staples, brads and tacks, tanks. These tanks are for the use of men who live in the drought-stricken parts of South Australia, where they will have to pay 3s. for every 100 gallons of their tanks' capacities.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is ruinous.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable member sneers at the fact that these men have to pay 3s. per 100 gallons for their tanks, and scoffs at their necessities, situated as they are hundreds of miles away in the drought-stricken parts of the continent. The honorable member is one of those who are favoured to the extent of being able to get nine or ten bushels to the acre, whereas these poor unfortunate settlers of whom I am speaking, consider themselves fortunate if they get only five bushels to the acre. The list of articles used by the farmer, and which are to be subject to duty, comprises also the following:—Weighing machines, weighing-bridges and scales, boilers, pumps, and

pumping machinery, screws, axles, springs, bolts and nuts, barbed wire, bar, rod and angle iron, harness and paint oils, kerosene, paints and colours, varnishes, cement, tiles, (for dairy purposes), sheepwashes, patent and proprietary medicines, building timber, doors, bellows, sashes and frames, wood in shape for boxes and doors, axe and pick handles, vehicle tires, harness, whips, leather belting, express and goods waggons, and four-wheeled buggies without tops, two-wheeled vehicles, brushware, fleece twine, engine packing, halters, &c., sporting powder, reaper and binder twine.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There is no duty on angle iron.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—These articles are taxed at rates varying from 35 to 125 per cent.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not a fact.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—There is a duty of 20s. per ton on salt, equivalent to 125 per cent., and that is apparently imposed for the purpose of protecting an industry on York's Peninsula in South Australia, which employs only a few hands, and which requires no protection whatever. I purchased salt extensively from the company which carries on that industry, as far back as twenty years ago, and I can say confidently that the industry of salt making in South Australia does not require the protection of a duty equal to 125 per cent. Any one who sees the list of prices published by the company which carries on this industry will find that it charges excessively for its salt, because there is sufficient protection in the fact that the cost of bringing the salt from other parts of the world is very heavy. I think that in all probability there will be a further increase under the new Tariff.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There has been a duty upon salt for years, a duty of as much as 30s. per ton in some of the States.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Another article which is taxed is printing paper, and with regard to this the Government have taken a good deal of credit to themselves. I have here, however, a circular which goes to show that the tax on printing paper will not fall so heavily upon the proprietors of the large daily papers as upon many of the poor struggling newspapers that are doing a great amount of good in the interior away from the large centres of population. I am talking of centres where the daily papers do not arrive until they are two days

old. Small journals circulating in the country will find this a very severe tax indeed, and I have received letters from conductors of newspapers in the particular electorate which I represent who say that the impost will be more than they can bear.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member's leader advocated this duty.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It does not matter whether my leader advocated it or not. I believe it to be a tax that ought not to be imposed, because newspapers should be encouraged as far as possible. It appears from the list I have read that the Government are in favour of taxing the masses of of the people very heavily, first on the necessities of life, and next on every article of manufacture. All this taxation is felt most by the cottager and the artisan, who are referred to in the quotation from Kipling introduced into the Prime Minister's speech. It is the intention of the Government to tax artisans and the masses of the people generally, and then, as far as possible, to tax every member of the community. The miner and the mining industry are being taxed to such an extent as to prevent many mines being opened up, and to cause the closing down of many others, owing to the increased cost of machinery. In this way the development of the mineral wealth of Australia will be retarded.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member does not really think that.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If the honorable member for Melbourne Ports had been in his place this afternoon and heard the speech of the honorable member for Kalgoolie, who told us that, in consequence of the increased duties, tens of thousands of pounds will not be spent in mining and mining machinery, he would not make such a remark.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Would the honorable member not have any duty at all on these things?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Then where are we to get revenue?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—When I come to deal with the Treasurer's proposals, I shall show him where he may get revenue. From the speeches of the Treasurer, and his general reputation, I take it that his contention is that the consumer does not pay the tax. An interjection he made this

evening bears out the idea that that is his opinion.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The exporter pays the greater part.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That is a fallacy which I hope to refer to to-morrow, assuming that I obtain the adjournment of the debate at midnight.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I was in the Customs-house for two or three years, and saw some of the invoices.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The proposal of the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs is that we shall raise something like £9,000,000 of revenue from this Tariff. It has been stated in the course of this debate that this is a Victorian Tariff. Many of the rates charged in Victoria are to be seen in the Tariff before us, but some have been increased while others have been reduced. I am inclined to the opinion that the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs, in framing the Commonwealth Tariff, had before them that of Mr. McKinley in America. There is a feature in the Tariff which is only to be found in the McKinley Tariff, namely, the composite duties.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I first saw those duties in the Canadian Tariff.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The Canadian Tariff is copied from the American Tariff, and these composite duties originally appeared in the imposts introduced by Mr. McKinley. I am glad the Treasurer admits the source from which these imposts are taken.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We had a similar impost in Victoria in regard to confectionery.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—And by that means the Government are able to drain far more out of the people than the people are aware of. For instance, common cups and saucers pay 6d. and 15 per cent., which really comes out at 40 per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member must not depend on the accuracy of the *Argus* figures.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I suppose the Treasurer discredits a high-class paper of that kind?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I undoubtedly discredit some of its figures.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I think it will be found that some of the figures advanced by the Treasurer are likely to be challenged. On the whole I think that the

figures submitted by the *Argus* are correct, though I have not taken the trouble to check them. The McKinley Tariff, according to *Mulhall*, is one that exacts from the people millions of pounds more than they have any right to be called on to pay, to the extent of 33 per cent. The Tariff is so high that goods cannot come into the country.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yet it brings in that amount of revenue.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I am certain the honorable member does not understand the case. It is not only the amount paid at the Custom-house that the consumer pays. The 33 per cent. is the added price that is put on the articles manufactured within the country; and that is why free-traders object to a protective Tariff. If £10,000 is raised by putting a duty on certain articles, and one-quarter of the quantity consumed comes through the Customs, leaving three-fourths to be manufactured in the country, the price of that three-fourths is raised to the amount of the duty that is paid at the Custom-house. When people consume these goods, as they must, they not only pay the £10,000 of duty, but three times £10,000, or £40,000 in all, which is added to the price by the local manufacturer. *Mulhall* says that the charges made in this way amount to 33 per cent. on the imports of America, and this 33 per cent. means hundreds of millions of pounds. Under the Tariff adopted, the Treasurer has provided specific and *ad valorem* duties. And the device will have the very same effect in Australia that it has had there. In many cases it will be prohibitive. It is only a matter of time when we shall have the same condition of things prevailing here as prevail in America to-day. If there is a protective duty so that goods cannot enter a country, the men who are manufacturing those goods are able to create a corner in them, and by that means can obtain a rise in price up to the amount of the duty. When that is done it can readily be seen that 33 per cent. would not be the limit of the amount to which the prices would rise. In New South Wales industries have been established that have not had the advantages of protection. Yet those industries exist to-day in a much stronger condition than they exist in Victoria. The manufacturing in New South Wales for 1899 numbered 3,027 against 2,912 in Victoria. The male employes of those factories were

44,041 in Victoria, and the females were 16,029. In New South Wales we had 47,063 men, and 8,583 women. The totals are 55,646 for New South Wales, and 60,070 for Victoria. So that the excess of males in New South Wales over Victoria is 3,022—and this in a country that is not protected as against a country that is bolstered up by protection! We have an excess of females in Victoria of 7,446 as compared with New South Wales. The classes of industry that are given in Mr. Fenton's publication in Victoria, and also Mr. Coghlan's statistics in New South Wales, are as under:—In connexion with the raw material of pastoral pursuits in Victoria there are 1,942 persons employed; in New South Wales, 2,690. In the manufacture of food and drinks, there are 9,957 employed in Victoria, and 9,356 in New South Wales. In clothing and textile fabrics, there are in Victoria 17,728 persons; and in New South Wales 10,984. In building materials, in Victoria, 5,131; in New South Wales, 6,277. In metal works, machinery, &c., in Victoria, 9,423; in New South Wales, 11,901. In ship-building, repairing, &c., in Victoria, 168; in New South Wales, 1,499.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Does metal work include the smelting works?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Yes.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There are about 4,000 there.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—But the figures also include the Victorian manure works. In the manufacture of furniture, bedding, &c., there are 1,446 employes in Victoria, and in New South Wales, 1,701. In the manufacture of books, paper, in printing, &c., there are 5,168 in Victoria; in New South Wales, 5,058. In the manufacture of vehicles, saddlery and harness, there are in Victoria 2,312; in New South Wales, 1,950. In connexion with the manufacture of light, fuel and heat in Victoria, 895; in New South Wales, 987. Miscellaneous—Victoria, 6,300; New South Wales, 3,247. These industries are classified in eleven classes. Victoria has a majority of persons employed in six of the eleven, and New South Wales has a majority in five. In the total, Victoria employs 10,562 more people, chiefly women and girls, than we employ in New South Wales. That accounts for the difference between the 55,000 and the 60,000 employed in these two States.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There is a larger population in New South Wales.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—We have a larger population, and the unfortunate thing for Victoria is that we are continuing to add to our population, and are taking people away from this State. I think it will be interesting if I give the Treasurer the latest returns, as evidently he has not seen them. In connexion with industries for the manufacture of clothing and the textile trades, in which chiefly Victoria has women and girls employed, there are 17,728 persons engaged in Victoria as against 10,984 in New South Wales. In New South Wales these employes are chiefly men; so that in that industry we have 6,744 more employes in Victoria, whose employes are chiefly girls and women, receiving the wages referred to so graphically in the *Review of Reviews* by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member knows that that is not correct; those figures refer to the time before the Factories Act was passed, six years ago.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—But was there not protection in those days?

Mr. MAUGER.—Only partly.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—There has been protection in Victoria since 1870. I intend shortly to read some pages of statements made by Sir Graham Berry and others in regard to the protective policy of this State. The agricultural implement industry of New South Wales employs 193 persons, in Victoria 1,107. In the manufacture of furniture, bedding, etc.—an industry that surely is one which should be encouraged, if we are to encourage industries at all—New South Wales has 1,701 persons engaged, whilst in Victoria there is 1,446—an increase of 255 persons employed in New South Wales over Victoria. This is an industry that evidently does not require protection, and yet the Government propose giving it more protection. The policy of the Government will give higher duties. It is called protection, but of course that is a misnomer. In the making of coaches and waggons in New South Wales, 1,472 persons are employed, while there are 1,817 engaged in the same occupation in Victoria. In saddlery, harness, and whip-making in New South Wales there are 461 persons engaged, while there are 495 in Victoria. There are 17 men at work in the making of spokes in New South Wales, but none in Victoria. There is thus a total of 1,950 persons employed in these trades in New South Wales,

as against 2,312 in Victoria, so that the latter State has the advantage in numbers. In the match-making, cat-gut, and sausage-skin making, and ink and cutlery trades, which are classified as unimportant, there are more persons engaged in Victoria than in the mother State. In 1889 the plant employed in the manufactories of New South Wales consisted of 33,180 horse power, and was of the value of £5,640,384, while the plant employed in the factories of Victoria consisted of 33,046 horse-power, and was valued at £4,632,629. Therefore, New South Wales had an advantage over Victoria of more than £1,000,000 in the value of its manufacturing plant. That, I think, goes to show that the factories of New South Wales are on a solid foundation. They have had no protection. They have been developed naturally and are firmly established, and there is more than a million invested in them in excess of the sum invested in Victorian manufactories.

Mr. MAUGER.—Smelting works!

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable member objects to smelting works.

Mr. MAUGER.—Oh, no, I do not.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The value of the production of all industries in New South Wales was £28 13s. 7d. per inhabitant, while in Victoria it was but £26 11s. 4d.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The figures quoted by the honorable member include the pastoral industries of New South Wales.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I do not think they do.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Certainly they do.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The value of the manufactures of New South Wales in 1899—which is a matter of more interest—was £9,207,000, while the manufactures of Victoria were valued at £10,052,000. So far as the value of manufactures is concerned, Victoria thus had an advantage of £845,000. According to the official comparisons made by the Factories Commission, the average weekly wage paid to males in Victoria is £2 per head, while in New South Wales it is £2 1s. 5d. The average weekly wage paid to females in Victoria is 16s. 7d. per head, whilst in New South Wales it is 17s. 3d.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—And yet our manufacturers want to go over there to start because it is cheaper to manufacture in New South Wales!

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Reference has been made by an honorable member to the population of the several States. In the

Gazette of the 16th inst. it is set forth that during September last the arrivals in Victoria by sea from neighbouring States comprised 2,830 men, and 1,443 women, while the departures from Victoria to the neighbouring States consisted of 3,388 men, and 1,660 women. Victoria thus suffered a loss of population to the extent of 558 men, and 217 women in one month.

Mr. McCAY.—That was due to the fear of a free-trade Tariff, caused by the want of confidence motion.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—These people have made their way to the State where industries have hitherto not been protected, but where they can obtain higher wages and find better opportunities for progress. During last month the arrivals from New South Wales in the neighbouring States consisted of 1,231 men and 615 women, and the departures from the neighbouring State to New South Wales consisted of 1,688 men and 728 women. New South Wales thus gained from the neighbouring State 457 men and 113 women. *Coghlan* shows that during 1900 the arrivals and departures by sea were as follow:—The gross arrivals in Victoria consisted of 53,559 males and 28,598 females, making a total of 82,157. The gross departures were 53,946 males and 29,738 females, or 83,684 in all. The excess of departures over arrivals comprised 387 males and 1140 females, making a total loss to Victoria of 1527 in that year. The total arrivals into New South Wales—the State which some honorable members despise—

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Oh, no; we are all proud of New South Wales.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The total arrivals in New South Wales during 1900 consisted of 45,585 males and 23,198 females, making a total of 68,783. The departures comprised 40,417 males and 21,340 females, making a total of 61,757. There was an excess of arrivals over departures from New South Wales of 5,168 males and 1,858 females—a total gain of 7,026 against a loss to Victoria of 1,527. Even the natural increase in New South Wales is very much greater than in Victoria. I am very pleased to have an opportunity of referring to the Tariff proposals of the Government. Before I deal with them in detail, however, I should like to say that on the Victorian basis there are 140,000 persons employed in the

factories of the Commonwealth. It is computed that the value of manufactures in the Commonwealth has increased at the rate of £200 per man, and according to *Coghlan* there is an increased value given of £33,316,000 to manufactures. According to *Mulhall's* statement, of that sum £11,105,333 is the increased value given to these manufactures by protection, and paid for by the people—a sum which they would not be called upon to pay under a free-trade Tariff. On the assumption that there are five members to every family, 760,000 families are thus represented. That means, according to *Mulhall*, that an amount of about £15 per family is paid in taxation. Under free-trade we could pay these 140,000 artisans £80 a year pension, and be no worse off than we are now. When Victoria was under a free-trade Tariff, she was very much more prosperous than she is to-day. In this connexion I should like to institute a comparison between the population of Victoria and that of New South Wales. In 1860 the former State was under a policy of comparative free-trade. At that time she had a population of 537,847, as against 348,546 in New South Wales.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We had the gold rush, too.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The gold rush really took place in the early fifties. In 1870, when Victoria was growing tired of her free-trade policy, her population totalled 726,599, as against 498,659 in New South Wales. In 1890, after a protective policy had been operating for twenty years, the population of the two States was very nearly equal. New South Wales had made up nearly the whole of the deficiency which formerly existed. In 1898 New South Wales had outstripped her rival and possessed a population of 1,346,240 as against 1,175,463 in Victoria. During 28 years, therefore, New South Wales gained 398,717 upon the population of Victoria. In 1860 the imports of New South Wales represented a value of £6,604,069, whilst those of Victoria totalled £13,532,452. In 1870, when Victoria had altered her policy, the imports of New South Wales aggregated £9,935,067, whilst those of Victoria represented £12,341,955. In 1890 the New South Wales imports totalled £25,383,397, as against Victoria's £21,711,608. In 1898 New South Wales imported £24,453,560 worth of goods as

against Victoria's £16,768,904. It will thus be seen that New South Wales made very rapid progress under the free-trade policy adopted in that State, whilst Victoria under a system of protection lagged behind. The exports from New South Wales in 1860 represented £6,609,461, whilst those of Victoria totalled £13,828,606. The exports of the latter were double those of the former. In 1870, just after Victoria had adopted a protective policy, her exports fell considerably. In that year Victoria exported £14,557,520 worth of goods as against the £11,261,219 worth exported from New South Wales. In 1880 the exports from the two colonies were about equal, but in 1890 New South Wales had increased her exports to £25,944,020, whilst Victorian exports totalled a value of £16,006,743, which represents a decrease in comparison with the progress made by New South Wales. In 1898 the exports of New South Wales amounted in value to £27,648,117, and those of Victoria for the same year amounted to £15,872,246. We see from that that the exports of New South Wales were vastly greater in value than those of Victoria, but during the decade between 1860 and 1870 Victoria, under her free-trade policy, made rapid progress as compared with New South Wales. Honorable members will find from these calculations that a decline set in in Victoria when a change was made from a policy of free-trade to one of protection. To show how agriculture was affected, under the policy of the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, and under the Tariff which he introduced—a freer Tariff than Australia ever had before—I may say that after it came into operation the amount of land that was brought under cultivation, and the quantity of wheat grown, increased to such an extent as to affect the imports of wheat into New South Wales from the colony of South Australia. I know the quality of the grain grown in South Australia, and having gone into the matter very fully, in the district which I represent, because it was part of my duty, as well as my pleasure, to note the progress of the electorate, I found, upon investigation, that the grain grown in the Narramine and Wellington districts, was equal to the best wheat grown in the State of South Australia. New South Wales had not been able to grow sufficient wheat for the breadstuffs she required, but

Mr. Henry Willis.

under the policy of freer trade introduced by the right honorable member for East Sydney, facilities for the opening up of land were given, and opportunities for obtaining cheaply the implements required in agriculture, and thus a new province was added to the area under cultivation in New South Wales. I find that the area under cultivation in New South Wales in 1891 was 846,383 acres, while in 1898-9 it had increased to no less than 2,206,500 acres. That is a really wonderful increase. The figures for Victoria are 2,116,654 acres in 1891, and 3,210,445 acres in 1898-9. These figures show that under the policy of freer trade there was an immense advance made in the area under cultivation in New South Wales. One result of that has been that New South Wales was able, during one year, actually to provide herself with all the breadstuffs she required, when she had previously imported millions of bushels of wheat from South Australia, and on several occasions from Victoria. The honorable member for Gippsland made some reference to education, and in some way associated it with free-trade and protection. He claimed that the people of Victoria were better educated than those of New South Wales. I think it will be interesting to honorable members to know the position that is occupied by the two States in relation to schools. In New South Wales they have 2,602 schools, 4,759 teachers, and 203,910 scholars, with an average attendance of 141,723. In Victoria they have 1,877 schools, 4,618 teachers, and 212,164 scholars, with an average attendance of 134,976. The amount of money which is spent on schools in New South Wales is about £200,000 a year more than is spent in Victoria; so that the teachers, as well as the labouring community, are better paid than they are in this State. The Savings Banks' deposits were referred to by the honorable and learned member for Indi. In 1898-9 the deposits in New South Wales were £9,480,944, and in Victoria £8,517,005; so that the deposits of the working community were larger in New South Wales than in Victoria by nearly a million of money. The average amount of deposits was £39 2s. 4d. in New South Wales, and £23 19s. in Victoria. Now, in regard to the Tariff proposals, I find that according to the Treasurer the total imports are estimated at £63,000,000; and this estimate

is based upon the trade of the year 1899, which he regarded as normal. The Inter-State trade he estimates at £28,000,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—£29,000,000.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I would point out that the Minister for Trade and Customs differs in his figures and calculations from the Treasurer, which I think goes to show that they did not confer when they were bringing forward their estimates.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Both estimates came from the same man, anyhow.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The inflation of value according to the Treasurer was £4,000,000. In 1899 there was an inflation of trade of 6 per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No, 1900.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—In 1900 the trade was £70,000,000; and the Minister adopted the returns for 1899, because he believed that to be a normal year. Then he estimated an inflation of trade of 6 per cent., or £4,000,000 for that normal year. If it was a normal year, why did he estimate an inflation of trade of £4,000,000? The imported stocks are estimated at £2,500,000. Then there is an allowance for the effect of protection, in reducing imports of manufactured articles and raw material, of £5,000,000. I take it that he does not expect so great an amount of imports under his policy as prevailed in 1899 to the extent of £5,000,000. Then for gold specie he allows £1,000,000; Government goods, £1,000,000; and the freelist, £6,500,000; leaving a taxable balance of £21,000,000. Analyzing these figures closely, I find that it is not unlike an estimate which was made by the ex-Premier of South Australia, Mr. Holder, where he estimated the import trade at £63,500,000, and the Inter-State trade at £29,000,000. That is why I am inclined to think that the Minister for Trade and Customs consulted that publication rather than the returns which were perused by the Treasurer.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—These returns were all made out by Mr. Locker, of New South Wales.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Then I find that the Minister for Trade and Customs made his figures to total £8,482,000, and the Treasurer his to total £8,941,000. There is a difference of £459,000 between the totals of the two Ministers.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did nothing of the sort.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—These were the figures that were published in the press, and in putting them together, they come out in this form. It would appear to me that they do not agree in their Estimates, and that there was really no need for the long delay which took place in bringing forward the financial statement, because practically the same figures were before the public in April last, and, I dare say, perused by the Treasurer as well as the Minister for Trade and Customs. I feel inclined to believe that the Minister for Defence also perused these figures, because if one reads the report of his speech delivered last evening one will find that he used the same argument as is used in that publication, and went the length of quoting figures that are not recorded in the statement made by either of his colleagues. So that I think Ministers have been guided by the statements of a free-trade representative, rather than by their own convictions as to the Tariff necessities of the States. I feel that I must say something about the way in which the people of New South Wales have been deceived by the Prime Minister. When he was before the people of that State, he told them that it was his intention to bring forward a policy that would provide for a revenue Tariff. He represented that it was necessary to raise a certain amount of money for every State, and that the financial necessities of the States demanded that there should be high duties, but that a Tariff would be framed with a view to producing revenue only. Now we find that a protectionist Tariff has been brought forward which will tax the artisan and the cottager to the extent of as much as 125 per cent. Upon salt there is a duty of 125 per cent., upon starch 100 per cent., waggons and buggies 80 per cent., workmen's hats 77 per cent., and cheap vases 75½ per cent.; whereas it was expected that the Tariff would provide for 15 or 20 or, at most, 25 per cent. duties. If the people had been given to understand that that amount of taxation would be levied upon them the returns at the last election would have been very different from what they were in the State of New South Wales. The Tariff is very much higher than the people had any reason to expect. All the States will feel it very keenly, and I believe

that the people will, when the opportunity occurs, state that they have been deceived as to the financial policy of the Government. I feel that I have been placed at a very great disadvantage in speaking at such a late hour. It appears to be the intention of the Prime Minister to force this matter forward with as little discussion as possible.

Mr. BARTON.—Honorable members have already had six days in which to discuss the motion, whereas in the House of Commons the whole thing would have been over in two days.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—These tactics were adopted by the Prime Minister early in the debate, but from what I have read of the proceedings in Australian Parliaments, I have no hesitation in saying that those who have had the best constitutional experience would not have acted as he has done. Ministers have not been in their places to hear the charges that have been made against them, but they have as far as possible ignored what has been going on, because they have counted heads and have found that they have a majority.

Mr. BARTON.—Is that so?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I judge so, from what has been stated in the newspapers. I believe, however, that the people should have a voice in this matter, and I can only hope that things will take such a turn as to enable them to make themselves heard.

Mr. BARTON.—When they make their voice heard, the honorable member will lose his.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I hope that the people of the country will soon have an opportunity of deciding whether they shall be represented by men who have been faithful to their promises, or by those who have deceived them from the outset. The Prime Minister implies that I shall not be here after the next election. All I can say is that I had the opposition of the Prime Minister himself in my electorate, and that I beat him badly. In the very places where he spoke on behalf of his nominee, I secured the largest majorities, and in almost every part of my electorate I scored heavily against the best man who could be brought against me. The only place in which I did not score a complete victory was in the town of Mudgee, which was a free-trade constituency in the days

of Sir John Robertson, and the people there did not vote for free-trade because the Prime Minister told them that it was not a question of free-trade or protection, but of providing revenue sufficient for carrying on the Governments of the different States. As a strong federal constituency they were prepared to support the Prime Minister and place him at the head of the poll. His old friends who knew him in 1885, when he was a free-trader, stood by him on this occasion, believing that it was a question of introducing a revenue Tariff only. At Dubbo, where the Prime Minister himself appeared, I fairly ran away from him, and I will do it again.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable member generally does run away.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The Prime Minister knows that there is not much running away about me. I was a consistent supporter of the Prime Minister throughout the federal movement.

Mr. BARTON.—And the honorable member rattled afterwards.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That is a most ungracious remark for the Prime Minister to make. I was a staunch federalist from beginning to end, and I stumped the country at my own expense in advocacy of the federal cause. The right honorable gentleman wrote me a letter, and offered me a constituency, which I did not accept.

Mr. BARTON.—Because the honorable member did not think he could get in.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I did not think I could, because the honorable member had no constituency to offer which was likely to return a federalist, as he had already selected the best districts for his own friends.

Mr. BARTON.—I selected the best men.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—As to whether they were the best men or not, I will say nothing, but all I can say is that I was a strong supporter of the cause to which the Prime Minister has proved a traitor, by deceiving the people of New South Wales. What is more, I know that as the electorate the right honorable gentleman represents is free-trade, he will not dare face his constituents with this Tariff. Had the right honorable gentleman not received a "walk over" at the election, I do not think he would be Prime Minister to-day.

Debate (on motion of Mr. WATSON) adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

ASIATICS IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS—
MOTION OF CENSURE.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

I trust that the common sense of the House will see that this debate has been sufficiently protracted, and ought to be brought to a close to-morrow night.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON (South Australia).—As one of the patient members of the House who has listened to the remarks of, at any rate, three of the Ministers, and a large number of Ministerial supporters, I protest against the suggestion of the Prime Minister, that honorable members who have been stopping here night after night, should not have a fair opportunity of addressing themselves to the important subject now under discussion. I do not know what may be the feeling of other honorable members who have not yet spoken, but, so far as I am concerned, remarks of that kind are much more likely to protract than to limit anything I may have to say. I am sure that I have the sympathy of at least eighteen or twenty members who hitherto have not spoken, but who have as much right as honorable members who have addressed themselves to the question, to justify their attitude to their constituencies. I take the opportunity now of asking the Prime Minister a question in regard to a most important matter.

Mr. BARTON.—I do not answer questions pending a vote of no-confidence.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Of course it rests entirely with the good taste, judgment, and good sense of the Prime Minister whether he answers or not; that is a matter for his consideration, not mine. Some few weeks ago, I called attention to the fact that since the 1st January, when the Postal and other State departments were taken over by the Commonwealth, a considerable number of Chinese have been employed in the Post and Telegraph department in the northern portion of South Australia, in spite of the sentimental expressions of opinion we have heard from members of the Government in reference to a "white Australia." In answer to questions, the Prime Minister admitted that some fifteen Chinese or other Asiatic aliens were employed in the department. That was several weeks

ago, and since then we have had from the Ministerial side most eloquent appeals for the exclusion of Pacific island labourers and the restriction of undesirable immigrants. I want to ask the Prime Minister a simple question which, outside the ordinary business routine of the House, I have no doubt he can answer by a simple "yes" or "no." I desire to know whether the matter I have referred to has received the attention of the Government, and whether a stop has been put to the employment of these Asiatics. This is no new matter which has been broached in the Commonwealth Parliament. The Minister of Trade and Customs, and you, Mr. Speaker, both know that this is a question which times out of number I have brought before the South Australian State Parliament. It was only by strenuous effort that I succeeded in stopping the employment of Chinese and other Asiatics on the Government railways in the northern portion of South Australia, and when the feeling in regard to Asiatic labour is so much stronger in this House than even in the State House to which I have referred, the natural corollary of having succeeded to some extent in the latter is that I should follow that success up, and still further try to stop the employment of aliens in the telegraph department of the Commonwealth. I now desire to ask whether this matter has received the attention of the Government, and what course they have taken.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—It is not often that I trouble the House, but I feel it incumbent upon me at this particular moment to make an appeal to the leader of the Government, in the interests of the welfare of the Commonwealth, not to stop the splendid educational process we have been promised by the leader of the Opposition on the important fiscal issues which are now agitating the mind of the community. There is no doubt that it was with the best intentions in the world that the leader of the Opposition thought fit to formulate the motion of want of confidence in the manner in which he did. But having formulated the motion in that particular direction, it seems to be his especial care, and the care of those of his followers who have directed their attention to it, up to the present, to carefully avoid the issues laid down. The leader of the Opposition promised the House that the benighted protectionists of Victoria would receive an educational influence—

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I ask your ruling, Mr. Speaker, whether the honorable member is in order in criticising the action of the leader of the Opposition in submitting the motion now being discussed by this House?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I did not hear the honorable member for Moira say anything that was disorderly, or I should have called his attention to the fact.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I hope, in the interests of the privileges of honorable members, that I have said nothing to transgress the rules of debate in this Chamber. Nothing was further from my intention than to criticise the action of the leader of the Opposition in formulating this motion, because, as one who would uphold the rights of members of this House, I feel that the right honorable gentleman was perfectly justified in the course he took, and I have already said so. I was making an appeal to the leader of the Government not to prevent the educational influence that we are promised by the leader of the Opposition. In my humble judgment, if I may be permitted to say so, the educational influence has not yet reached the benighted individuals for whose benefit it was promised. I would also ask the leader of the Government, in justice to a few of those sitting behind them, not to compel them to give a silent vote. There are a few points of considerable importance involved in this particular motion. It may be that the fate of the Government, and the fate of this Commonwealth, will be determined to a very considerable extent by the division that will take place on it. Therefore, honorable members on both sides of the House are entitled to consideration. I do not wish for a moment to hamper debate, and am strongly opposed to restrictions being placed upon members giving free expression to their opinions. Are we to act without regard to our surroundings? We often see a man going along the street so immersed in his own internal affairs as not to recognise what is going on to the right, to the left, or in front of him, until he is brought into violent collision with some other passing body. Are we to sit down and take what is presented to us, and then explain our action to our constituents as best we may?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is what the Government want us to do.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do not understand that the Government wish us to do anything of the sort. They do not object to the continuance of the debate so long as it is relevant to the issue. I am not going to say for an instant that any matter irrelevant to the issue at stake has been introduced, because I know that that would not be in consonance with the rules of this House, and would not be permitted by the Speaker. But at times, with the best intentions imaginable, honorable members have been led off upon side issues. I trust that the Prime Minister will seriously take into consideration the appeal made to him, that he will do nothing to unduly hamper or restrict the privileges of honorable members, and that the fullest opportunity for discussion will be given to them. I would also appeal to honorable members opposite to leave nothing undone to increase the education of the benighted Victorian protectionists. I have felt a great responsibility imposed upon me since the motion of the leader of the Opposition was proposed, and have sought to "rise to the occasion" by sitting here continuously for six days and nights, listening to the debate. I am prepared to sit here for a longer period, but I shall look upon it as time wasted to some extent if the educational process is not conducted on a higher level than it has been in the past.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—The Prime Minister has really criticised the action of the Opposition. I must say that there is no desire on our part to prolong the debate, except that we feel, as the honorable member for Moira states, that this is one of the most important questions that will be submitted to Parliament, and that our constituents expect every member who feels so disposed to give expression to his views upon the question. I hear many honorable members taking exception to the time occupied in dealing with the question.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Four hours!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I admit that I took four hours, and I should be prepared to occupy another four hours if the circumstances should arise again, particularly as honorable members opposite were endeavouring to block discussion by a conspiracy of silence. We broke that down. I have noticed that a great deal of time has been taken in the discussion of other measures. Eight sitting days were occupied in debating

the Defence Bill. Adjournments were allowed at 11 o'clock.

Mr. BARTON.—Those days are over now.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—This is a matter that affects the lives of every person in the Commonwealth, and, therefore, it is only a fair thing that honorable members should have an opportunity of expressing their views. The honorable member for Robertson spoke to-night under great difficulties. He was practically forced to speak at the last moment, when he was ill, and could not give expression to his views. He was cut short.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He spoke for two hours.

Mr. BARTON.—He did not take a short cut!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member intended to speak on several other matters, but his health did not permit him. The members of the Opposition have no desire to take up time unnecessarily. It cannot be said that the discussion to-night has been monopolized by honorable members on this side of the Chamber. The ex-Attorney-General of Victoria thought it right to give expression to his views—and rightly so—and he devoted long arguments to the defence of protection. He took two hours to do so.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Two hours well spent.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not object to that, but why should the Government object to other honorable members giving expression to their views? It is our duty to enter a protest against the reflections sought to be cast upon the Opposition by the insinuation that they are trying to prolong the debate. We do not wish to prolong it unnecessarily, but we do wish to give expression to our views as representatives of the people of the Commonwealth.

Mr. THOMSON (North Sydney).—I have only a few words to say in regard to the observations of the Prime Minister reflecting upon the Opposition, and, indirectly, on such members of his own party as have taken the opportunity of speaking upon this important question. As has been pointed out, this is the most important matter that has to come before the Federal Parliament. It is a question affecting the destinies of Australia one way or the other for many years. If there is any earnestness as to the policy supported on either side, surely it will find expression on such an occasion as this.

May I point out that members of the Ministry seem to overlook the fact that the postponement of this Tariff rests entirely at their own doors. If they had recognised their responsibility they would have handled it long ago. We know that for a time, at all events, it was their intention to postpone it until next session. That was the desire of some of their supporters, and it was only when the Government found that public opinion was strongly against the adoption of that course that they entered upon the consideration of the matter. How have they laboured at it? They tell us that they have worked night and day. We know that we had to grant them a day a week for some time, in order that they might be able to give additional attention to it. During that period all the energies of the Ministry were bent on the framing and discussion of the Tariff. They have now brought it before Parliament, and we have to apply our attention to it, and to consider all the complications and difficulties connected with it just as the Cabinet have done. That being so, can the Government expect Parliament to do in six days what they have taken six months to accomplish? Surely adequate time should be given to honorable members on both sides of the House to deal with this question. So far we have had the freest debate, and honorable members on the Government side of the House have exercised their privilege quite as freely as honorable members of the Opposition.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Honorable members will be able to discuss the Tariff in committee.

Mr. THOMSON.—Surely the right honorable gentleman does not want a repetition of long speeches on questions of policy when we get into committee? It will be the desire of honorable members when they reach that stage to address themselves simply to the items. I am quite sure that if honorable members get an opportunity of expressing their views on the Tariff in the House at the present juncture, they will not inflict what might be termed second reading speeches in committee.

Mr. BARTON.—No; because they have given us committee speeches on the motion itself.

Mr. THOMSON.—They have had to do so in some cases in reply to Ministers.

Mr. BARTON.—I think the leader of the Opposition began it.

Mr. THOMSON.—As a matter of fact, the leader of the Opposition did not begin it. It was the members of the Government who first entered upon that course. Instead of giving us, as they might have done, a general representation of the Tariff, they went into detailed items. However, my remarks on that head have arisen from the interjection by the Prime Minister. I would only say that it is quite useless to attempt to put on the shoulders of the Opposition the responsibility for the delay that has taken place in dealing with the Tariff, and that it is unwise also to request honorable members to pass what is equivalent to a second reading of the Tariff without that full discussion which should take place in the interests of their constituents. The discussion has taken this form in order that long speeches shall not take place in committee, and I think it would be very unjust for the Ministry to strive to restrain speakers on either side. In that I join with the honorable member for Moira.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—I deeply regret the fact that we have commenced these post-midnight sittings, for they result in nothing but a waste of time. The House gets worn out and demoralized. I deeply regret also that the Prime Minister has thought fit to intimate that some steps should be taken to bring this very important debate to a close. I recognise very fully that there is a vast difference between the capacity and standing of the right honorable and learned gentleman and myself. On the other hand, I recognise no difference at all between the right honorable and learned member for Hunter and the member for South Sydney. Every representative of every constituency has the fullest right to ventilate his views on this very important question. If this debate were prolonged for another month I should not think it time lost, and I should demand the right to express myself very fully upon a question that affects every man, woman, and child in the Commonwealth. The remarks made by the Prime Minister are, in my opinion, uncalled for. There is nothing in the debate so far, nor has there been in any debate which has taken place during the session, to call for such comments. I have listened to-night to one of the finest speeches I have ever heard on the fiscal faith opposed to my own, and I have heard also during this discussion able speeches from my own

side. These speeches must have an educational effect, and for the Prime Minister to try and make out any case for applying the closure to this debate is utterly preposterous and uncalled for. Even if we had to sit here night after night for seven days a week, I should resist any attempt to stifle discussion upon a matter which is of the most vital importance to the Commonwealth.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—Some few evenings ago when an attempt similar to this was made, I objected to the Minister for Trade and Customs holding out what I conceived to be a threat. I must say that I hold the same objection in regard to the action of the Prime Minister in threatening the House to-night. It is not the way to conduct the business of a deliberative Assembly. I think it is admitted on all hands that we could not have a more important question engaging our attention, and that being the case it is not time lost for members to discuss the Tariff in the way in which they have been doing. I am as anxious as any honorable member to get back to my own home and to be done with these weekly trips that disarrange one both in mind and body. The strain of travelling 1,160 miles a week is very great, and I object to it as much as any one. In my opinion, however, there will be no time lost by the full discussion of this motion. If we devote full time to the consideration of the Tariff now we shall save it over and over again in committee. When honorable members feel that they have expressed themselves generally on the Tariff, that they have taken all the objections that they can, and that they have resisted it as strongly as it is within their power to do, they will accept a defeat in committee as soon as the result of a division is announced, and will not raise captious objections. Much as I have disliked the conduct of Ministers over and over again, I have steadily refrained from speaking, in order to allow the Government to get on with business. I have said nothing save for the few interjections which have been called for from time to time by the conduct of Ministers. Surely when we have already seen so many Ministers addressing themselves to the Tariff at this stage other honorable members generally may do the same? The Minister for Trade and Customs declared his belief in it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I have not spoken in this debate.

Mr. CONROY.—The Minister made a long speech in introducing the Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—One cannot very well introduce a Tariff without speaking.

Mr. CONROY.—I think that the Minister foresaw many of the objections that might be raised to it. He tried to anticipate a great deal that would be said. But he did not satisfactorily answer any of the objections that have been raised, although, no doubt, he did the best he could. What I wish to point out is that a debate which is prematurely stopped must inevitably engender ill-feeling. There will be quite enough ill-feeling exhibited over this Tariff.

Mr. BARTON.—Another threat.

Mr. CONROY.—I submitted in silence the other night to an interjection from the Prime Minister. I did not draw attention to it, because the right honorable and learned gentleman had been attending a State luncheon that day; but there is no such excuse for him upon this occasion.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member cannot refer to what occurred during another debate.

Mr. CONROY.—I have put up with enough of the Prime Minister's rude remarks, and if he makes any more of them he must expect to receive a full answer. I shall deal with him, when we come to discuss the Tariff, in quite another way. I shall then show what has been his conduct towards the people of New South Wales. If the Ministry each night threaten the Opposition, we will threaten them. They will find that their conduct, so far from advancing business, is calculated to seriously impede its progress. The result of attempting to close the discussion upon the motion of censure, before honorable members have had a full opportunity of expressing their opinions, will be to prolong it indefinitely. Such conduct on the part of the Ministry will prevent us from going to the country as soon as we otherwise should, because I am quite sure that we shall go to the country when the Senate comes to deal with this Tariff. That chamber will not accept it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member is not in order in making a reference to the Senate.

Mr. CONROY.—For certain reasons I shall be glad to see this debate closed as

soon as possible. I should like to know—

Mr. KENNEDY.—The date of the elections?

Mr. CONROY.—I am anxious that we should get into committee as soon as we conveniently can, but that stage cannot be reached until honorable members have had a full opportunity of expressing their views upon the motion which is now engaging the attention of the House. I might have called attention to the fact that the Government are themselves to blame for the delay which has occurred. The whole of the people of Australia recognise that. They should have introduced their Tariff long ago. The Ministry have had an opportunity of going through that Tariff item by item, and yet they object to honorable members discussing it for a week. We have had six sitting days in which to discuss the motion submitted by the leader of the Opposition, and there are seventy-five honorable members in this House, each of whom represents some 10,000 or 12,000 electors. My idea is that the debate ought to be continued for a sufficient time to allow of expressions of disapproval regarding the Tariff reaching us from all the citizens of Australia. The people have not yet had time to consider its full effect. Having recorded my protest, I shall not, at this late hour, occupy further time. I merely desire to add that the Ministry show a subservience towards their own supporters, when the latter desire to move the adjournment of the debate, which contrasts very strangely indeed with their conduct when a member of the Opposition wishes to adopt a similar course. The Government are altogether lacking in that courtesy which should be extended to all honorable members. They will not gain by adopting such tactics, as they will discover later on.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—Upon two occasions the Government have given to members of the Opposition the privilege of continuing their remarks upon a succeeding day. That is a privilege which has not been asked for by any honorable member upon the Ministerial side of the House, and it is altogether and flagitiously incorrect to say that we have been guilty of discourtesy to any honorable members of the Opposition.

Mr. POYNTON.—How did the Government treat me the other night?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Yes; how did the Government treat the honorable member? With gross discourtesy and rudeness.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable member knows that I do not take points of order, and, therefore he is allowed to be as rude as he pleases in making interjections of that kind.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The Prime Minister must understand that he does not enjoy a monopoly in that respect.

Mr. BARTON.—In dealing with the honorable member I seem to have the monopoly of courtesy. The honorable member has spoken about the Chinese in the Northern Territory. If he has any understanding of parliamentary usage—and I think he has—he must know that it is not usual for Governments to answer questions when constitutionally their fate is in the balance. The honorable member did ask on 1st October—

Whether any, and, if so, how many, Chinese and other Asiatic aliens have been employed in the Post and Telegraph department in the Northern Territory of South Australia since the department was taken over by the Commonwealth?

Sir Philip Fysh replied:—

Fifteen Chinese, but no other Asiatics have been employed in the Post and Telegraph department in the Northern Territory of South Australia since it was taken over by the Commonwealth. They were all employed previous to the transfer and were taken over with the department.

I do not think the honorable member means to infer that the honorable member who is now in the Chair, and who was then Premier of South Australia, willingly employed Chinese any more than we would. When he flouts the Minister for Trade and Customs, he does not suppose that that right honorable and learned gentleman ever willingly employed them. But if he thinks that the Premier who happens to be in office is to blame for the employment of Chinese, he had, at any rate, a few hours of office himself, during which time he might have got rid of them. I wish the honorable member to understand that I will give no information upon this or any other subject until the motion of censure is disposed of. Then the Postmaster-General will be able to give the information which is sought. The honorable member for North Sydney has accused me of reflecting upon my party, and upon other honorable members who have spoken. I

merely said that I hoped the House would realize that sufficient time has been occupied in discussing this motion of censure. That is not a reflection either upon honorable members who are going to support me or upon those who intend to vote against me.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I say it is an impertinence to those who have not spoken.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable member totally over-estimates his own importance when he comes to that conclusion. I am sure that the better judgment of my honorable friend, the honorable member for North Sydney, will show him, upon reflection, that it is not correct to talk about this as a question of delay resting with the Government, or any question of doing within six days what it should take six months to do. The question is merely one of fair and adequate debate. The question is whether the public interest will gain more by prolonging the discussion, or whether it will gain more by an early decision upon a question which, although I cannot go into the merits of it, is practically decided now.

Mr. THOMSON.—The question is whether the representatives of the people are to have the right to express their opinions.

Mr. BARTON.—It is not a question as to whether they should have the right to express their opinions, because, whenever I have spoken during the debate, I have always freely conceded the right of every member of the House to speak as long as he thinks fit. The possession of the right to speak is one thing, and the common sense exercise of it is another. As to the exercise of the right, I freely concede to my honorable friends opposite a particular degree of common sense in judging at what time this debate should close. For instance, the honorable member for South Sydney said that another month would not be insufficient to allow for the debate.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No; I did not say that.

Mr. BARTON.—I believe that the honorable member said that the conclusion of the debate might take place in another month. Every question has to be debated, and every question has to be decided. The real point is as to when the debate is adequate, and whether the decision comes too soon or too late. We say that it is a fair

and reasonable view to take that the House should within six days conclude the debate upon a motion which would not take half that time in the House of Commons, where there are 670 members. It is a reasonable thing to expect that we should come to an early conclusion upon the question, because the whole of Australia is not merely waiting upon this debate, but upon the decision of this House upon the Tariff, and that decision ought not in the public interest to be unduly delayed. I shall now say only one word as to the honorable member for Werriwa, and that is that I pay him a high compliment when I ignore him.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 1.43 a.m. (Thursday).

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 24 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

FIFTH VICTORIAN CONTINGENT.

Mr. PAGE.—I sincerely hope that the Prime Minister will not think it presumptuous on my part if I ask him a question on a matter of very vital importance.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Government are not answering questions just now.

Mr. PAGE.—I am anxious to know what has been done with regard to the poor fellows in South Africa who have been sentenced. Major McKnight is here, and we have been promised an inquiry. I desire to ask the Prime Minister if anything has been done, and, if so, whether after this motion of censure is wiped off the slate, he will cause the correspondence to be laid on the table of the House?

Mr. BARTON.—I am sorry to say that the Government cannot answer questions at this time. There is a constitutional rule which would make it an impropriety to give an answer even under exceptional circumstances; for that I am sorry. The honorable member may recollect that before the motion of censure was brought on a promise was given to ask for the fullest information on the subject; it has been fulfilled. I can say no more at present.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 23rd October, vide page 6384) on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon the necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I do not propose, at this late stage of the debate, to speak very lengthily, because I feel that a very great number of matters to which I should have liked to refer have been put a great deal more forcibly by other honorable members; and besides that, it seems to me that after the great number of speeches we have had, those of us who feel that it is necessary to define our attitude should confine our remarks, as far as possible, within a reasonable time. I do not propose, therefore, as some honorable members have done, with every justification, perhaps, to go into the masses of figures which have been slung across from one side to the other, and repelled with equal force on either side. Statistics, it has always seemed to me, are of comparatively little value in matters of this description. The conditions differ so widely in every civilized country that statistics in themselves convey no true impression as to the state of the people, taking all matters into consideration, or as to the effect on a nation of a particular policy. We have had England quoted to a very great extent, especially by the free-traders, as showing the great value that attaches to a free-trade policy. Apart from the fact that England built up her industries largely under a protective system, she got a certain start of other nations, especially the

continental nations, in respect of the free admission of the raw materials required to supplement those which she had in such great abundance in the shape of iron and coal. She got such a start that her continued surplus of exports left her with a large amount of money, which she loaned out, and thus became the creditor nation of the world. That led to the continued sending to England, in the form of goods, of immense sums year by year to meet the interest. That is one thing which, I think, has had a material influence on the position which England occupies to-day under free-trade. In view of all the conditions which obtain in England, so far as I am able to glean them from this distance, I will not say but that, if I were there, I also should be a free-trader.

MR. WILKS.—That is loyal, anyhow.

MR. WATSON.—It is very likely that I should be a free-trader there, under all the circumstances; but then it must be borne in mind, in relation to that very question of what is a creditor nation, that there is evidence of a large disposition for the money centre to change from England to the United States. After years of effort the United States have built up an enormous export trade surprising the civilized world, and if the leading men who advocated free-trade 40, 30, or even 20 years ago were alive to see the expansion—and, of course, some of them are—they would not only feel surprised but astonished that their prophecies had been so completely upset by the conditions that exist there to-day. Because of this vast expansion of her export trade, notwithstanding the recent war, which has upset matters to a slight extent, we find a continual out-stretching of the United States capitalist in the endeavour to find an outlet for the vast sums which are accumulating year by year. That is shown by the recent purchases by Americans of steam lines and various industrial businesses in England. And I feel certain that within a very few years, so far as the signs of the times point, the United States will to a large extent displace England in the money market. That, again, will have an immense influence, I think, upon the general trend of trade and commerce throughout the world. Another feature has to be borne in mind. When we attempt to compare America with England we have to allow for the vast natural resources of a comparatively virgin country

compared with the state of affairs in England. But, on the other hand, when some honorable members on your left, sir, attempt to compare England with the Continental nations, they should make allowance for the fact that not only have her two principal competitors had during comparatively recent times to bear the enormous expense of a war, which meant in the case of France an indemnity of £100,000,000, and the expenses of the war amounting to many hundreds of millions, but also the continued withdrawal from active production of a very large proportion of their populations in standing armies and general military training. We know that England spends more on her army and navy than does any other nation, but England is able to meet her expenditure in that direction many times over out of the interest which she draws from foreign loans. The main drawback, however, against which the continental nations have to contend is the withdrawal from active production of such a large proportion of their people, and it is only fair that that should be taken into consideration in any comparison that may be made. As far as the United States are concerned, it seems to me that even our free-trade friends must admit that the iron industry of the United States has been developed as the direct result of the protective Tariff that has been in existence there for many years.

MR. POYNTON.—I deny that. The honorable member must consider the royalties.

MR. WATSON.—Royalties are no doubt a factor; but against that it may be pointed out that in connexion with the production of iron, England until recently had in close juxtaposition the coal and all the varieties of ore necessary for the manufacture of iron and steel. During the last few years England has had to send to Spain and Belgium for certain kinds of iron to mix with the native ore in order to make perfect steel. That, however, applies to only recent years, whereas in America they have had from the outset to convey the iron ore, in the greater number of cases, for a very considerable distance. In one instance, where I admit that they have reduced the cost of handling to the lowest possible degree—in connexion with the Carnegie works, now under the Steel Trust—they have to carry their ore 1200 miles by water, and for a considerable distance by rail, before they can bring it to the coal and the fluxing

materials that are necessary in iron and steel manufacture.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They carry only a portion of their ore that long distance.

Mr. WATSON.—They carry the great bulk of it in that way. I recently read a magazine article which was written *apropos* the formation of the large Steel Trust in America, and the writer evidently was not speaking with the idea of supporting any particular fiscal view, but was merely stating facts of interest to the general community. He stated—I do not know myself, because, unfortunately for me, I have never been in the United States—that the great bulk of the ore used in connexion with the Carnegie works had to be carried a very long distance.

Mr. POYNON.—According to the report of the Royal Commission of 1888, the position in England is very different from what the honorable member has represented it to be.

Mr. WATSON.—That may be. I recently read in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*—which cannot be stated to hold protectionist views—a letter from their New York correspondent commenting on the big strike that lately occurred in connexion with the Steel Trust works. Although the unions were on strike, no question of wages was involved, according to this writer, because, leaving out of account foremen and clerks, the wages for artisans and labourers put together averaged 3dols., or 12s. 6d., a day. It is not likely that under these circumstances any question of wages would be at stake. The question of unionism was at stake, and this, of course, might eventually lead, directly or indirectly, to the wages being involved, but as far as the strike was concerned, no question of wages had arisen. I maintain that the wages show a very considerable balance in favour of the payments made to the American employés. We have been told a great deal about the trusts that exist in America, and I am prepared to admit that trusts generally are likely to form one of the most important factors in the industrial life of the future, straining to the fullest possible extent the collective wisdom of the Parliaments of all the countries of the world. It must, however, be recollected that trusts are not peculiar to America, notwithstanding the statements made to the contrary by a writer to whom I give every credit for his

great intelligence, his general analytical power, and his desire to state the case fairly. Notwithstanding these statements, we know that under free-trade in England trusts flourish to a considerable extent. Quite a number of these trusts exist in England—the salt trust might be quoted as an instance—and trusts will always flourish where large amounts of capital are available, and where there is competition between capitalists. It appeals to any capitalists—whether they are under free-trade or protection—that if they can come to an arrangement by which they can reasonably limit the output, and control prices, they will be all the better off for joining in with their neighbours. That, of course, is human nature under any fiscal system. I do not say that the trusts obtain in exactly the same degree in England as in America, but they do exist there, and one reason why they have not assumed the same proportions as in America, up to the present time, is that the English manufacturer is acknowledged to be a man of slow growth as far as his methods are concerned. He is like most of us, rather conservative; and it is a good thing in some respects that we do not change until we are thoroughly convinced of the necessity for change. The English manufacturers, however, have been outstripped in many instances by American competitors, because of their unwillingness to adopt new methods and new machinery. So in the matter of trusts; it was only when they found that the Americans derived great advantages from these combinations that they have followed their example.

Mr. GLYNN.—Still, their exports of manufactures are three times greater per head of the population than are those of America.

Mr. WATSON.—Of course they are; but that is due to the difference in the conditions of the two countries. England does not contain more than one-half the people that America does, and, therefore, has not the same number of consumers. Moreover, the total production of America is greater. More trade goes through the canal down to the St. Lawrence than passes through the Suez canal—that does not appear in statistics, because it is only internal trade. I admit that England occupies a unique position—she has occupied it for many years past, and more power to her arm—but it is impossible for us to-day, just

as it was a few years ago, to say how long she will continue to occupy her present position as far as manufacturers are concerned. A few years ago it was considered that she held the iron industry in the hollow of her hand, and now we have heard it stated just as dogmatically that England holds the cotton industry in the hollow of her hand. But the elements that led to the displacement of the iron trade of the world are working just as surely in the direction of the displacement of the cotton trade of the world. I notice that an attempt has recently been made to emphasize the sweating which obtains in New York. Our friend the *Argus*, anxious of course to do justice to the free-trade cause—

Mr. WILKS.—It is a true friend of labour.

Mr. WATSON.—That is a contention with which I am rather inclined to disagree. As a rule I do not find the *Argus* unfair, and I have no reason to say anything against it in that respect. At the same time, for that journal to quote, as it did on Tuesday last, from reports relative to the sweating prevalent in New York, without on the other hand drawing attention to the sweating that exists in England, savours of unfairness from a political standpoint. I admit—as every sane man must admit—that sweating exists, in default of legislation, both in free-trade and protectionist countries. So far as the “Song of the Shirt” is concerned, the lesson which that poem conveys is quite as true of England to-day as it was 40 or 50 years ago. Indeed, the condition of affairs is even worse at the present time. I do not say that it is extended over a greater area, but in its intensity it is even worse than it was when the “Song of the Shirt” was written.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—No.

Mr. GLYNN.—Sir Robert Giffen denies that absolutely.

Mr. WATSON.—Only a little while ago I read a description of the Jewish quarters in London, from the pen of a man who has every reason to speak well of the people to whom he was particularly referring. I am alluding to Arnold White, but I do not for one moment contend that the condition of affairs of which he speaks is due to free-trade. Speaking of the Jewish quarter, and as a man who had been employed by Baron Hirsch to control large benevolent

enterprises on behalf of the Jewish community of Russia, he depicts the conditions existing there to-day as horrible in the extreme, and as not being at all outdone by those existing in a similar quarter years ago. I do not say for one moment that these conditions are directly due to free-trade. I am not so unfair as to argue in that way; nor do I admit that the sweating which obtains in New York is due to protection. In each case it is due to the fact that a number of people who have been persecuted under old world governments have fled to where freedom—even if it amounts to freedom to starve—is obtainable. They have flocked to New York and London in exactly the same manner. This influx has had a very material effect upon the conditions which prevail there. The leader of the Opposition stated that the gap between the rich and poor in America is greater than that which obtains in England. I should just like to quote for his benefit a statement by *Mulhall*. I notice that the free-traders generally fly to *Mulhall*, because he is suspected of having free-trade leanings.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Will the honorable member put any statistician against him?

Mr. WATSON.—I am quite willing to accept *Mulhall* as an authority. I believe that he is a free-trader, and I know that the free-traders are not satisfied unless one quotes *Mulhall*. If any other authority is quoted, they are apt to discount his testimony. Apropos of the matter to which I have just referred, namely, the gap between the rich and the poor in America, *Mulhall*, according to Coghlan's *Seven Colonies*, page 421, states—

In the United States it takes the population 76 working days to earn their food.

Mr. THOMSON.—That does not include their clothes?

Mr. WATSON.—No, of course not. *Mulhall* says—

In the United States it takes the population 76 working days to earn their food and beverage, whilst in the United Kingdom it takes them 127 days.

That is a very large difference.

Mr. POYNON.—Perhaps they work harder in the United States.

Mr. WATSON.—I believe that they do work at higher pressure; but even that fact will not account for the very wide distinction. In Canada it takes the people 97 days in which to earn their food, as against 127 days in Great Britain, and 112 days in

Australasia. I point out this fact to show that, so far as statistics go, the gap between rich and poor is not so great in the States, if the working population on an average can earn the food which is necessary for their existence in 76 days. The honorable and learned member for East Sydney also referred to the boot manufacturing industry in New South Wales. I do not intend to say very much in reference to the continual cross firing which has been going on between New South Welshmen and Victorians, because it seems to me that the matter has been carried too far. I do not feel that we are justified in assuming that all the Victorians are scoundrels, politically speaking.

Mr. WILKS.—No; who said that?

Mr. WATSON.—Why, the honorable member for Wentworth said the other night that the representatives of Victoria ought rather to disfranchise themselves than carry out the decision of their constituents upon this occasion. He said that if honorable members who represent Victoria were the means, with others, of securing the passage of this Tariff, it would be Government by a minority. When the honorable member said that, he evidently forgot that the twenty Victorian representatives can do nothing unless they are backed up by the nine or ten New South Welshmen, who are also returned as protectionists.

Mr. THOMSON.—He did not say that they were political scoundrels.

Mr. WATSON.—I say that politically that was the inference. I do not say that the honorable member for Wentworth said that at all. I am speaking of the proposition of the honorable member, that the representatives of Victoria have practically no right to register their votes in this division.

Mr. THOMSON.—We recognise that they are perfectly sincere.

Mr. WATSON.—Some honorable members do not seem to recognise that the Victorians are sincere in anything. According to their ideas the Victorians are either fools or rogues. They seem to think that the bulk of them are fools, because they are at the disposal of a number of rogues who are running the Tariff.

Mr. WILKS.—Running a newspaper?

Mr. WATSON.—When the honorable member talks about running a newspaper I say that the *Age* of Melbourne has a very

good complement in the *Daily Telegraph* of Sydney. If the *Age* can outdo the *Daily Telegraph* for general misrepresentation, in order to bolster up its own case, it is pretty bad.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The *Daily Telegraph* is not in it with the *Age*.

Mr. WATSON.—The *Daily Telegraph* can get on pretty well. As far as betraying anxiety to boss the situation is concerned, that newspaper performs its task pretty well. It did boss the situation in New South Wales for a time, and it attempted to do the same thing again during the recent State parliamentary elections, but I am glad to say that it went down with a dull sickening thud. The honorable and learned member for East Sydney, in speaking the other evening, said that the employes in the boot manufactories of New South Wales are better paid than are those in the Victorian factories. Speaking on a cognate subject, the honorable member for West Sydney challenged the protectionists to go to the proper source for information with respect to the wages and conditions of the boot factory employes. Immediately the statement was made by the leader of the Opposition, that the boot trade employes in New South Wales are better off than are those in Victoria, I wrote to the secretary of the union, who has since replied to my communication. He states:—

Some time ago, in consequence of the misleading figures given by Mr. Coghlan regarding the earnings of makers and finishers—

There are two branches of the boot manufacturing trade. As the clickers are not in any union, I have no official information in regard to them, but I believe that they are even worse off than the makers and finishers. My informant goes on—

—doubtless supplied by interested manufacturers, when there was no union in existence, I was instructed by my executive to collect statistics of the wages earned, and to find the average. The majority of makers and finishers work piece-work, although many work on weekly wages. I found that the average earnings of makers were 25s., and of finishers 30s. per week. Of course, there are individual factories where the men average much higher than this.

These are adults, be it remembered, no allowance being made for children and others.

Mr. WILLIS.—Are they all journeymen?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. As against those wages, there is paid in Victoria, under a

wages board I admit, 42s. as a minimum, which, according to the report of the Factory Inspector, Mr. Ord, is slightly exceeded in some cases. With regard to the firms of McMurtrie, Enoch Taylor, and Hunter, quoted by the right honorable member for East Sydney, my informant says—

McMurtries', Hunter's, and Enoch Taylor's handle the bulk of the imported boots and shoes in New South Wales, and their factories are merely adjuncts to their huge importing and distributing businesses.

Mr. PAGE.—Hunter is the biggest sweater in Queensland.

Mr. WATSON.—And the firm is not far behind that position in New South Wales. My informant continues—

In the course of the debate last week, it was stated that one factory in Sydney employed 1,000 hands. This statement, to say the least, is a gross inaccuracy, as no boot factory in New South Wales employs anything like half that number of hands.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The statement was that the three firms employed that number of hands.

Mr. WATSON.—I remember some honorable member questioning the statement when it was made by the right honorable member for East Sydney, and apparently I have misunderstood it as others did. I am glad, however, that the misapprehension has been corrected. The main feature is that the wages of the men engaged in New South Wales compare very unsatisfactorily with the wages of those engaged in Victoria. I do not wish to say much more on these subjects, except that I am a protectionist, at any rate to a moderate extent. I do not believe in protecting, or attempting to protect into existence, every trivial industry which, when established, will employ only a few hands. It is worth the while of the general community to make some contribution towards the establishment of an industry which may be of some importance when established. In Victoria, if I may be permitted to say so, some protectionists have gone so far in the direction of protection as to endeavour to bring into existence, at the expense of the general community, a number of industries which are worth nothing when established. As an instance, I might point to the match industry, which, in Victoria, employs 27 men and 66 women. I am not certain as to the exact proportion of males and females, and it ought to be said that of the total of 93 employed there are very few

men and women, nearly all being girls and boys. In my view, that is carrying protection to a ridiculous extreme.

Mr. WILKS.—How much does it cost to maintain this industry?

Mr. WATSON.—I have not ascertained that, and it is difficult to do so. But I, for one, am not prepared to pay one fraction more for my matches in order to establish or continue an industry of this character. Apart altogether from the few people employed, we know that such an industry is of no advantage to the health of the people employed, and is, on that ground, not very desirable. With regard to the general principle, I am prepared to admit that the community have to pay extra for goods on which a protective tariff is placed, at any rate in the initiation of the system. I am prepared to admit all that, but I agree cordially with the contention put forward by the honorable and learned member for Indi—who has, I think, made the best contribution to this debate, at any rate from my point of view—that we do now in every one of the States give assistance from the general taxpayer's contributions—that is, from the Treasury—to all forms of primary industry. Such assistance, direct and indirect, is given, and it is no more against the well-being of the community to ask for assistance for the manufacturer than to ask for it for the agriculturist or the miner.

Mr. PIESSE.—It is not done in the same way.

Mr. WATSON.—The only question is as to the method in which the assistance ought to be given. I admit that there is a great deal in the contention of those who say that a bonus might be a more satisfactory method. But there is considerable difficulty in assuring the permanence of an industry under a system of bonuses. There is the trouble also that we may get only one factory into a strong position, without any encouragement being given to competitors; and competition under the present industrial system is the only preventive of the evils of monopoly. I do not say what might be done under other conditions.

Mr. CONROY.—If all industries need assistance, who pays the revenue?

Mr. WATSON.—The revenue is, of course, contributed by the general taxpayer, who is, I admit, going to be taxed to that extent. But a matter of which we ought to hear something, and of which

I have heard nothing during this debate, is contained in the question—What is the leader of the Opposition going to do, if he gets possession of the Treasury benches, so far as relieving the taxpayer is concerned? The right honorable gentleman says that he is going to take the burden off the back of the poor man. In my view, however, his proposal is simply to shift the burden from one shoulder to the other. The leader of the Opposition is not now in the position he was a few years ago in New South Wales, when he said to the State Parliament and the people—"I am prepared to adopt free-trade, and its concomitant of direct taxation." The power to impose direct taxation gave him the chance of establishing free-trade.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member think a revenue of £9,000,000 is necessary?

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think that such a revenue is necessary, but I shall deal with that point in a moment. The leader of the Opposition was on logical ground in the position he took up in New South Wales; but I contend that, so far as the general taxpayer is concerned, it does not matter a snap of the finger to him whether the £7,000,000, £8,000,000, or £9,000,000 of revenue is raised from cotton goods or from woollen goods. The leader of the Opposition almost shed tears over the working-man, when he said, the other day—"What can we do for the pioneer away in the interior?—why should we tax him out of existence, and give him no assistance from the Treasury of the country?" But the right honorable gentleman did not say that he was going to relieve the tea of the poor pioneer from any impost at the hands of the Government. He did not say that he was going to make the kerosene light any cheaper in the farm-houses of the country. He did not say that the poor man's wife's underclothing, and the ordinary goods which go to keep up a household, are going to be made any cheaper at his hands. It is absolutely misleading the country for an honorable member to get up and allow it to be inferred that he is going to lighten the burden of taxation, when he knows that he is going to raise practically the same sum from taxation of the people.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—That is not the case.

Mr. WATSON.—In the first fight on the Constitution Bill in New South Wales the

leader of the Opposition objected to the Braddon clause, because it would compel the raising of more taxation than was necessary for federal purposes. Yet now he does not indicate how far he will go beyond the requirements of that clause to bolster up the finances of the smaller States. The honorable member for South Sydney invariably supported the Federal Constitution Bill, but he is in a different position from his leader, who made the "head and front" of his attack upon that measure that it contained a provision in the shape of section 87 which would, willy-nilly, take from the people of New South Wales in particular £1 or 25s. per head more than they had had to bear in the past.

Mr. WILKS.—Did not that show that he was studying the masses?

Mr. WATSON.—But why is it that the right honorable member does not now bear in mind his prediction of that time? Why does he not admit that he eventually voted for a Bill which compelled the raising of a large amount of taxation from the people? He maintains a discreet silence on that aspect of the question now.

Mr. THOMSON.—The later Bill did not compel the raising of more than it was proposed to raise before.

Mr. WATSON.—Allowing that no more was raised than the Constitution Act makes necessary, it does not get away from the fact that the Tariff of the leader of the Opposition—which he was careful to keep to himself—even upon the general lines he himself has laid down, involving duties on articles that cannot be produced here, would press just as heavily upon those who have to work for a living as would a modified protectionist Tariff.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It would make this difference—that all the duties the honorable member has mentioned do not amount to a million.

Mr. WATSON.—But I have not yet come to the end of my list. I have only mentioned one or two articles. Most of us remember that the leader of the Opposition told us in New South Wales, both in Parliament and out of it, that the adoption of Federation meant the sacrifice of his free-trade ideas. I contend, with all respect to the definition which honorable members may desire to put upon that expression, that the right honorable member meant that free-trade was impossible. Much of the argument we have had on the present occasion as to the ideal system that

might be evolved out of the chaos by which we are surrounded is beside the question, because it is not possible to put an ideal system in force for ten years at any rate. Therefore we must make the best, from the financial stand-point, of what, in my opinion, is a bad bargain.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—This Tariff is not the best that could be devised.

Mr. WATSON.—I think the Government in framing this Tariff has acted to some extent on wrong premises.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is a candid admission.

Mr. WATSON.—As a protectionist it is easily apparent that I could not keep my pledges to my constituents or get near to my own ideal if I voted for the motion of the leader of the Opposition. Because I cannot agree with him that the operation of the duties will—

Destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of profit to a few individuals and a few favoured industries,

and other things to that effect. Neither can I lose the opportunity of securing some portion, anyhow, of the protectionist policy in which I believe, if it is carried out under fair conditions. But at the same time I must give my own opinion as to the position taken up by the Government. So far as New South Wales is concerned I contend that the whole attack upon the Constitution Bill, in regard to its financial provisions, rested upon the Braddon clause. I admit that so far as I and a large number of Members of Parliament and citizens of the same way of thinking were concerned, we looked upon the financial clauses of the Bill as comparatively unimportant. What we objected to was the constitutional mistake of giving, in our opinion, too great a power to the smaller communities. But, at the same time, what bulked very largely in the minds of a great portion of our people was the financial aspect of the question. The people of New South Wales were sufficiently afraid of the financial clauses of the Bill, which necessitated raising four times the amount of revenue that the Federation itself might require; but what would their feelings have been if they had anticipated that that minimum would be largely exceeded by the first Federal Ministry? I venture to say that the vote against the Bill in New South Wales, apart from any question of free-trade or protection—merely in regard to the matter of raising so much money—

would have been materially increased if it had been known that a sum of about a million and a half more than the "Braddon Blot" makes necessary, would be raised. I am prepared to admit that the Ministry have endeavoured to look at the question from various stand-points.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The Ministry have looked at it from six stand-points!

Mr. WATSON.—They have looked at it apparently from the point of view of the interest of the State Treasuries, but I contend that that is not necessarily the interest of the taxpayers of the States, nor is it necessarily the interest of the individual members of the community, who as constituents of the federation, have just as much right to consideration at our hands as have any minority in each or any one of the States. Therefore I contend that all we have to concern ourselves with here, is to ensure that the sections of the Constitution are adhered to, and that we cover our federal expenditure, allowing for a fair margin for expansion, and raising through customs and excise at least four times the amount required. That is the extent to which the Constitution compels us to go, and certainly that is the utmost extent to which I am prepared to go. Now sir, the people of the States in every instance, I contend, have resources in the shape of direct taxation which can be availed of if the amount returned to them by the Federal Treasury is not sufficient to give them the amount which they have hitherto received from customs and excise. While at the present time I am not prepared to advocate direct taxation for federal purposes, in view of the fact that we have not prepared the people for any such proposal at this juncture, yet I say most distinctly that if the States do not utilise the means of direct taxation lying ready at their hands, we shall have to do it. The people of the federation will speak with no uncertain voice if it comes to a question of deciding between excessive revenue duties through the Custom-house on the one hand, and direct taxation on the other. I should not mind having a little wager on the result. The Federal expenditure for this year, after allowing for the income from the Post-office for services rendered, will be £1,706,000. Under the Braddon section of the Constitution the revenue necessary to cover that amount would be

£6,825,000. I admit that the Commonwealth expenditure may reasonably be expected to increase within the next year or so. If we have anything at all to pay for the properties transferred by the States to the Commonwealth, an allowance must be made in that respect. If we paid off the whole liability, it would involve an expenditure of £350,000 per annum in respect of interest. In any case we must pay something for these properties, and I think we ought to provide out of the revenue for some of that expenditure which the States have paid hitherto out of loan moneys. I am willing to allow a reasonable expansion of the Commonwealth expenditure, always reserving the right of this House to see that it is expended in a proper way. If we had a Tariff producing £7,500,000 it would be quite sufficient to safeguard the interests of the Commonwealth, even allowing for due expansion, unless, of course, the proposals of the Government in regard to properties acquired from the States are going to be varied. If they are, then we shall require more, because a £7,500,000 Tariff would only give us a margin on our present expenditure of £168,000 per annum, and, if we had to pay £350,000 per annum in the shape of interest on the amount paid for the transferred properties, we should be left with a deficit. Other things being equal, however, a £7,500,000 Tariff would, in my opinion, cover all our needs, and, making every allowance, I think that we can afford to reduce by £1,250,000 the Tariff proposed by the Government. I intend, as I have already indicated, to vote for the excision of practically all the revenue duties which have been placed in the Tariff before us. I have no doubt that we shall find a considerable proportion of honorable members prepared, by their votes, to assist the poor man to bear the burden of this taxation in the easiest possible manner. I admit that, whatever form taxation takes, the man at the bottom of the ladder—the producer—has to find the whole of it. I admit, too, that direct taxation takes the smaller proportion from him; it causes the other man who is taking more than his share of production to disgorge a certain amount which came originally from the actual producers. Under direct taxation, the amount which the producer contributes is smaller than that which

he is called upon to pay under indirect taxation.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is going to vote for the censure of the Government, but in small doses.

Mr. WATSON.—Does the honorable member think that I could possibly vote to put his leader and himself on the Government benches?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Why not?

Mr. WATSON.—Because I am pledged to my constituents to vote for protection, and I could not get it from the Opposition.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—But the honorable member cannot support the Government policy.

Mr. WATSON.—I can support portion of their policy, whilst I can support none of the policy put forward by the Opposition. So far as my lights serve me, I am not one of those who abandon the substance for the shadow. For that reason I could not think of supporting the motion before the chair.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is a very frank statement.

Mr. WATSON.—We have a right to be frank; there is nothing to be gained by covering up our opinions in this matter. I certainly think that the Government and every one else interested in this subject have a right to know our opinions. I give my own freely, and I intend to carry them into effect so far as I possibly can. The honorable member for Robertson is comparatively new to parliamentary life, but if he ever gets behind a Government—which looks doubtful at present—he will find that, if he is going to keep them in power, he will have to swallow a great deal more than I propose to do to-day.

Mr. WILKS.—Then the honorable member is going to swallow something.

Mr. WATSON.—I propose to swallow a small amount. We all have to do it. Even the honorable member for Dalley is no exception to the rule. His capacity in that direction at least equals, if it does not exceed, my own.

Mr. WILKS.—I would dilly-dally before doing so in such a case as this.

Mr. WATSON.—I intend to vote for the excision of the duties on matches, rice, tea, kerosene, timber, explosives, and cotton and linen goods.

Mr. THOMAS.—And machinery?

Mr. WATSON.—No; I shall not vote for the excision of the duties on machinery. The leader of the Opposition made a great deal of capital out of the Government proposals in regard to the duties on agricultural implements, but I should like to point out that perhaps 80 per cent. of the agricultural machinery used in New South Wales is manufactured within the borders of the Commonwealth. Our strippers, harvesters, ploughs, and harrows are made either in Victoria, New South Wales, or South Australia. They have hitherto been imported into New South Wales from Victoria and South Australia, in competition with the whole world. I do not anticipate, therefore, that so far as these items are concerned our farmers will be placed in any worse position by the adoption of the Government proposals in that regard than they would be if the market were left free to the importer. So far as I am aware, however, portable engines, thrashing machines, and reapers and binders are not manufactured here, and the increased price would have to be paid on them. I am prepared when in committee to consider that aspect of the question.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—What about mining machinery and corrugated iron?

Mr. WATSON.—The tax on corrugated iron is 30s. per ton, and I do not think that is very heavy. Something has been said about the duty on condensed milk. It must be recollected that in the manufacture of condensed milk a certain amount of sugar is used.

Mr. FOWLER.—In some only.

Mr. WATSON.—It is not used in concentrated milk, but that keeps for such a short time that it really does not compete with condensed milk in the interior. It is able to compete with condensed milk on the coast, or near its sources of supply only.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—There is both sweetened and unsweetened milk.

Mr. WATSON.—If, as I anticipate from the silence of honorable members on the subject, we are going to carry out the proposals of the Government in regard to the sugar industry, it will be necessary for us to put at least a countervailing duty on the sugar contained in the sweetened portion of condensed milk. That must be conceded even by the free-trade champions in this House, and I suggest it for their consideration. I do not wish to say more than that I thank the Treasurer for the lucidity with

which he presented his Budget statement. For myself, I must say I was in the rather novel position of being able to follow the whole idea which the right honorable gentleman was attempting to unfold to the committee. For me, that has been a unique experience so far as Budget statements are concerned. It is, I think, especially gratifying to find that the Treasurer was so clear, in view of the fact that he had such a large number of different matters to refer to, involving the finances of so many different States. I wish to commend a suggestion put forward by the right honorable gentleman, that we should make some effort to compel the financial institutions to keep a certain portion of their reserves in Government notes or Government debentures. I think that is a matter which cannot be too strongly insisted upon. While I admit the right of the Treasurer to make, and the propriety of his making, due inquiry before launching out into a scheme which affects private financial institutions, I still hope that the result of his inquiry will be that the Government will adopt a proposal of that sort, and thus, without injury to the financial institutions themselves, confer a very great benefit upon the Commonwealth as a whole. With regard to the proposal for a sinking fund, I fear any such proposal is very much of a delusion and a snare. The experience, in New South Wales at least, has been that sinking funds have a fatal facility for dematerialising. They seem to disappear in a most mysterious fashion.

Mr. MCCAY.—They sink out of sight.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They pop up when there is a deficit.

Mr. WATSON.—They come into prominence then, but they are not actually in existence. They appear, of course, as an entry. What I desire to put forward is that the only way to properly safeguard the expenditure of loan money is for the Ministry first, and the committee afterwards, to take every care that nothing is expended from loan votes unless upon absolutely reproductive works. Of course that means eternal vigilance on the part of members as well as Ministers. It is, perhaps, too much to ask for, in view of the experience of the several States in the matter of loan expenditure; but having regard to the fact that our friend, the Treasurer, has for some years past in Victoria kept the loan expenditure within reasonable limits, there is hope that the right honorable gentleman will carry that

straight course into federal politics; and we, I hope, shall back him up in it. I can only add that, so far as I am concerned, I admit all the difficulties connected with the framing of this Tariff, and of the financial position generally. I admit that it is a time of strain for Ministers, and for members from all the States, alike. But I do hope that an endeavour will be made to lighten as far as possible the burdens upon the poorer members of the community, and to go no further than the Constitution itself declares that we must go, and that is, four times the amount of our prospective expenditure.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—The concluding remarks of the honorable member for Bland supply only another assurance that "hope springs eternal in the human breast." When the honorable member tells us that he still has hope that loan moneys will be used for none but reproductive works, he is inviting me to hope for something I have never known to occur in the past. While on that point I desire to say that while we continue to borrow money for public works, there is no hope whatever of having that money expended only upon reproductive works. It is only when we commence to construct public works out of our annual revenue that we can exercise that supervision to which they are fairly entitled. With the major portion of the remarks of the honorable member for Bland, I find myself in almost complete accord, more particularly when we remember the different and conflicting elements that this Parliament is called upon to reconcile. We are not, as we have been doing in the past in the Parliaments of our respective States, dealing with affairs in which there may be a particular trend of thought or feeling. We have here, for the first time in the history of Australia, to attempt to reconcile the conflicting and divergent elements of the different States, and to harmonise them, not in the interests of one particular State, or one particular set of individuals, but in the best interests of all. When we come to remember, further, that we have sitting in this Parliament honorable members who in some instances represent an area extending over hundreds of thousands of square miles, and in other instances representing electorates around which they could drive comfortably in an afternoon, it is only reasonable to assume that we shall have very divergent views

expressed. I mentioned last night, that although in the motion before the Chair we have reasons, so to speak, given for it, in the major portion of this discussion those reasons have been carefully avoided. Only one particular reason has been given for differing from the policy enunciated by the Government, and it is founded upon this eternal fiscal question. From the many able speeches contributed during the course of the debate, and to which I have listened with extreme pleasure, one would be forced to the conclusion that it was entirely the fiscal policy which any particular State or nation followed, upon which would depend the degree of prosperity of its people. Sweating, according to some, is a condition peculiar only to protected States, and according to others, the direst results follow to the industrial population only under free-trade. I am prepared to admit, at the outset, that no matter what the fiscal policy of a State may be, it is not the only factor in determining the condition of its people. There are many other—and perhaps equally important—factors in determining the condition of a people. I will go a little further, and say that there are greater opportunities for insuring, to the industrial population of any community, that share of wealth production to which they are justly entitled, under a truly protective policy than under any other fiscal policy with which I am acquainted. We have had volumes of figures showered upon us to show the conditions obtaining in the protected nations of Europe, and across the Atlantic, as compared with those obtaining in Great Britain, and the respective conditions obtaining in New South Wales and Victoria, have also been attributed to the fiscal policies of those States. I am not going into the question from the academical stand-point, nor shall I deal with it in the abstract. I shall confine myself to it as it presents itself to my mind from a hard matter-of-fact stand-point, and from personal observation of the major portion of three of the States of the Commonwealth, and of a limited portion of two of the other States. When the leader of the Opposition spoke of the splendid educational effect which the utterances of those who viewed the situation from his standpoint would have upon the benighted protectionists of Victoria, I looked forward to a treat; but the trend of

the debate has forced me to the conclusion that the educational process will not have to proceed very much further before the pupils become the teachers. I was, to a great extent, in sympathy with what the right honorable member said, in terms such as he alone can employ, about the difficulties and hardships of our pioneers, and of those engaged in the farming, mining, dairying, and other industries of the country. The right honorable and learned member's heart seemed to bleed for them; but I tried to conjure up in my mind the attitude which he would take if he were entrusted with the framing of a policy for the collection of the revenue necessary for the Commonwealth. If it had fallen to his lot to formulate a Tariff, no more execrated man than he would be living in Australia to-day. He has almost convinced himself, and he appears to think that he has convinced the House, that he could raise £9,000,000 of revenue without taxing anybody in particular. There is a general consensus of opinion that about that amount of revenue will be required.

Mr. THOMSON. — Not as much as £8,900,000.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The honorable member for Bland says that £7,500,000 will be sufficient.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Until I have further information, I am prepared to accept the statements submitted by those upon whom the responsibility rests. Although the leader of the Opposition in his address came very close to this point once or twice, he no sooner approached it than he struck off again at a tangent, though, according to his computations, it appears that at least £8,700,000 would be required. The real difference of opinion is not as to the amount of revenue required, or as to the source from which it should be collected, but as to the incidence of the particular duties. We are asked, when we say that protective duties do not increase prices, "Why then impose protective duties?" Before answering that question I will ask another. "Are honorable members prepared to remove the Crimes Act from the statute-book because crime is not prevalent in this country?" It is incumbent upon those who object to protective duties to prove that they increase the cost of the protected article to the consumer. My personal observation shows that they do not. In Victoria we have been able, by

means of protection, to establish industries which have been an immense source of wealth to the community, and although we are told of the great progress made by a sister State under free-trade, I ask how is it that, notwithstanding her magnificent resources, she has hitherto been unable to raise sufficient agricultural produce for her own requirements? To those who desire to know the grounds of the faith that is in me, I would say that the apostle of the free-trade cause made me a protectionist, and my personal observations, which have been confined to Australia, have confirmed me in the views I hold. In becoming a protectionist, I was a disciple of no less an authority than Adam Smith, who says on page 164 of his book on *The Wealth of Nations*—

The capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country generally replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. When it sends out from the residence of the merchant a certain value of the commodities, it generally brings back in return at least an equal value in return of other commodities. When both are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals which had both been employed in supporting productive labour, and thereby enables them to continue that support. The capital which sends Scotch manufactures to London and brings back English corn and manufactures to Edinburgh necessarily replaces by every such operation two British capitals, which had both been employed in agriculture or manufactures of Great Britain. The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry replaces too, by every such operation, two distinct capitals, but one of them only is employed in supporting domestic industry.

That is the point that caused me to pause, and, upon due consideration, I found that the subsequent paragraph confirmed me in the view I have taken.

The capital which sends British goods to Portugal and brings back Portuguese goods to Great Britain, replaces by every such operation only one British capital. The other is a Portuguese one. Though the returns therefore of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but one half of the encouragement to the industry or the productive labour of the country.

This is the fundamental principle which has governed my attitude on the fiscal question. We have had some very able expositions of

the subject from the historical and academic points of view from honorable members on both sides of the House, and particularly from the honorable and learned member for Indi last night, and with that phase of the question I do not propose to deal at the present time. I wish to refer for a moment to the difficulties which confront any honorable member in dealing with the situation. When one considers the time occupied in verifying statements or quotations, and, when, after a considerable amount of research one finds that extracts are not in accordance with facts, it leads one to distrust some of the quotations and references which are made. When one finds that statements, made in good faith on the floor of the House, are no sooner given to the public than some of those who are implicated deny at once their accuracy, one is confronted with a very grave difficulty. This phase of the question presented itself to my mind in following the leader of the Opposition in some statements made by him, and the opinions founded thereon, in relation to reaper and binder twine. He told us that one of the Victorian manufacturers was a free-trader; that he was given such information on authority; and that, under certain conditions, this manufacturer was getting 2d. per lb. more in Victoria for the product of his industry, established by the aid of a protective duty, than he was getting in New South Wales. At the very first opportunity on which Mr. Miller could meet that statement, the 17th October, he addressed this letter to the *Age*:—

Mr. Reid, in his speech last night, referred to me as being only a protectionist, in consequence of having an interest in a mill for the manufacture of cordage, &c. Allow me to say that I was a member of the first Tariff Reform League that existed in Victoria. This league was formed in Geelong, where I was at that time a resident, about 1860. Mr. W. N. McCann, now in California; Mr. W. Hitchcock, now in London; and the late Mr. Elkington, were connected with the same committee. About that time a vacancy occurred in South Grant, and I was appointed to see Mr. P. Lalor, who then had a sawmill at Port Melbourne, and find out whether he would stand as a candidate in the protectionist interest. He did so, and was the first protectionist member returned to the Victorian Parliament. Since then I have been and am still a protectionist.

Yet we have had the assurance from the right honorable and learned member that this gentleman is a pronounced free-trader—

Mr. Reid also states, what is obviously incorrect, that my company sells binder twine at 2d. a lb. less for consumption in New South Wales than in Victoria, although the duty in the latter place

was under 1d. per lb. Allow me to say that nothing of the kind exists in fact, and I defy Mr. Reid or any one to prove the truth of this wild and injurious statement.

There is a complete denial, and in the conflict of such testimony it is very difficult indeed for one to arrive at what are the facts. Ever since reapers and binders have been used in the colonies I have used them to a greater or lesser extent every year, and of course binder twine; even during last season when exceptional conditions prevailed in Victoria—because it must be remembered that the raw material from which this twine is manufactured was dearer last season than it had been for ten or fifteen years owing to the war in the Phillipine Islands—notwithstanding the fact that binder twine was subject here to a duty of six-sevenths of a penny per lb., last year—the average farmer of Victoria was able to get the best twine in the world for exactly the same rate as could the average farmer of New South Wales. Is it not amusing when one hears a brother farmer, the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, making so much of this splendid advantage derived from the Victorian manufacturer selling cheap twine in Tasmania? He makes very much of a little ball of twine, but has no hesitation in swallowing a reaper and binder. That is practically what we have been doing throughout Australia for fourteen years; we have been giving the importers of reapers and binders 100 per cent.

Mr. THOMSON.—And the manufacturer.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Not the manufacturer of reapers and binders.

Mr. THOMSON.—They were in it.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; because I have seen invoices.

Mr. THOMSON.—It does not follow that they were not.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I had an interest in some Deering binders which were imported some time ago, and they were sold here by the importer. I had an opportunity of finding out exactly what the manufacturer got for them. In the United States as well as in Great Britain, whence there is practically only one kind of goods sent here to any considerable extent, it is sold to the exporter to Australia at exactly the same rate as to the local user of the machine. I know that beyond question. Yet we have the honorable member for Tasmania making a very wry face, indeed, about the ball of twine,

and swallowing the reaper and binder. I have yet to learn—and I speak now as a consumer of Victorian twine—that the Victorian farmer has ever paid one cent a lb. less for his twine because of the imposition of the duty. I used to buy twine before the duty was imposed in Victoria, and it was the ruin of the temper of all those who used it. The teams were stopped at all hours, and the stuff was imperfectly tied. But since we have had the advantage of using Victorian twine, I have never met a man who has said that he could find better twine, no matter whence it came, or what price he paid. And we have got it at a lower rate than imported twine was ever obtained at. The honorable member for Tasmania made one gratifying admission. Speaking as a free-trader, he told us that the Tasmanian farmers, as well as all the other farmers, would benefit by a protective duty. He also told us that he was a federalist when he had no option, and he was a free-trader. I have been a federalist all the time. When I first sought a seat in the State Parliament eight or nine years ago, Federation was looked upon as an abstract question, but I stood practically on that issue. At that time, we had in Victoria, strange to say, federalists, but federalists with border duties. The question that naturally presented itself to my constituents then was this—"How are we going to get along without the stock tax?" I said, "We must rub it out. It is one of the things which would never much benefit anybody. It is one of those barriers which separate us from our brothers across the river, and the sooner it goes the better, because the longer we remain apart the more barriers will be put up and the greater will be the difficulty of our coming together." I stood in this unique position, that I was one of the few men in public life directly identified with farming, who stood up for the Commonwealth Bill. And the only condition I have ever laid down in regard to the federation of these colonies was that the government of the people should be in their own hands. We have heard many more statements which are very hard to follow. I might refer to one which bears on the reaper and binder question, and it is the result of your statement from the chair, sir, that leaflets of this sort are showered upon honorable members, because all that is said or interjected in a

Mr. Kennedy.

disorderly way is not fully reported in the press. When the honorable member for Macquarie was dealing with the question of reapers and binders, and the price of them, he said that reapers and binders were being sold some two years ago for £30 a-piece. I interjected innocently that it was some machine they wanted the farmers to experiment with. That was reported in the press, but I also said distinctly that no standard machine was being sold for £30. I now repeat that statement, and say further that it is only during this year, for the first time in the history of Australia, that a standard reaper and binder has been offered to the public for £30. Last year they cost £50 each in Victoria and New South Wales.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is no protection on that machine now.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No, and I could give some very useful information bearing upon the fall in the price of that particular machine. The reduction has not been made because of any diminished cost of production, but because somebody has been looking through the screen, and has thrown some light upon the operations of the importers. I should like to say, at this point, that if there is one section of this community more than another the members of which are able to gather to themselves and retain the good things of this world it is the importers. We have heard a good deal of talk about the robbery of which the manufacturers have been guilty, and we have been told that they despoil the people of the proportion of the protective duties which they put into their pocket; but no honorable member has attempted to show the increased cost of a protected article to the consumer in Victoria.

Mr. PAGE.—What about starch?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Honorable members of the Opposition have held a *post mortem* on starch, and I hope it has been decently buried. It is one of those matters which should never have been raised in this House. It is a minor issue, and I am not going to refer to it.

Mr. PAGE.—The people of the Commonwealth do not consider it a minor issue—it is not a minor issue to the washerwomen.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I did not think that the honorable member for Maranoa, who reigns over an area of 330,000 square miles, would have allowed himself to be carried away, even in spirit, by the crocodile tears of the

leader of the Opposition. The right honorable gentleman has carried us across the Murray, through the shady bends of the Murrumbidgee, over the sandy reaches of the Lachlan, away up past the Barcoo, over even to the district represented by the honorable member for Maranoa, and has shed tears of sympathy over the poor shearer, and over the prospecting miner putting his little hands together and invoking a benediction upon the Federal Parliament that would impose a duty on condensed milk—an article that he never sees. Is that the way in which we are going to deal with this question? Is it on these minor issues that we are going to determine the policy of this country?

Mr. PAGE.—The Government are going to derive over a million of money from these minor issues.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is true—and it has often surprised me—that the fates of governments and nations have sometimes been determined by small issues, but we should not be carried away by any trifling considerations in this matter. We should confine our attention to issues in which millions are involved. To concern ourselves about starch, as compared with those matters which relate to the employment of thousands of our people, is to trouble our minds about matters which are as small as the locks on the sheep as compared with the fleece in the eyes of the squatter. No one knows that better than the honorable member for Maranoa. My sympathies are with the honorable member when he speaks of the pioneers in the western country. We have heard much about the heroism of those who give up their lives on the battle-field, but I venture to say that there is as much silent heroism displayed in the back-blocks of Australia as has been shown on the battle-field. We cannot think too highly of, or admire too much, those men who have lived out their lives in the interior, who have been born and reared in the mountains of New South Wales and Victoria, and in remote places on the continent, and who have grown grey in the work of pioneering without ever having seen the sea, and without ever having, until twenty years ago, seen a railway train. At the same time, are we to be diverted from the consideration of the vast questions which are presented for our discussion, by such petty issues as those involved in the duties on starch and wax matches? Is it not

ridiculous to see a gentleman occupying the position of leader of the Opposition appealing to the House on such trivial matters? Why does he not challenge the Government, or advise the House on questions where millions are involved? Why does he not select the larger issues for testing the feeling of the country and of the House—questions affecting the miner or the agriculturist. I could have understood his having taken up an attitude such as was assumed by the honorable member for Perth, who had in view the interests of 100,000 men engaged in producing wealth which is adding materially to our national substance, but the right honorable gentleman has played to the gallery for thousands, whilst millions were at stake in other directions. I ask is that statemanship? Is that what we are to expect from the leaders of the Commonwealth?

Mr. POYNTON.—Is not all that embodied in the censure motion?

Mr. KENNEDY.—The first part of the motion of censure declares—

That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government, because they will place the finances of the Commonwealth and States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

Now, I would ask if the right honorable the leader of the Opposition ever attempted to show where this extravagance was likely to occur. He approached the question—and I listened to him so that I should have no doubt in my mind—on three different occasions, and on one occasion he actually mentioned the amount which the Government proposed to expend, but he then sheered away from it and directed his attention to some of these petty issues which have been referred to. I would ask if that is statesmanship? Referring to the amount of the proposed expenditure, this Parliament can scarcely, without embarrassing to a considerable extent the respective States of the Commonwealth, curtail the provision that has been made by the Treasurer. During the last session I was in the Victorian Parliament I stated that it seemed peculiar that the whole of the States entering the union were unduly increasing the cost of the services that were about to be transferred, and I think there is an obligation on the part of the Government to make provision for this extra expenditure. I desire to refer to the effect of this

particular Tariff upon the prices of certain lines of goods, and the manner in which statements have gone forth to the press, and have been given voice to in this House. Unfortunately, the price list from which the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, quoted was that of a Victorian manufacturer, and not that of a merchant. Comparing the price list of Messrs. Parsons Brothers for this week and last week he said that the increases ranged from 1d. to 3d. per lb., and that there were no less than 94 articles on which increases had been charged. To say that this Tariff has increased the prices of articles which are in use in practically every household throughout the Commonwealth, by amounts varying from 1d. per lb. to 3d. per lb., is a very serious statement to make in this House. The honorable member stated that there are 94 separate articles upon which an increased price is being charged. I find, however, that that statement is not borne out by the price list of the firm from which he quoted. Since the honorable member made the declaration in question, I have embraced the opportunity of getting one of the price lists of the firm from which he quoted, as marked by them for business purposes. What do I find? Out of some 96 articles which are therein mentioned there are only 23 in regard to which any alteration in price has been made. These alterations embrace all articles under the heading of "Spices," which practically should be regarded as one article. I may point out that these alterations really refer to one particular commodity, although, of course, there is a good deal in the manner in which this commodity is put up for sale purposes, and in the varying qualities of the spices. Then, under the heading of "Pepper," there are three classes which, to my mind, are practically one. These circumstances go to show what an extraordinary impression may be created by a partial statement of the facts, or by a statement from a purely party stand-point. The document from which I quote is in the possession of the House, and I invite honorable members to examine it for themselves in order that they may see what distrust may be engendered in the minds of others by statements of the character to which I have referred. It is in the interests of all concerned that we should endeavour to get as much of the truth as it is possible to obtain.

Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. PAGE.—In Queensland some of the duties are reduced by one-half.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have yet to meet the merchant or tradesman who says that there has been any reduction in prices consequent upon a reduction of duties. I have taken occasion to ask my own trades people upon what particular lines they have reduced their prices. Their reply was—"None whatever." I then asked upon what particular lines they intended to reduce their prices? Their answer was—"Of course the cost of production must come down, but we cannot reduce our prices upon any article." "What about the reduction of 10 per cent. upon woollen clothing?" I asked. "Am I not to have the benefit of that 2s. in the pound?" "Oh no," was the reply. There is no possible hope of a reduction, notwithstanding the reduction that has been made in the customs duties. These answers refer to goods upon which a protective duty has hitherto been imposed. I admit that wherever a revenue duty is imposed upon an article the consumer must pay it. I do not deny that. But I shall be only too glad to learn that where a protective duty has been imposed and has met the object for which it was imposed, it has unduly increased the cost of the article. No one will be more willing than myself to rub out such a protective duty if it does not meet the object for which it has been imposed. Coming closer to the question at issue I find myself a good deal in line with the reasoning of the honorable member for North Sydney. That honorable member desired to arrive at a conclusion from the effects of two varying fiscal policies under conditions as nearly as possible resembling each other. I agree with a good deal of what the honorable member said when he compared the conditions prevailing in Victoria with those existing in New South Wales. The people of these two States are practically the same people. They have something of the same temperament, enjoy the same climatic conditions, and follow similar pursuits. I agree that one has the advantage of territory, and that the other has the advantage of condensation, a larger proportion of good arable land, and is more easy of development. I do not dispute that statement. I differ from the honorable member, however, in that his statement may possibly convey the impression that Victoria has

more arable land than has New South Wales. That is not so. I do not think that the honorable member intended to convey that impression.

Mr. THOMSON.—I said that it had more arable land in proportion to its area.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I desire to start from a basis common to myself, and those who hold a different opinion as to the effect of the fiscal policy of the two States. I agree with the honorable member for North Sydney that the conditions prevailing in New South Wales and Victoria are very similar, and that there is more arable land in the former State than in the latter. Starting from that basis, what do we find? If a free-trade policy is the panacea of all the ills to which we are heir, one would naturally imagine that New South Wales would be in a much more prosperous condition than Victoria, that her agricultural resources would be more highly developed, that her manufactures would be in a more flourishing condition, and that she would have a much greater output in the way of wealth production. There is just one other point concerning which I should like to arrive at some agreement. It has reference to the density of the population. In producing from the land under similar conditions we know that the area of land from which an individual can get a living is clearly defined. I think that the honorable member for North Sydney will agree with me that in Victoria we have practically reached that limit under our present system of agriculture.

Mr. FOWLER.—I do not think so; the intense system is only beginning in Victoria.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is the trouble that has been recognised by those who have cast their eyes on the future of Victoria. The trouble is to educate our agricultural population out of methods which were good enough for our grandfathers. I should like to refer for a moment to an article from what has been termed a protectionist newspaper, quoted by the honorable member for Macquarie, and also, I believe, by the leader of the Opposition, dealing specifically with the condition of agriculture in Victoria. The article said that protection has done a good deal in certain directions for agriculture, but was not able to do all that should be done. That statement cannot be challenged, and if that article had been read in its entirety—I am sorry I have not it here—it

would have been shown that it advocated that those in authority in this particular State should set themselves to educate the agriculturist to higher ideals and better methods of cultivation, by which produce from the land could be considerably increased. It was pointed out that by better methods of culture and scientific processes the agriculturist would be able to grow £2 or £3 worth of produce where he was now growing only £1 worth. Starting fairly from that basis, what do we find? Instead of New South Wales having made rapid strides far and away in advance of Victoria, we find that up to the present, she has not overtaken the latter State. Notwithstanding the limited area we possess, Victoria is considerably ahead in every line of agriculture to which our conditions are suited, and is exporting surplus produce to states of the old world; whereas in a number of industries New South Wales is an importer. New South Wales has an area of 198,848,000 acres, with 46,856,577 acres alienated, 128,034,958 acres leased, and 23,956,465 acres unoccupied; and Victoria has an area of 56,245,760 acres, with 23,245,563 acres alienated, 13,148,701 acres leased, and 19,848,940 acres unoccupied. We have now to deal with the values of some of the staple products, and the amounts produced. I am sorry the honorable member for Robertson is not in the Chamber, because when he was speaking I, in a somewhat disorderly fashion, interjected a question as to what was the wheat production of 1896. The honorable member, with an assurance apparently born of conviction that what he was saying was absolutely true, was calmly and deliberately stating that the impetus given to wheat production in New South Wales was brought about by the free-trade policy. But what do we find on investigation? In 1891 there were in New South Wales 356,666 acres under wheat cultivation, yielding 3,963,668 bushels. That was after some 30 or 40 years of a mild policy of free-trade; with all its splendid agricultural resources New South Wales was not able to grow enough wheat for its own requirements. A small fillip was given to wheat growing by the imposition of a duty of 6d. per bushel in 1891. The honorable member for Robertson claimed that a great increase in production arose under an absolute free-trade policy in New South Wales. In 1896 the harvest was put

in under the belief there would be the advantage of the Dibbs duty, and, according to *Coghlan*, the increase in production from 1891 to 1896 was from 3,963,668 bushels to 8,853,445 bushels. After three years of the splendid benefits of free-trade, from 1896 to 1899, we find that the growers of New South Wales were not able to produce enough for the consumption of that State. In 1899, according to *Coghlan*, there was a nett import of wheat into New South Wales of 2,726,000 bushels. Yet we have the honorable member for Robertson, who says he represents a farming district—and I have no reason to doubt his statement—telling us of the splendid impetus to agriculture in that portion of New South Wales.

Mr. FULLER.—What was the increase in the acreage during those years?

Mr. KENNEDY.—In 1861, in round figures, there was an acreage of 123,000 in New South Wales; whereas in Victoria in that year there was an acreage of 196,000 acres, or 70,000 acres more. Victoria is a little bit ahead still.

Mr. FULLER.—What was the increase of the acreage from 1896 to 1900?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It must be pretty considerable, but I have not the figures.

Mr. DEAKIN.—There was an increase, but it was less than in the previous five years.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There is just one other phase of this question to which I should like to call attention—that is in regard to the margin of profit to the producer under the respective policies. I do not for a moment attribute the whole of the impetus in this particular direction to either free-trade or protection, because there were other factors at work, chief amongst which was foot-rot in sheep. It may require a stretch of imagination on the part of those who have not been closely identified with the industry to see any connexion between wheat production and foot-rot in sheep; but there is a connexion. In Riverina, in 1890, owing to the peculiar climatic conditions prevailing, we found the raising of sheep embarrassed to a considerable extent; and it was thought that wheat production would afford relief in the difficulty. The values then ruling for wheat were also a factor. In 1891, in New South Wales wheat gave a return of £2 0s. 10d. per acre; yet in 1900 it gave a return of £1 5s. per acre. After 30 years of free-trade in New South Wales, we find that State in 1899 importing over

2,000,000 bushels of wheat to meet the requirements of the people. Honorable members may endeavour to explain that away as they may, but the fact remains. With greater potentialities, I venture to say, than any other State in Australia for agricultural production, New South Wales, after all these years of absolute free-trade, imported wheat for its own requirements; and it simply depends upon climatic conditions, whether that State will not have to import wheat this year.

Mr. THOMSON.—We cannot regulate the weather.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But you can devote sufficient attention to the industry, as is done in other States under other conditions, to raise the food required. It might be said that free-trade caused a less production of milk from cows in New South Wales than did protection from cows in Victoria. It is a most extraordinary coincidence that New South Wales has so neglected her dairying industry that the free-trade cow will not give within 56 gallons as much milk as the protectionist cow in Victoria will give. Of course I do not attribute that to the free-trade policy of the sister State, but to dairying being a neglected industry. But is it not extraordinary that, as I think the honorable member for Illawarra will bear me out, some years ago the dairymen of Victoria went into his district to get an object lesson in dairying? They came back to Victoria, took that lesson to heart, and with what result? That our dairying exports to-day are nine times as great as those of the mother State.

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member ought to be thankful for the teaching we gave.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is another instance of the pupil becoming better than the tutor. I believe that the object lesson we have given to honorable members opposite will not only bring them up to our standard in everything pertaining to agriculture, but also in respect of their fiscal faith. So much in respect to wheat and dairying. Now, with regard to other items of agricultural produce, let me take one which is of considerable importance—one of the products for which the sister State is well adapted. The reason I am inflicting these figures on the House is in order to follow the line of argument of the honorable member for North Sydney, who sought to show the advantages of

the free-trade policy of New South Wales to the agriculturists of that State as compared with the effect of the protectionist policy of Victoria upon our agriculturists. I will take oats. I find, notwithstanding the industry of New South Wales in that particular direction, that in the year 1899 she had to import for her own requirements 1,690,000 bushels of oats, whilst in the same year Victoria exported 377,000 bushels of oats, after meeting her own requirements, showing again that the mother State is not producing sufficient for her needs at the present time.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Let the honorable member take maize.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Maize is one of those products for which the climate of Victoria is not adapted.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The same is the case with regard to New South Wales as to the production of oats.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I cannot agree with the honorable member, because to my own knowledge the district from Twofold Bay to close upon the district represented by the honorable member for Illawarra is well adapted for the production of oats.

Mr. FULLER.—It pays us better to produce milk there.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Then why not produce enough milk? Why not educate the cows of that district to yield more milk, or get more cows? Then, with regard to barley, I find that notwithstanding all the potentialities of New South Wales with respect to agriculture, she imported in 1899 115,966 bushels of barley and 422,272 bushels of malt, whilst Victoria exported, after supplying her own requirements, 5,480 bushels of barley and 16,070 bushels of malt.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Climatic conditions again.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is what I expected the honorable member would say. But I may reply that, of my own knowledge in New South Wales—in southern Riverina—they could grow five times the barley output of Victoria. The best barley grown in Australia may be grown in southern Riverina.

Mr. FULLER.—But the transit is too far.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If the transit is too far for barley, how is it that wheat is sent to Sydney from exactly the same district? Let me relate a little incident. In 1896, after the farmers of New South Wales—

chiefly Victorian emigrants—had developed their wheat-growing to a considerable extent in that State, there were some thousands of sacks of wheat stacked on the Berrigan-Jerilderie railway and on the Albury and Wagga railway line. But the millers of Sydney, to suit their own convenience, and to bear down prices, would not quote to the owners of this particular wheat. Wheat was then at a fair price. They said—"No, we will get our wheat from San Francisco." They got it from San Francisco. The duty of 6d. per bushel had been repealed. Yet the Adelaide millers could go into that district, buy that wheat and send it by rail to Adelaide at a profit. There was a splendid advantage for the agriculturist of New South Wales under free-trade! Every bushel of that wheat was stacked at railway sidings in New South Wales territory, yet the Sydney millers imported San Francisco wheat at a cost, landed in Sydney, of something like 12s. a ton, whereas it would cost 14s. 6d. to take the grain from Berrigan to Sydney. In order to bear down prices, which they could indisputably do under a free-trade Tariff, the millers could take that course, whilst the Adelaide millers could go to the same district, buy the wheat, and take it to their own particular locality.

Mr. POYNTON.—Who got the advantage of that?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Not the farmers of New South Wales.

Mr. POYNTON.—The poor people of the country.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am getting a bit tired of this claptrap about the poor people of the country. Whenever the Flinders-lane merchant has a little axe to grind, he takes the poor man of the colony on to his back. When the squatter has his little axe to grind, he gets the poor farmer on his back. But the poor man and the farmer in the major portion of cases have in reality to bear the squatter and the merchant on their shoulders.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—Let the honorable member ask the farmers around Horsham.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member may test the opinions of the farmers in that district if he likes. Fortunately or otherwise, I have had a close acquaintance with farming all my life. It may be that because I have been identified with it I cannot speak with any knowledge of the requirements of the farmer. It is indeed

with a certain amount of diffidence that I present my views to the House on this occasion. I have invariably found that when the gentlemen I refer to have their little axe to grind, they try to get the farmer to turn the handle. I certainly say that the grower of wheat gets no advantage from such a state of things as I have described. Another agricultural product is potatoes. What do we find in this case? Instead of the mother State, with all her resources, growing enough potatoes for her own requirements, I find that in 1899 she imported 58,384 tons of potatoes, whilst Victoria exported 10,962 tons. Hay is another requirement in all large centres of population. I find that the imports of hay into New South Wales, in 1899, were 131,609 tons, whilst Victoria exported 105,177 tons. How is it that this beneficent policy of free-trade has not given the agriculturists of New South Wales an opportunity to grow enough for the requirements of that State, and all the advantages that follow from production for local consumption? Coming to the minor products, I find first of all that in the cultivation of the vine, Victoria is still ahead. There are two particular lines in which the mother State stands out conspicuously. By the grace of nature her pastoral pursuits return to her double the amount obtained from the same sources in Victoria. This excess is not due to any superiority on the part of New South Wales in the management of these industries, or because of the fiscal policy of the State. It is due entirely to the superior endowments which New South Wales has received from nature. The same remark applies to her mineral resources, for her fiscal policy, of course, has no bearing whatever upon her productions in that direction. In wealth production from minerals, New South Wales is approximating to double the amount derived from that source in Victoria. I do not think that any honorable member, whether he is a protectionist or a free-trader, will lay any particular stress upon the effect of a fiscal policy on the products of these two industries.

Mr. FULLER.—But the people engaged in those industries have to pay for the protective duties.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have heard that assertion before, but I have shown that the imposition of protective duties does not raise the cost of the articles produced.

Coming to our manufactures, what do we find? It may be a sore point with some honorable members that we have heard a great deal about the mendicant industries of Victoria. I have never seen them, nor have I heard of them before. It is only those who desire to talk to the gallery who put forward such statements. We may have some minor industries for the assistance of which it is not desirable to impose taxation. I am not prepared to say anything in regard to them. As the result of protection, however, we have established many industries of which I am justly proud, and I would do nothing that would injuriously affect them. In order that I may not weary the House, I will give only in round numbers the figures relating to manufactures. I find that in those industries that come into competition with imported products we employ 11,000 people in excess of the number engaged in the same industries in New South Wales.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Fifty per cent. more.

Mr. KENNEDY.—In those industries natural to the soil, and not aided materially by any fiscal creed, New South Wales has an excess over Victoria of 8,000 employes. This excess occurs chiefly in the saw-milling, pottery, and such-like industries. Before leaving the subject, I should like to say a word or two in regard to the saw-milling industry. One would imagine, from some of the cross-firing which took place in the House last night, that this industry is confined to the towns. In New South Wales, with its splendid resources, it is confined exclusively to the forests, but it is true that in Victoria some of the saw-mills are connected with the large manufactories in the towns. Much attention has been devoted to the fact that more females are employed in the industries of Victoria than are to be found in the manufactories of New South Wales. But in what industries do we employ them? Are those industries in existence in New South Wales? And if she had them there, could she protect the employes as we protect them in Victoria? I say unmistakably that she could not do so. It has been proved all over the world—and that, to a considerable extent, is the reason why I am a protectionist—that under a policy of protection, if we have an industry which is worth establishing we can, by statute, come between an avaricious employer and his employes, and insure to the latter a fair

and proper reward for their labour. I feel that I have encroached unduly upon the patience of the House, but before resuming my seat I should like to summarize the relative positions of the industries of Victoria and New South Wales. In the pastoral industries New South Wales has an excess of £7,308,000 over Victoria; whilst in her mining industry she has an excess of £2,502,000 over Victoria. Her forests and fisheries, for which Providence or nature—not her fiscal policy—are responsible, show an excess over Victoria of £428,000. In these three natural industries New South Wales has greater potentialities and possibilities than we possess. I am not envious of New South Wales's happy position in that respect, because the success and prosperity of the mother State has meant always the prosperity and success of Victoria. Now that we are united it will be so to a still greater extent. The wealth production of these particular industries in New South Wales is £10,238,000 greater than that produced from similar industries in this State; but in those industries on which we have to depend, and which we could establish only under a protective policy, we have an excess of wealth production of £2,539,000. In the dairying and its allied industries—

Mr. CONROY.—Surely dairying does not depend on protection?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am sorry for the honorable and learned member when he appeals to me in that way, and it is more in sorrow than in anger that I would say a word or two to him. His query is well worth answering. Surely after digesting for eight or ten hours the little pill administered last night by the honorable and learned member for Indi to those of a different faith, he should have assimilated sufficient of it into his political anatomy to know that it is not only by protection through the Customs that we can assist an industry. The honorable and learned member for Indi was at pains to point out that it is by direct grants from the Treasury, as well as by protection through the Customs, that it is possible to assist industries. Let me give the honorable and learned member for Werriwa an illustration. I have in my possession a statement setting forth what has been done by Victoria during the last five years for the protection of the agricultural industry, and more particularly the dairying industry. I find that in bonuses, in technical education, in direct grants, and in the supervision,

classification, and inspection of exports from 1896-7 to 1900-1 Victoria expended no less than £223,543. Is that not protection? That might be called direct assistance, but we might directly assist the agricultural producers of the country more than we could through the customs. Is it not a splendid illustration of the beneficent effects of protection, either direct or indirect?

Mr. CONROY.—They are only given £220,000 back out of £30,000,000 of revenue they have contributed.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable and learned member may pitch that little fairy tale to somebody whose imagination is not quite so vivid as mine. The honorable member says that we have taken £30,000,000 from the agriculturalists of Victoria in the last four years.

Mr. CONROY.—No, five years.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The total revenue of the State does not amount to a great deal more for the time.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That does not indicate the amount of money taken from them.

Mr. KENNEDY.—These honorable members talk so frequently and so uninterruptedly about somebody putting his hands into some one else's pocket that it seems to me to be a practice familiar to a great many of them. The only men as to whom we have ever had much trouble through their getting their hands too deeply into the pockets of the agriculturists are the importers and their agents. We know how they walk into them. I have given one illustration, and the separator is another. The thing is legalized robbery. We have had the same cry about protecting the miner. We do give him some protection. As was mentioned by an honorable member last night, in New South Wales the agriculturist is given more protection directly than we give him or have given him in Victoria. I may say that I am sorry I have been drawn into a comparison between the two States, but it has been forced upon me. It is because the illustrations do not bear favourably upon the policy of New South Wales that I have been subjected to so much interruption. However, I rather welcome the interruptions, because they induce me to give a little more evidence as to who is right and who is wrong. The honorable member for Indi showed pretty fully last night how industries are assisted in New South Wales by preferential railway

facilities for local produce, as compared with the produce of other States. I rather admire the way in which the Parliament of New South Wales has encouraged industry in that direction. Let us hope that it is a dawning upon their intelligence of the practicability of something better hereafter. With regard to mining, what do we find—that in Victoria, covering practically the same period, we have expended directly in grants for testing plant, construction of races and dams, advances to prospectors, schools of mines and such like, £198,431. In addition to this expenditure, covering that particular period, what do we find? That during 1898 the Victorian Parliament calmly and deliberately placed upon the statute-book an Act of Parliament removing liabilities from the agriculturalists and pastoralists of Victoria to the extent of £1,642,791, and placing them upon the backs of the general taxpayers. Is that encouraging, or what do honorable members call it? Is that free-trade? That was writing off principal and interest for works carried out in the rural districts of Victoria, and especially for the benefit of the agriculturalists and the pastoralists of the State. It was money expended by the State for which the property in those rural districts was directly liable.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Does that include the expenditure for water?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is the amount written off by the Water Relief Act of 1898. I have been pointing out that it is not only through the Customs that it is possible to assist any particular industry, and I have shown that we have placed charges upon the general taxpayers of Victoria directly for the benefit of those engaged in mining and agriculture. I say we have done so calmly and deliberately, fully believing that ultimately the whole community would be decidedly advantaged by our action. I should like to give a little parting advice to honorable members opposite who are always preaching about "rickety industries." If they refer to *Coghlan* they will find that they have a few little "rickety industries," as they term them, in New South Wales, to which they hold out a little encouragement in the shape of protective duties. If they will refer to these particular industries, and to the prices of the articles produced by them, I would ask them how much the cost of those

articles has been increased by the duties they have imposed. I would ask them, further, to consider and note what their statistician says: That in the case of the particular industries which have received the benefit of a protective duty, the employes have increased, during a certain period, by 40 per cent.; whereas, in the case of the other industries which have had no assistance whatever, the increase in the number of employes has been only 20 per cent.

Mr. CONROY.—What are the industries?

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable and learned member must know the industries. Those for which a duty has been imposed in the State he represents are so few and far between that he should have no difficulty in finding out what they are. In order that they may make an examination upon the point, I shall also refer members to a price list quoted by the statistician of New South Wales, giving the range of prices during the operation of what were known as the Dibbs duties in New South Wales. The items upon which the duties were imposed were butter, cheese, potatoes, maize, bacon, eggs, rice, oatmeal, salt, soap, starch, sugar, and bread, and honorable members can compare the prices ranging over that cycle of years with those for the subsequent period, when the duty was taken off the major portion of them, if not all. Let honorable members see whether they have not, as a matter of fact, in some instances to pay a little more upon those particular lines since the duty has been removed. I refer honorable members to the volume of *Wealth and Progress of New South Wales*, for 1898-9, pages 523 to 540. There is, to my mind, a useful object lesson to be derived from the discussion that has ensued upon this motion, and I hope it will continue for a little longer. I feel I have had a splendid education during this debate, an education that has confirmed me in the position I have always taken up. With regard to the proposals contained in this particular Tariff, as I said at the outset, I do not for a moment hold myself wedded to every line and every proposal in the Tariff. When we hear some of the outcries made about the Tariff, and when we examine into them, what do we find? We have had, through the press and in this House, specific references made to the way in which the duties will affect the farmer. Here is one of the statements which have been published throughout the length and

breadth of the land. It appeared in the *Argus* of the 19th of this month, as coming from the Nathalia correspondent. Nathalia, I might say, is a place in my own district—

When the farmer's wife sells 20s. worth of dairy produce to the local store, she will find that that sum in the purchase of kerosene, sago, rice, tapioca, prints, flannelettes, cotton goods, and infants' boots will only go as far as 17s. did before the Commonwealth Tariff became law.

What have honorable gentlemen who are screeching for a revenue Tariff to say to that? There is not a protectionist in this House who would not strike off every one of those duties if it were possible.

Mr. CONROY.—Notwithstanding the fact that duties lower the price to the consumer?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have admitted that revenue duties increase the price of the articles upon which they are imposed, and no protectionist would from choice impose such duties. But what are we offered by the Opposition?

Mr. WILKS.—A seat on these benches.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I almost regret that I am not sitting on the opposition benches, and that the Tariff was not introduced by the leader of the Opposition. I could then have denounced for weeks any free-trade Tariff that he might have introduced, and I should have had the people of Australia behind me. The proposals of the Government embody good and sound principles, though a number of them are bad, and nothing will be left undone on my part to get rid of duties injurious to the producers. How would the leader of the Opposition get the £8,500,000 worth of revenue which he has practically admitted is required? He has told the citizens of the Commonwealth that he would not raise sixpence except by means of customs and excise duties, and he asked us to believe that revenue can be raised without taking money from any one. Surely we are not so insane as to believe such a statement. The honorable member for Wentworth proposes to put duties of 10 per cent. upon all the articles that are now on the free list, amounting to some £6,000,000 worth of imports. Last night the honorable member for Dalley quoted a speech made by the honorable and learned member for Indi, on an occasion when he was denouncing the action of a Government which lost its political life because of proposals similar to those

of the honorable member for Wentworth. That Government wanted to reach all the people by means of drag-net duties, and when it went to the country it lost some 30 of its supporters. But do we find any unanimity among honorable members on the opposition benches? The honorable member for Perth fearlessly expressed the opinion that he was prepared to accept a revenue Tariff, but only as a stepping-stone to direct taxation, and a similar opinion was expressed, in an interjection, by the honorable member for Barrier. We find both honorable members sitting side by side with the honorable member for Wentworth, who, I believe, would obtain all the necessary revenue from customs and excise duties. Those honorable members would have no indirect taxation at all.

Mr. WILKS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Would the Opposition go to the country, and tell the farmers, and those who have sunk their all in property, that every shilling required for the government of the Commonwealth and of the States must be levied by direct taxation? If the leader of the Opposition made that the clear-cut issue, would the honorable member for Illawarra go to his constituents in support of it? The term "traitor" has been applied to the leader of the Government, and we have heard the words "treachery" and "deceit" used during the debate, although the leader of the Opposition admitted that the Prime Minister stated in his Maitland speech that protection would be the order of the day. How would such words be accepted if applied outside this Chamber? Would not those who used them be made to substantiate them? And is the code of political honour with which we are to begin our parliamentary existence to be lowered below that which regulates private affairs? Notwithstanding the imperfections of the Government, I am glad to support them, and no one will do more than I shall to assist in getting rid of the difficulties created by the Tariff. I would not assist those who are on the opposition benches to cross to this side of the House, because the leader of the Opposition has behind him honorable members who say that there should be no indirect taxation. What brought the free-trade party of Victoria into discredit eight or nine years ago? Was it not exactly that combination which exists on those benches to-day—of the

honest, conscientious free-trader, and the deliberate, insidious single-taxer? Go when you will to the people of Australia with your single tax, but make it a clear-cut issue.

Mr. FOWLER.—The single tax and direct taxation are not the same thing.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They are not the same thing. We have it laid down clearly and distinctly that the right of direct taxation is left to the States alone; and the other method has been transferred to the Federal Parliament.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is not so laid down in the Constitution.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have not opposed direct taxation. So far as was in my power, I have assisted to impose direct taxation of the proper sort.

Mr. WILKS.—What does the honorable member call "the proper sort"?

Mr. KENNEDY.—An income tax I look upon as the most equitable tax which can be placed upon the statute-book.

Mr. POYNTON.—What about a land value tax?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am not going to be drawn into a side issue about a land tax or anything of that sort; but when honorable members ask me to support them in their effort to oust the Government, I ask for a clear-cut issue. They formulate proposals, but in their own utterances are they not clouding the issue on which they are fighting? It is simply a blind. Remove the screen, and let them submit an issue, and I am amongst those who are prepared to go to the electors on it. I ask those who are behind the proposal of the leader of the Opposition to consider well the situation from that stand-point and prove, when the analysis clearly shows what the true position is, who are the true friends of Australia.

Mr. POYNTON.—Has the honorable member got any more men of straw?

Mr. KENNEDY.—There is no straw in that. I am not in the habit of putting up bogies to knock them down. I might have an opportunity to analyse the fiscal policy put forward by the honorable member. Analyse that, and what does it do? It takes away in one act £2,500,000 from the revenue, and substitutes nothing for it.

Mr. POYNTON.—How much?

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member made the proposal, and he ought to know best.

Mr. McCAY.—I added it up, and it came to £2,430,000.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Are we, as *sane* representatives of the people of the Commonwealth, going for one moment to do anything that will embarrass the States? That is the position as it presents itself to my mind, and much as I dislike many of these Tariff proposals, I am amongst those who told their constituents and the people of Australia that one of the great objects to be achieved by federation was a larger market for the producers. I said that many of the higher protective duties—they are almost too high to my mind in Victoria—might be reduced without injuring or impairing in the slightest degree their operation, without risking the stability of an industry, and it is only industries of a wealth-producing character which are really worth bothering about. If it is possible by the aid of a duty or a bonus to establish an industry which will be of a wealth-producing character, giving employment to a considerable number of people, and not unduly enhancing the cost of the article produced to the consumer, the Government shall have my support in giving that aid.

Mr. WILKS.—That in itself is a pretty big order.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is not a big order; we have it in Victoria now. Upon our agricultural implements, on which so much stress has been laid, there is a 15 per cent. duty, and its imposition has not cost the Victorian farmer one penny extra for his implements. The New South Wales farmers buy the similar implements and pay a similar price for them; they do not get them for a cent less.

Mr. CONROY.—That is not so.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have heard that old yarn too often. I can prove it with the testimony of buyers in both States.

Mr. CONROY.—So can I my statement.

Mr. KENNEDY.—In my own case, I have absolute proof of it. It was a challenge in one of my elections. When an election is fought on these issues, one's opponents will leave nothing undone to get down to bedrock, and ascertain the facts. I feel that I have occupied the attention of the House much longer than I intended, but I offer no apology for doing so, because the subject is one of the gravest importance, and I felt that I could not give a silent vote. Although I am not in

accord with all the proposals of the Government—it could hardly be expected that I should be—ranging over so wide a field as they do, I am prepared to accept their statement as to the financial necessities of the States in preference to estimates from other quarters, no matter in what good faith they may have been submitted. And I am prepared to make considerable sacrifices in the interests of the union, in the interests of harmonizing the conflicting elements in the States; but on the question of principle I am not prepared to give way. Without unduly harassing any industry, or without placing extra charges on any section of the people, it is possible for us to establish on a satisfactory basis industries which will be of benefit to the whole of Australia. I give way to no one in my desire to assist those who are engaged in mining, pioneering, and prospecting throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth. When one realizes the extent of the territory over which our control ranges, and the sparseness of the population along the coast line, the unlimited area of unpopulated territory we have to develop, one recognises that our responsibilities are great, and that the demands on the Government will be great and perpetual. Consequently we should view with the most serious consideration the proposals of the Government in preference to those emanating, for any object whatever, from any other source. So far as in my power lies, I shall try to correct what, to my mind, are the errors or defects in the Tariff proposals. But from those who fight against them in order to get on to the Treasury benches, we require to have a clear cut issue; and when it comes, let us go back to those who sent us here, and whom we are here to represent, as best we may in the interests of all.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (East Sydney).—There is one point on which I cordially agree with the honorable member for Moira. I do not think that either the House or the country can regret the time which has been occupied by this debate. It is undoubtedly a very important subject we are considering, and I, for one, am prepared to admit that it is surrounded with very many difficulties. The discussion has had, I am free to confess, a very educational effect on me. I really did not know that there were so many men, earnest, conscientious, and highly intelligent who take views which I

am forced to believe are in contradiction to the highest intellectual discoveries of our civilization. To that extent it has been an education to me to listen to this debate, which I believe will ultimately have an educational influence upon the people of this State in particular, and upon the Commonwealth as a whole. When the Prime Minister indicated last evening that he hoped that this discussion would be shortened, I thought that his remarks were quite uncalled for. The debate has been conducted without the introduction of any personal feeling, and honorable members on both sides of the House have spoken from the highest public motives, and in a conscientious, honest manner. I do not think, therefore, that any one inside of the House or outside can regret the time that has necessarily been taken up in discussing the most important subject that Australia has to consider. When I entered into the struggle to secure federation for these States, what we had most to fight against in New South Wales was the feeling of the people against the surrender of their free-trade principles, and joining with others under a Tariff which, if it would not be protective, would not at any rate be free-trade in character. We free-traders have been accused by many inside and outside of the House of being insincere, in so far that we cannot secure absolute free-trade in the circumstances under which we have to administer the affairs of this Commonwealth, and although I am a convinced and consistent free-trader, and have been so all my life since I was able to think, I am prepared to admit thus early in our federal existence that I do not for one moment—nor could any one, short of an idiot—expect that a policy of absolute free-trade could be brought about in this Commonwealth. Whilst, however, we abandon the hope of instituting an ideal policy of free-trade, we are not prepared to accept a policy of ideal protection. That is the point where we join issue with honorable members opposite in connexion with the proposals now before the House, and I say that in submitting the Government policy for our consideration, the Prime Minister has not fulfilled the promises he made, not only at Maitland, but on subsequent occasions, when his ideas were emphasized and expanded. The impression he created in the minds of very many people in New South Wales and throughout the

Commonwealth was that we must necessarily have a Tariff of compromise, and that we should have a scientific Tariff, that we should have an Australian national Tariff. In Victoria he said that no one could suppose that we could have such a protective Tariff as that which was then in force in that State. Whether the Prime Minister is a traitor or not—and he has been defended by the honorable member who last spoke—I say that he has not only not kept his promise, but that he has missed one of the most glorious opportunities that is ever likely to be presented to an Australian statesman. The right honorable and learned gentleman, from his commanding position, and owing to the part which he took in the fight for federation, was selected to form the first Federal Ministry. The members of this Ministry were not directly elected by the people, either through selection by this House or by the direct vote of the people, but they were placed in their present positions by the force of circumstances. The Prime Minister admitted that fact, and stated that he was going to give us a national Tariff—that is, a Tariff that would be a compromise. In fighting for this Bill in New South Wales, we free-traders have invariably had to enforce the ideas of the right honorable gentleman in order to secure the acceptance of federation by the electors. When the Tariff was put off from time to time after the meeting of Parliament, I was asked by many of my constituents what I thought the Tariff would be. I said—"It will not be a free-trade Tariff, you may depend upon that; but it certainly cannot go above 15 per cent., otherwise the Prime Minister would break his explicit promise to the people of this Commonwealth, and I do not believe that under such circumstances the House would allow the Ministry to remain in power for a week."

Mr. CHAPMAN.—He never made any such promise.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—If the Prime Minister had properly appreciated the fact that he had been selected for national purposes to start this national machine, he would have adopted a Tariff which both sides of this House—protectionists and free-traders—could have accepted, and we should have had a fair start as a nation with what the mercantile world has been longing for for many years past, a fixed

Tariff. This would have enabled the people to get to work and to know what they were doing. From what the Prime Minister intimated in his various speeches, it appeared to me that he had an opportunity of which he intended to take advantage to frame a national Tariff. Our Tariffs have grown up haphazard, as necessity has arisen for raising revenue, for protecting some industry, or for meeting emergencies, and so on, and one Tariff has differed from another by reason of the circumstances of the State in which it was instituted; but here was an opportunity given to the ablest and most experienced men in Australia to frame a Tariff for a continent—for a new nation. That Tariff might have been laid down on scientific lines, such as would have involved no harm to existing industries or prejudice to the people of the Commonwealth. There has, however, been no attempt on the part of the Government to proceed on scientific lines. The first canon of taxation is that taxes should be so levied that the burden will fall according to the strength of those who have to bear it. But under the proposals that are now before the House, we have instance after instance in which the burden will fall upon the weakest shoulders. We have instance after instance where luxuries and articles used only by those who can command everything they want, are lightly taxed, and in no sense is this a scientific Tariff. Even from a protectionist point of view it fails in this respect, because taxes are put on raw materials and on the machinery of production. The agriculturists are oppressed by duties on their implements and machinery, and on everything that they consume.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The honorable member cannot give a single instance in which a difference is made in the price of machinery?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I am not going to follow those honorable members who have quoted statistics. We have had more statistics quoted in this House during this debate than we shall ever have again I hope, and I cordially agree with the remarks of that honorable member who said that they were simply thrown about from one side of the House to the other without effecting any good purpose. I know something of statistics myself, and I have seen them used on both sides of the House with a twist and a strain that was not altogether honest. I do

not think that the case can be at all assisted by any reference to statistics. I have twice had to deal in this House with questions upon which, I had to admit, I possessed no special knowledge, and I was twitted by the Minister for Defence with having slated the Defence Bill after having acknowledged that I knew little about the subject. To that I plead guilty; but, regarding this measure, I claim—whether it may appear modest or not—that I know all that a man wants to know. I know as much probably of what will be the incidence of this taxation as does any man in this House. I have had experience in business, and I know what the effects of this Tariff will be upon business men. I am a manufacturer myself, and likely to be more largely interested in manufactures as the years go on; but since I cannot tell in what particular direction my money will be invested, I cannot be accused of being actuated by feelings of self-interest in this matter. I say that the Tariff, whether looked at as a revenue Tariff, as a protectionist Tariff, or as a scientific Tariff, fails in each respect. What is the first principle for which we look in a Tariff? Commercial men in my own State and elsewhere, when I talk to them about Tariff matters, say—"It does not matter very much what the Tariff is, so long as it is settled upon just, sound lines, which are not likely to be disturbed for some years." That is just where this Tariff fails. I believe that numbers have been counted, and that the Tariff will be carried by this House. But admitting that the phalanx of revenue tariffists in this Chamber are unable to prevent its passage, I say that as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning, so surely will an agitation be commenced at the next election for the repeal of the best portion of it. As a result, we shall have to discuss this matter over and over again till a reasonable compromise, such as I am advocating, has been arrived at. I do not contend for one moment that we ought to have a free-trade Tariff. We cannot obtain the revenue we require by an absolutely free-trade policy. But it is possible for us to frame a national Tariff which will lay down the lines of our fiscal taxation in such a way that for some years to come few people will be inclined to call it into question, whilst mercantile and manufacturing interests will go on their way, and begin to make profits. Not only is this Tariff not scientific or revenue-producing, but it

enters in some respects into matters which are quite new—matters of taxation which have not been defended in the slightest degree by any single member of this House. It contains, for example, such items as the package rates which in other States were abolished years ago as a relic of barbarism. Then we have a new system of taxation introduced—at any rate, it is new to me—in the nature of "composite" rates, under which Ministers have concealed a vast amount of protection. Honorable members by perusing the Tariff will see that the rate upon certain sorts of boots is so much per dozen pair and so much per cent., but until they work out the calculation they cannot realize to what extent the duty in question is operating as a protective one. Then there is a provision which enables the Government to impose certain duties by proclamation. It is most dangerous to put into the hands of any Government the power of levying a duty at some future time upon any article at their own sweet will. What does it mean? The time will come when some individual wants to start a particular form of industry. If he does not happen to be friendly with the Government of the day, this power will not be exercised, and duties will not be imposed to enable him to commence operations. But should anyone come along who enjoys their good-will, this provision will immediately be put into operation. I maintain that the power of levying taxation should be in the hands of this House and should never leave it. When Ministers set to work to frame a national Tariff they had a right to pay regard to the fact that we have differences throughout Australia far greater than any single State has had to face, far greater, probably, than any nation in the world has had to contend with—differences in climate, industrial differences, economic differences. For example, a tax upon blankets in one part of the Commonwealth will be felt by the poor. In northern Queensland, however, it will not affect the poor one iota. A tax upon boots will be felt by the children of Victoria, but in Queensland I have seen many children of well-to-do parents who do not wear boots. These differences serve to show that Ministers should have framed a national Tariff under which, irrespective of the varying circumstances of the States, the people would have been equally taxed in accordance with their ability to pay taxation. The problem which Ministers

had to face was one of raising a certain amount of revenue, instead of which the problem they have put before themselves and before this House is one of fiscalism—of supporting certain industries and of endeavouring to promote particular lines of manufacture in order to help certain people in contradistinction from certain other people. That was never the problem with which they were confronted. The problem which they should have attempted to solve was how to raise a certain sum of money in such a way as would be equitable, whilst producing the least amount of irritation amongst the people of the Commonwealth. It is not a question of production at all. The production of Australia, if we leave it to the intelligence of the people, will take very good care of itself. Production in Australia is probably greater per head than it is in many other countries of the world, and it will continue to increase relatively to the production of those countries. There is no necessity to foster production here. The problem with which we have to deal—and which will have to be dealt with more earnestly as time goes on—is that of the more equitable distribution of wealth amongst the people. Yet we are commencing, in our first economic legislation, to lay down a system of taxation under which the poor man will pay as much as the rich man, and which will tend to still further accentuate the difference between the position of the individual who produces the wealth of a country and that of the individual who enjoys it. Any attempt to protect manufacturers, if carried to its logical conclusion, can result only in protecting about one-twelfth of the people. The other eleven-twelfths will have to bear the burden, and it is manifestly unjust to tax eleven-twelfths of our population in order that one-twelfth may enjoy the benefit thus derived. Protection to my mind is a fraudulent principle. Although it is possible to point to instances in which manufactures have been established by protection, and to countries like the United States where extraordinary prosperity has reigned, and where wealth has been created to a fabulous extent, that does not disprove the statement that protection is a fraudulent principle, because side by side with the creation of this wealth we behold increasing poverty and pauperism and an increasing number of millionaires—people who wield more influence than

did the kings of old. The fallacy which underlies the contention of some honorable members in this matter can be likened only to a man advising the honorable and learned member for Indi to quit his profession for an hour or two a day and devote his time to the making of his own boots. It seems to me that a nation cannot become rich by abandoning its natural industries, and devoting its attention to something which is not natural to it, and which it can pursue only by some system of force or compulsion. We can no more enrich countries, by forcing them through any fiscal legislation, than we can enrich an individual like the honorable and learned member for Indi by compelling him to make his own boots. There is an essential difference between the principle of taxation proposed by the Ministry and that suggested by the Opposition. I admit that we cannot have an ideal free-trade policy, as others, no doubt, admit that they would not care to go to the full extreme of protection. When the protectionist seeks to derive revenue, and at the same time protect certain industries, his efforts have the effect of diverting into the Treasury a certain sum of money. But that is not the end of the transaction. The person protected levies on the consumer another tax which is frequently the larger of the two, and the burden, thus increased, is always greatest when the taxation is great. We cannot impose high taxation of the kind without increasing the accompanying burden which the people have to bear. If we grant a monopoly, as it were, in a community to manufacture a certain article, which cannot be imported from abroad except on payment of a duty, the consumer has to pay not only that duty, but also what the manufacturer may charge him on account of the impost. The difference between the two principles is that honorable members on the Opposition side of the House would tax the people in order to take as nearly as possible the £7,500,000 or the £8,000,000 required, and would see that the money went into the public chest, whereas those on the Ministerial side would tax the community in such a way as to raise £15,000,000 or £20,000,000, in order to place £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 in the Treasury. Those honorable members who fail to see the distinction between the two forms of taxation must be somewhat deficient in intellectual vision. The policy

of commercial freedom will give more stimulus to manufactures than will any system of protection that can be devised. The people of this community, with their intelligence, energy, and proneness to enter into any enterprise which promises profit or affords them an opportunity of getting on in the world, will, if left alone, be absolutely certain to develop the interests of the country in the best directions. It is not in the power of this or any other Parliament to legislate for the whole of the employment and prospects of a people, and tell them how and where they can best use their energies. The people themselves are the best judges of the industries into which they ought to put their money and their labour, and the less they are interfered with the better for the national welfare. It is not the duty of this side of the House to formulate a policy under which revenue for the Commonwealth can be raised. We have been twitted by some honorable members with having objected to the policy of the Government without showing in what way we ourselves would raise the revenue. We have not the command of means, nor the time for solving the problems involved; that is the duty of the Ministers. The Government, having taken a long time to solve these problems, laid their proposals before the House, and the duty of the Opposition is to say whether the Ministerial policy is the best for the country, or whether it is possible to adopt a better one. Although from the beginning there was not the slightest chance of ousting the Government, the position taken up by the Opposition of presenting a formal motion condemning the Tariff proposals was one which, if we were to be honest and adhere to our principles, we could not shirk. There was a distinct challenge thrown down to us by the Minister for Trade and Customs, when he said:—"This is a protective policy." We had not been looking for a protective policy, but for a national policy. The gauntlet, however, was thrown down, and the leader of the Opposition would have been wanting in dignity and in consistency to the principles he advocates, if he had not picked up that gauntlet, and let the country see that, at any rate, the Opposition were prepared to fight, even though they knew beforehand they would be defeated. For myself, if I were asked how I would deal with this Tariff—and a member is, suppose, free to say how he would deal with it—I should in some respects

adopt the view of the honorable member for North Sydney, who is manifestly right when he suggests an increase in the excise on tobacco. I know that the tobacco industry will permit of an increase. I regard that duty as a tax on a luxury, which can be borne by the people much better than can some of the taxes on the necessities of life, and even on the very food of the poor. The suggestion of the honorable member for North Sydney is a wise and sound one, and I hope the House will take it into favorable consideration.

Mr. SALMON.—It would absolutely kill the tobacco growing industry.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is very easy for honorable members to say that such an increase would kill the tobacco growing industry.

Mr. SALMON.—It did so in Victoria, and surely the honorable member will be guided by experience.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I am guided by my experience, which I dare say is as great as that of the honorable member. I know that money is being made in the tobacco industry more largely every year, and tobacco is a luxury on which people can afford to be taxed. As Napoleon said, luxury has a broad back and can stand the weight of taxation. When we are faced with the alternatives of putting a tax on tobacco or of putting a tax on food, blankets, or boots, the suggestion of the honorable member for North Sydney comes to us as a sound piece of fiscal advice, and I hope it will be taken by honorable members. I am not so clear as to that honorable member's further suggestion that there should be an increase of the excise on beer. I have not had time to go fully into this matter because calculations of this nature involve expert advice, and the obtaining of figures from those who possess full information; and very frequently when an effort is made to get figures from those who are interested in a trade, they are either unobtainable, or we are misled. I am not in a position to check the figures with regard to what would be the probable effect of an increase of the excise on beer, and I am not prepared to advocate such a step. But, if it can be proved that an extra 1d. of excise can be placed on beer without doing any very great harm, I should prefer to see the impost made, and some of the duties taken off the actual necessities of life, tools of trade, agricultural machinery,

or the raw material out of which our manufacturers have to make their goods. I quite agree that it would be better to reduce the *ad valorem* duties. It was never expected anywhere outside of Victoria that these duties would be so high as they are. The moment the Tariff was out, it was said at once—"This is a Victorian Tariff." I do not think it is a Victorian Tariff, and I hate to hear so much about comparisons between Victoria and New South Wales in this connexion. I do say, though, that it is a Victorian manufacturers' Tariff. The Victorian manufacturer, under a Tariff like this, will find, in a few years to come, that it will be profitable for him to transfer himself and his factory into the neighbouring State of New South Wales. He would lose by staying in Victoria. If there is anything sound in the principle of protection, the Victorian factories will be transferred to near Newcastle, which is their natural home. We have established factories in New South Wales, and they have done very well under free-trade. I myself have a factory, and have done very well under that policy. While I am speaking on this point, I may allude to what was said by the honorable member for Mernda the other night. He twitted me about my interest in the jam trade when I said something about starch. I am going to deal with the question of starch later on, but I may say now, with reference to the jam trade, that I started jam making in New South Wales under the Dibbs Tariff. I had my first 18 months of manufacturing under that Tariff. There was a strong duty upon imported jam at that time. With a quarter of my capital and one-sixth of my turnover, I made more money in one year under the Dibbs Tariff than I have ever made since. That was of no benefit to the consumers of New South Wales and of no benefit to the workers. The only person who benefited was myself. That is the case with artificial industries generally. In one half of them the big profits which are made by the manufacturers are kept in locked ledgers and covered up in various accounts, so that they may be kept as quiet as possible. There is another section of factories that are started by people who make foolish calculations of the amount of profit they will derive in consequence of the protective system. Industries started under those auspices very frequently come to grief. So that there are two classes of

industries that are fostered by protection—those which must come to grief, because there is nothing but protection at the back of them; and secondly, those which would be profitable under any circumstances, and which under protection make the profit which they would make naturally, plus the profit which protection gives to them. I am glad to see that the Treasurer has introduced a sinking fund system in connexion with our loans. There is something in what the honorable member for Bland has said, however—that the difficulty with sinking funds is that they have a tendency to sink out of existence.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I propose to purchase stock with the money.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—If there is any way of securing the fund so that in so many years it may have the effect of extinguishing our debt, it will be a right principle to adopt in dealing with the finances of this country in the future.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I propose to purchase our own stock each year.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—That would be a very good system to adopt. Another matter which the Treasurer touched upon is of even greater importance than that, namely, that of inducing or compelling the banks to keep their reserves in Commonwealth notes. We have there a source of convenience and a source of profit of which the world has been frightened for many years. There have been South Sea Bubble schemes, and many other failures of the kind, which have made the world somewhat frightened of paper money. In the past we have had Governments which possibly have not been so honest as those we have to-day, and which have not possessed the same soundness and stability. But the time for suspicion, and for looking askance at schemes of paper money has gone by. Thinking men now recognize that paper is quite good enough as currency so long as there are honest men and an honest State behind it. If we believe in our Commonwealth there is no reason whatever why we should not, when the Treasurer wants £1,000,000, issue a million £1 Commonwealth notes, and pass them out to the people, so long as the money is incontrovertible, and will be received by the Government in shape of taxes. The Treasurer has promised to make inquiries as to how similar schemes is operating in Canada, where it has

been officially adopted, and I am convinced from what I have learned that it will be found that that scheme works very effectively, and that the Treasurer can safely go even further than they have gone in Canada. When we are talking about financial expedients, let me point out that we have had a Ministry sitting for eight or nine months considering the question of a Tariff, and that after much cogitation the mountain has brought forth this terrible monster—this mouse, or whatever honorable members like to call it.

Mr. REID.—A bandycoot.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—But we have had no serious attempt on the part of my right honorable friend the Treasurer, whose care of the public accounts has so distinguished him, and to whom we look with some confidence in these matters, to take advantage of the chance of a lifetime in starting our Commonwealth finance upon a proper footing. The Treasurer has had an opportunity such as only occurs once in the life of a statesman—that of starting our finances on sound lines. The Treasurer admits that the Commonwealth has been started on a basis of extravagance, and I think he will be forced to admit that the Government have not shown any definite financial policy in dealing with the problem. There has been no attempt to restrict what will inevitably be a growing extravagance on the part of these States. One would have thought that the wisest and ablest men we could bring together in the Commonwealth—some of whom have occupied the position of Treasurer in their own States—would have evolved some scheme for dealing with the financial relations between the Commonwealth and the State Treasuries. We have had no intimation whatever of any such action, but only a rough-and-ready chandler's shop policy of wanting so much money for the States—of raising so much revenue, and dealing it back again to the States to meet their requirements. I am not a financier myself; I am just a plain business man. But I say there are opportunities for displaying financial policy in connexion with these matters, for which we had a right to look from men so gifted as those who occupy the Treasury benches. I think that some ripe and just scheme could have been evolved, by which we could have consolidated the debts of these States, and so relieved ourselves of this terrible bother of having to consult the

necessities of the States every time we are called upon to deal with a financial statement for the Commonwealth.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It would mean making a big present to the bond-holders.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I notice what the Treasurer said in his Budget statement, but that does not go right to the heart of the question. I believe that we shall have a serious difficulty staring us in the face every year when the financial statement is made, if we do not pay attention to the growing extravagance of these States. In my own State of New South Wales, and I think the other States are in very much the same position, the Government are positively anticipating this surplus which the Commonwealth is giving them. We have a gentleman in New South Wales named O'Sullivan. He would take the whole £9,000,000 if he could get it. It would be a mere nothing to him. In New South Wales they are increasing the cost of government year by year. Successive Administrations have let the expenditure grow from £8,000,000 to £9,000,000, £10,000,000, £11,000,000 and £12,000,000, and they are still running up the outlay. The Federation will never be able to provide the revenue that that State will require. The same appears to be the case with the local authorities in this State of Victoria. They are looking forward to the surplus they will receive as a means of paying their old-age pensions, to pay off the deficit, and to do all sorts of things. In the meantime no attempt at economy is made in the States. When the people were agitated in favour of federation it was said to them that economies would be effected in the States, and that these would necessarily follow the establishment of the Commonwealth. I preached from that text with all my heart, because I believed as an honest man that that would be done. So long as I can talk I shall preach it. The State Governments administered the affairs of the whole Federation for £7,000,000 odd, and why should not the Commonwealth Government be able to administer their affairs for that sum, plus the £269,000 odd which the Treasurer says he will require for new expenditure?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—What about the £1,000,000 that we have to give to New South Wales?

Mr. REID.—To give! It is her own money.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The Commonwealth Government has to raise it.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The point I wish to make is this: The expenditure of the States is growing year by year, and they look to the Commonwealth to provide the money they require by increasing the customs and excise duties. So long as that state of affairs continues, we shall have great extravagance in the States, though, prior to federation, we were told in one State after another that, when the States federated, the number of representatives in the State Parliaments would be reduced, that their salaries would be reduced, that some of the high officers of the public service would be got rid of, and the salaries of others reduced, and that many other economies would be effected, not one of which has been carried out. So long as the present system continues, the States will look to their share of the revenue raised by the Commonwealth to make up the deficiencies caused by their extravagance. I have here a little pamphlet published by Mr. Justice Clark, and although I do not agree with all his conclusions, the paragraph which I am about to read seems to me to cover the ground which I am now traversing—

The final ground upon which I urge the assumption of the public debts of the States by the Commonwealth, is that the financial dependence of the States upon a contribution from the Federal Treasury is contrary to the fundamental character of the type of federal government which the Constitution purports to establish, and if it becomes permanent, it will subjugate the whole financial policy of the Commonwealth to a consideration of its results upon the separate Treasuries of the several States. But the assumption of the public debts of the States by the Commonwealth in the manner which I proposed, will put an end to all compensatory distributions of surplus federal revenue among the States, and therefore will put an end also to any consequent keeping of accounts between the Commonwealth and the States. The fundamental feature of the type of federal government exhibited by the Constitution of the Commonwealth is the perfect independence of the States, and the Commonwealth *inter se* in the exercise of the governmental powers respectively assigned or reserved to them. To secure this result in its entirety, the financial independence of the States and of the Commonwealth *inter se* is indispensable. If a relationship of financial dependence on the part of the States is maintained between them and the Commonwealth, the financial policy of every State will be inevitably controlled by the financial policy of the Commonwealth, and questions of federal politics will become intermingled with the local politics of every State to an extent which will make every political conflict in each State a reflection and repetition of a contemporaneous conflict in the

sphere of federal politics. But this departure from the true ideal of federal government will not be confined to the subordination of the political life of the separate States to the politics of the Commonwealth. It will extend to the political life of the Commonwealth; and the intermingling of local and national questions will frequently cause the local questions to have a determining influence in the elections of members of the Federal Parliament; and thus produce a counter-dependence of the politics of the Commonwealth upon the politics of the State. The inevitable result will be a lower level of statesmanship in the Parliament of the Commonwealth than that which the national life of Federated Australia ought to evolve, and the predominance of provincialism in an arena into which it ought never to enter.

So long as the States look to the Commonwealth to make up their deficiencies, so long will they endeavour to send into this Parliament men who will join in the scramble for what can be got of the revenue raised by federal taxation. The Federal Government should preserve the people from undue taxation; and it would have been better if Ministers had shown some financial aptitude in dealing with this great question. Our difficulties are only commencing, and there can be no better time for grappling with them than now. If Ministers had come forward with some well-considered and just scheme, under which the debts of the States could have been consolidated, to the ultimate profit of both the Commonwealth and the States, we could have done with a lower Tariff.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I should like to see the man who could devise such a scheme.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—We look to those on the Treasury benches to solve some of these difficulties; but, instead of attempting to solve them, the Ministry seem to have devoted their attention to evolving things like composite duties, to formulating requests to Parliament to give them power to impose duties by proclamation, and to putting forward other extraordinary features of legislation, which are either new to Australia, or have been discarded years ago. I think that some scheme for assisting the weaker States of the Commonwealth might have been evolved by Ministers. All they propose is to impose upon the larger States a larger burden of taxation than is necessary for the Commonwealth administration, handing back the surplus to the State Governments.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The bookkeeping clauses of the Constitution compel us to do that.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Yes; but under the Constitution the Commonwealth is empowered to assist the weaker States. To heap taxation upon New South Wales is no way to assist Tasmania.

Mr. REID.—The Constitution Bill was amended at the Premiers' Conference specially to enable the Commonwealth to assist the weaker States.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I give the Treasurer every praise for the succinct statements which he put before honorable members in delivering his Budget speech. Like the honorable member for Bland, I had no trouble in following his exposition of the financial position, and we know that it is not always the case that a Treasurer makes a statement which honorable members can follow. But if the right honorable gentleman had shown the quality for which he so signalled himself in his own State, and had exhibited a rigid determination that the expenditure of the Commonwealth should be cut down, I should have been much better pleased. Although the new expenditure that is provided for does not include the whole amount which will ultimately be expended under that head, and includes items of an extraordinary and non-recurring nature, I think that, on the whole, it is well within the limits that we had a right to expect would be imposed. But the right honorable gentleman should have exerted some control over the growing expenditure in other departments.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Have I not stopped the increases?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—If we take the Estimates of the Defence department, for example, we find that during the last two or three years they have increased by some hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—By £360,000.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Yes; but the Treasurer has taken a most extraordinary attitude in regard to those Estimates. He admitted that the figures are too high, and, with his character for careful financing and economy, we might have expected that he would have cut down these wretched items against which the economists in all the States have been fighting year after year. But, instead of doing so, he brings them forward and says that he looks to honorable members to assist him in reducing them.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I cut down the Defence department's estimates by hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Then goodness only knows what would have happened if they had come to us as presented originally to the Treasurer. I can only say that the Treasurer will have my best assistance in cutting them down further, and thus removing the necessity for increased taxation upon the people. I think it is apparent that the Treasurer has over-estimated his expenditure. Of course one speaks with difficulty upon this subject, because the Treasurer has the best advice obtainable. He has the time and opportunity to consult books and to give attention to other matters necessary to enable him to form a correct estimate. He ought to be right in these matters, and we should be able to take his estimates as correct. But having regard to the basis upon which the Treasurer has framed his estimates of expenditure I feel justified in saying that they are inflated. While he complained of the suggestion that he should base his estimates of receipts upon the returns for an abnormal year, we find that he has not hesitated to adopt that course in regard to his estimates of expenditure. The expenditure last year was swollen grossly by excesses in the Defence estimates to which I have referred, and by large excesses in regard to special items, such as the cost of contingents and the festivities in connexion with the celebrations.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They were not included.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The Treasurer bases his estimates of the revenue he is likely to require upon what was admittedly the inflated expenditure of last year. There are many items in his calculations in regard to which he does not give credit for any revenue at all, although I know that something will be obtained from them. The Treasurer's estimate of the revenue from sugar is £530,000. I know something about the trade, and there is a way of arriving at the total consumption of sugar per annum, which I have often resorted to, and have found, when tested, to work out correctly. *Coghlan* states that in New South Wales the annual consumption is 103 lbs. per inhabitant, and in Victoria 92.3 lbs. per inhabitant, while in Queensland we have the extraordinary fact that it is 129 lbs. per inhabitant.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Those figures are unreliable.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I know they are unreliable. In South Australia the

annual consumption of sugar is 98 lbs. per head; in Western Australia it is 114 lbs. per head, and in Tasmania it is 84 lbs. per head. The large consumption of sugar in Western Australia may be accounted for by the fact that there is a large mining population there. By striking an average we get the *per capita* consumption of 103 lbs.; and, taking the last statistics of the population, we find that we have a total consumption of 173,950 tons of sugar per annum in the Commonwealth. I have often tested this method in calculating the prospects of an approaching sugar market, and I find that the average consumption per head is just over 100 lbs. The Treasurer says that he will obtain £120,000 from the duty on imported sugar. That means that, with a duty of £6 per ton, he anticipates that there will be 20,000 tons of imported sugar consumed. Consequently the remaining 153,950 tons must bear excise at the rate of £3 per ton. That would give us £461,850.

Mr. PRESSE.—What about the bonus?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I am not dealing with the bonus at all, because I am sure that does not enter into the Treasurer's figures. The customs and excise duties on sugar will thus yield a revenue of £581,850, while the Treasurer's estimate is only £530,000. I find, by the way, that there are one or two discrepancies in the Treasurer's figures. In one place he estimates that £120,000 will be received from the duty on imported sugar, and in another place the estimate is given as £127,606. I presume that in the latter case the difference is due to glucose.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Very likely.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The estimate which I have just worked out shows an excess of £51,850 above the Treasurer's figures. As a business man I am prepared to say that that sum will be realized if the Treasurer can collect these duties. Unfortunately, the Government have made a most extraordinary mistake in connexion with their taxation proposals, a mistake that every business man outside could see from the first, although it was impossible to tell what particular duties were going to be imposed. If the Tariff had been tabled on the first of June last, I believe honestly that it would have made a difference of nearly £1,000,000 in the revenue returns for the current year. In the first place, the Government would have caught the tea imports which

come in shortly after June, and the returns from the excise on sugar would have been increased. The sugar-cane crushing commences in June. I have not been able to ascertain from the Minister for Trade and Customs, although I have asked the question, how the Government are going to collect the excise duty on sugar; whether they propose to collect it at the mills where the sugar-cane is crushed, or at the stores. If they go to the mills they will find that the crushing for this year is nearly over, and if they follow the sugar to the stores they will land themselves in difficulties in regard to the question where the duty is to be collected. On the items of tea and sugar, which commence to arrive in June, and on kerosene, which was imported in very large quantities just about June—

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The free goods of New South Wales have been rushing in since January last.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—If the Ministry had had the good sense to table this Tariff on the 1st June they would have caught all these things. Business men knew that the duties were coming. It was the duty of Ministers, as the custodians of the interests of the Commonwealth, to protect those interests by presenting their Tariff at an early date, and collecting this revenue. What have they been doing? If the Tariff had shown anything to justify the delay the position would have been different. From what I can see of it, however, the work must have been simplicity itself. Apparently the Government took the Tariffs of the different States—and particularly the Victorian Tariff—cut a bit off here, and a bit off there, and in that way framed their proposals. I regret to learn that the work has interfered with the health of the Minister for Trade and Customs, but in my opinion it is a work which the right honorable and learned gentleman should have been able to carry out in as many weeks as it took months. If expedition had been shown the revenue of the Commonwealth would have been protected to the extent of £1,000,000. To show that my calculation as to the probable consumption of sugar is approximately correct, I will give a further illustration. If we take the factor of 7·3 lbs. as the annual consumption of tea per head of the population of Australia—and that is Mr. Coghlan's estimate—it works out at £383,211,

while the Treasurer expects, with an *ad valorem* duty at the average rate, to get in £384,312. If one set of figures come out as correctly as that the other set must be pretty well accurate. If the Tariff had been tabled on the 1st June the Treasurer's estimate of the revenue from sugar would have been exceeded, as it will be in future years by £51,800. When the Treasurer was introducing his financial statement I was greatly struck by the fact that his estimate of the revenue from the duty on boots and shoes amounted to only £68,100 for the whole Commonwealth. Unmistakably that revenue is grossly underestimated. The Treasurer ought to get four times as much. Why is he not going to get it? Simply because he is pursuing a protective policy, and the duty is put on not to get revenue, but to stop it. That is the whole truth. If the Government, in the exercise of all their ability, had put on a poll-tax—that old financial expedient and ancient method of taxation—of 2s. per head upon the whole of the people of this Commonwealth, it would have given us a revenue of £400,000, and it would have saved the people of this country another £500,000.

Mr. McCay.—Is the honorable member advocating that?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—In comparison with the Ministerial proposals, I say it would have been an abler financial expedient. It would have been the means of getting more revenue, while more lightly taxing the people, if the Government had reverted to that ancient form of taxation, and had imposed a poll-tax of 2s. The working man would have saved many shillings a year by it, and would have been much better off. But the Government in order to protect the boot factories of this State, and some of the other States, but certainly not of New South Wales, where they appear to be able to get along very well without a duty, have put on a duty so high as to restrict imports, and bring down the revenue to be derived from boots and shoes for a population of 4,000,000 to only £68,100. We are imposing an increased duty for the protection also of some six or eight factories in Tasmania, where they are progressing very well under a 20 per cent. duty. In this Tariff the Government propose duties that range from 60 per cent. down to 25 per cent., and yet they only get the revenue I have mentioned,

£68,100. This duty upon boots and shoes will be a poll tax upon the working-man of 10s. a year instead of 2s. a year. The Government come down upon him most severely with this boot tax, which, above all others in this iniquitous Tariff, bears most heavily upon the working classes.

Mr. McCay.—Unfortunately for the honorable member, the facts are against him.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I say that the Treasurer, in estimating the revenue, has taken a wrong view of it, because he refuses to take the figures for last year, although he has taken last year's returns as the basis for his estimates of expenditure. The right honorable gentleman goes back from last year, because in respect of revenue he says it was an abnormal year, and was inflated. I point out, however, that the Treasurer goes back also beyond what is a normal rate of increase. It has been established—I think pretty definitely, in looking over several years—that there is a normal rate of increment in our customs and excise taxation, a natural growth without any alteration of duties, of about 4 per cent. I believe the exact percentage is something like 3·83, but 4 per cent. is near enough for purposes of calculation. The revenue of the Commonwealth States in 1899 was £7,437,596. If we add 4 per cent. to that, it gives us £7,724,600, and the actual revenue received in 1900, which the Treasurer refuses to take as his basis, was £7,766,000, or just £42,000 more than the figure I have stated. If we put 4 per cent. on to that again, I say the Treasurer would receive more than he has anticipated, and not because of any inflation, but in consequence of a normal increase. The Treasurer cannot tell me or any other business man in this Commonwealth that we are to stand still, and that there is to be no increase in the rate of our progress.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have not said so. Each year will have to be calculated on its own basis. I have taken simply what would be a normal year at the present time.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I am referring to what I consider the erroneous basis adopted by the Treasurer in declining to accept last year's receipts on the ground that they were abnormally high, while, at the same time, in going back to another year he has not added to that year any amount to represent the normal rate of increment,

even supposing that last year's estimates were inflated. The right honorable gentleman cannot tell me that the normal rate of increment is going to cease. All business men know full well that whatever may be the ultimate outcome of federation, an immediate result will be an increase of trade. Building will start, there will be an accession of energy in all directions, and this always means more consumption, more consumption meaning more importation and more revenue. Even admitting that last year's receipts were inflated in many respects, as they no doubt were, I think the Treasurer would still have been almost justified in accepting the figures for that year as his basis in view of the fact that a genuine impetus will be given to trade. The right honorable gentleman has told us that the oversea imports for 1899 were £34,000,000, and in 1900, they were £41,000,000, and he allows £28,000,000 for the Inter-State exchange. I have endeavoured in many and various ways to get at the process by which the Treasurer, or his department, has arrived at the net amount of Inter-State trade. I must confess that all the standard authorities I have been able to consult have not supplied me with sufficient information to enable me to say whether or not that estimate of £28,000,000 is correct. I have certainly been led to think that it is not correct. It seems to me that the amount stated must include the value of oversea goods taken from one State to another, and that that element is likely to complicate and upset all calculations upon the subject. From the calculations I have made I am pretty well certain that there is not £28,000,000 of Australian produce passing from one State into another in the course of a year, and that to reach that amount we must include, in some form or another, some oversea imports subsequently passing between the States. Although I am not able to prove that that £28,000,000 is an over estimate, I am strongly convinced that it is. We can only prove it by the results of the first year of the Commonwealth finances; but when we do get the figures I think we shall find that there are not £28,000,000 of trade in Australian produce between the various States. Besides this £28,000,000 the Treasurer takes off £4,000,000 for inflated values. It is, I think, admitted by most

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

commercial men that there was great inflation of values in the year referred to—in some lines a material inflation. On the other hand, the Treasurer seems in this instance to have pursued a policy strikingly at variance with the natural workings of his mind, and has not allowed anything for depreciation of values. Many men know that such depreciation did occur. It did not amount to much, but it amounted to something, and I think the right honorable gentleman should have allowed something for it.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I did. The increase was 14½ per cent., and I took it at 10 per cent.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The sum which the Treasurer took off included an item of £2,500,000 for loading up, making no allowance for unloading; but commercial men know thoroughly that a considerable amount of unloading was going on, particularly in Victoria. Then he has a free list valued at £6,500,000, as to which I presume he is perfectly correct, and £5,000,000 for the increased production of manufactured goods in the Commonwealth, which would to that extent prevent the importation of a similar quantity. As a business man I take exception to this item, too, although I am prepared to admit that the probability is that in the course of time this high Tariff would have the effect of prohibiting importation to that amount or even to a greater amount. It is impossible to expect a reduced importation of £5,000,000 to immediately result from the imposition of these duties. Then, £1,000,000 is allowed for gold and specie, which is correct, and £1,000,000 for goods imported for Government purposes. Very grave exception can be taken to the latter item. It will be wrong to admit *ab initio* the principle that State goods shall not be taxed. It is quite possible that States may import goods and re-sell them on their own account, and such goods would bring to the vendor the price of them plus the amount of the duty. That might take place in regard to not only rails, of which the States are likely to import a large quantity, but also such items as cement. It would force State Governments—which, I believe, is a wrong principle—to import all their requirements direct and not to procure them through the ordinary channels so as to save or evade, as I call it, the duties. It would be better to leave out this item.

It would be open to grave abuse in many respects, because there can be no doubt that the States would take very good care not to use an article unless it was imported direct by themselves. I object to the enormous amount which the Treasurer has taken off to leave the taxable sum at £21,000,000. On the items I have pointed out, a man of business intelligence could safely affirm that there would be a difference of £2,000,000 in favour of the taxable imports that would be left to the Treasurer to get revenue upon. He will get £4,119,000 from the customs and excise duties on spirits and narcotics or actually half the total revenue required. I do not think any exception is taken to these items on one side of the House or the other. In fact, we have had from the honorable member for North Sydney a suggestion in which I quite coincide, that the excise on tobacco, and probably the excise on beer, might very well be increased. We might thus bring the revenue from the duties on spirits and narcotics up to £4,500,000, and the Treasurer, according to my showing—and I think my figures will take some amount of disproving—would get another £50,000 from sugar. Then, to a very large extent, as was pointed out by several honorable members on the other side, this must be looked upon as a tentative Tariff—a Tariff which will certainly come up for reconsideration very shortly—and the Government might, for these reasons, have made the *ad valorem* duties much lower, because, in most instances, the high duties will have the effect of decreasing the revenue, particularly in the weaker or necessitous States. If this is not a Victorian Tariff, it certainly is a Victorian manufacturers' Tariff, and its effect will be to give more protection, though not, perhaps, in so good a way as the protectionists think, in Victoria itself. On most items, it is argued, the duty is lower than it was formerly, but, even so, the duty in many cases is higher, and the Treasurer anticipates that in Victoria there will be a very large surplus over and above what was received from the Tariff in the past. This, in itself, shows that in its protective incidence the Tariff is more severe than the old Victorian Tariff.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is not that an application of its revenue producing incidence?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is no application of its revenue producing incidence,

because this is not a revenue producing Tariff at all.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It gives more revenue.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is a protective Tariff from beginning to end, and it contains very few items which can be said scientifically to be revenue producing. From start to finish it is a protective Tariff, and in its effect on Victoria it will be hailed as a protective Tariff. The Minister for Trade and Customs, in throwing it on the table with a mailed glove, said that it was a protective Tariff. It is accepted by the *Age* as a protective Tariff; it is looked upon all round as a protective Tariff, and it will have the effect anticipated by the Victorian manufacturers. There is no feeling in my heart or mind about differences between States. I have avoided as far as I could instituting any comparisons between New South Wales and Victoria, not only because I think that such comparisons are worthless, but also because they are positively injurious in other directions, and we ought to begin, in the first year of the Commonwealth, to look upon ourselves as members of one nation. The effect of the Tariff in Victoria is protective, but what about New South Wales? The result there has been very remarkable. The whole of the people in that State are incensed at the weight of the burden that they will be called upon to bear. Prices have gone up in all directions—prices which we were told that the foreigner would have to pay, but it does not appear that the time will ever come when the foreigner will have to pay. When we go north to Queensland, we find that the new Tariff will prove more protective than the Tariff which was formerly in operation there. Not only will it keep up the burden of protection, but it will reduce the chance of obtaining revenue by reason of the fact that the Victorian manufacturer will be able to supplant manufactures that have hitherto been imported from across the seas. The effect and the intention of the Tariff in that direction are one. In Tasmania the same results will be brought about. A lower Tariff, a more reasonable Tariff, a compromising Tariff, a national Tariff, would have yielded more revenue in Tasmania, but a Tariff which is instituted for the protection of the manufacturer—and when I say manufacturer, I mean very largely the Victorian manufacturer—will not yield revenue in Tasmania, but will

leave that State short of a large sum, for which no adequate provision has been made by the Ministry, except that we have had some talk about giving Tasmania a loan. As I said before, some attempt should have been made to solve the difficulties arising out of the shortages in Tasmania and Queensland. The honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, in speaking of this Tariff the other day, defended himself from an attack—if it were an attack—made by the right honorable member, Sir Edward Braddon, upon his past history in that State as a free-trader. Although the honorable member delivered a very able speech mostly on that subject, I must confess that to my mind—and my mind on this occasion went back to the very early days of my boyhood—he gave no adequate reason why, considering his past political career, he should have supported a Tariff of this sort. The honorable member may talk as he likes about the political necessities that forced him to do this or that or the other, but at no time was he ever more than a revenue tariffist, and I distinctly recollect him throughout the best part of his career as a free-trader. He has not only turned his back, as it were, on the principle of free-trade, but he has set to work to defend the Tariff alterations which have been made in Tasmania on account of their protective incidence. He talks of hearing the merry music of the factory bells in Hobart, but if any honorable member went to that city, he would strain his ears a long time before he would hear the merry music of the factory bells there. There are two or three small factories—boot factories—established there; and, presuming that these have been a success, upon what sort of a Tariff have they been built up? The duty on boots in Tasmania was 20 per cent., and if, with the limited markets they had there—for they have no outlet for their goods beyond the State itself—they have been able to establish boot factories with the assistance of a 20 per cent. duty, what need have the Government to which the honorable member belongs to propose duties on boots for the whole of the Commonwealth, varying from 23 to 60 per cent. If it can be shown that in the past the honorable member's fiscal legislation has led to the establishment of boot factories, under a 20 per cent. Tariff, he had no right to be a party to proposing more

than 20 per cent. for the protection of the boot manufacturers in the Commonwealth. If the duty had been fixed at 20 per cent., more revenue would have been produced for the little island State. The honorable member alluded to candle factories, which he said had been established in Tasmania as a result of protection, but there are no candle factories there. What goes on in connexion with the manufacture of candles there is simply a robbery of the Customs. There are certain institutions there which import what may be called candles in bulk from Holland and Germany, and then melt the material down and make candles out of it. There is not one man employed in Tasmania in making candles from Australian raw material. There are, however, some successful manufactories in Tasmania, including a cloth and woollen factory.

Mr. PIESSE.—There are three.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Yes; there are three, and they are all successful, but two of them turn out cloth and flannels equal to anything in the whole world. They produce more than they can get rid of in Tasmania, and they send their surplus to New South Wales, where they have hitherto been able to sell all they can make, in competition with imports from the whole wide world. If that can be done in the little State of Tasmania, why should we require a high protective Tariff to encourage the making of woollens and cloths on the mainland. In Tasmania they have other industries still more successful than these, namely, those connected with the fruit preserving trade, which are the most flourishing of all. These have succeeded really in spite of the Tariff, which has had no effect on them whatever. Therefore, all that the honorable member had to say in the shape of excuse for his action in inflicting this iniquitous Tariff on Australia, had no basis at all, because his actions in the past shows that they could start factories in Tasmania, and carry them on successfully without any protection at all; whilst those which were not successful were not worth starting. On one occasion they started a cigar and cigarette factory, under an arrangement with Government by which the raw material came in free. It was found, however, immediately after the factory was started that the manufacturers were simply robbing the people of Tasmania; and steps were at once taken to put the same duty on leaf

tobacco as on the manufactured material, and they cleared the factory out of the the place. Now, what will be the effect of this Tariff on the Commonwealth? I say the effect will be—and I am not talking of the question as one of free-trade and protection—to heap the burden of taxation upon the poor. The whole effect of the Tariff from start to finish will be to cast the burden of providing the means of governing this country very largely upon the poor of the Commonwealth. I know that some honorable members have spoken of this talk about the poor man as claptrap, and as so much talk to our constituents in order to secure our return to this House. I do not think I shall return to this House, but whether I return or not, I hold that there is no claptrap about objecting to a scheme of taxation the heavier burden of which will fall upon the poor, and the lighter burden upon the rich. Claptrap or no claptrap, I shall always advocate a system of taxation different from that. I desire to see a system of taxation under which the people will have to pay in proportion to their ability to pay, and not in inverse proportion. This Tariff imposes taxation upon the women and children and upon the homes of the poor. The women and children are already feeling its effects in New South Wales, and it is sad to think that our best statesmanship should produce such effects as are to be seen in New South Wales as the result of the imposition of these duties. In the State of Victoria I understand that men are given 8s. per week in the form of an old-age pension, but under the Government scheme these men will be given 8s. and will have 2s. taken back in the form of taxation. All the taxation is heaped on to the lower end—on the food and on the common clothing and the boots of the people. This is not clap-trap, but it simply describes what is felt by every poor man in the Commonwealth who has to spend his money to the very best advantage in order to keep himself in reasonable comfort and bring up his family respectably. It is clap-trap to talk of this as clap-trap. It was to be expected in a Tariff framed upon national lines, and in a community in which we are adopting measures every day to improve the conditions of living of the lower orders of society, that in the adjustment of the incidence of taxation the poor would receive some consideration. I have looked at the free list and have endeavoured

to pick out the exemptions which are in favour of the poor. The first item that I notice is "Miners' hats." But though I have made inquiries at several places, I have so far been unable to discover that there is any distinguishing hat worn by miners throughout Australia. The other items are "Firemen's helmets, wooden buckets, lead pencils and wooden penholders, spectacles, and cyanide of potassium"—the last named, I presume, to enable a man to poison himself. It reminds me of what Sydney Smith, the witty divine, said about a child being put into a taxed cradle, wrapped in woollens at 20 per cent., fed on foods at 25 per cent., oppressed through life with taxes of 20, 25, and 30 per cent., and finally put into a coffin that was also taxed under the Tariff. We are to be taxed under this Tariff from the cradle to the grave. The burden of this taxation will always fall upon the poorer classes of the community. I have taken the trouble to ascertain what is considered by those who have made careful calculations a fair estimate of what a man with a wife and two children, who earned £2 per week, would spend upon different items. As nearly as I can make out, such a man would spend £20 16s. per year in rent; bread, meat, fruit, vegetables, milk, fish, butter, books, and other untaxed goods would absorb £37; whilst upon narcotics and stimulants he would probably spend £3. That represents an expenditure out of his earnings of £60 16s. He would consume 4 cwt. of sugar, which would cost £4, and the duty upon which, at 33 per cent., represents £1 6s. 4d. He would also require 28 lbs. of tea, the duty upon which, at 25 per cent., represents 7s. On clothing, drapery, and blankets he would spend £20, which, at 20 per cent., means a further contribution to the revenue of £4. His expenditure upon boots would probably be £3, and upon these, seeing that they are taxed at 50 per cent., he would have to pay £1 10s. In groceries he would expend about £13, which, at 40 per cent., represents a duty of £5 4s. Thus, a man with a wife and two children, would be taxed no less a sum than £12 19s. It will, of course, be urged that many of these articles will be produced within the Commonwealth, and that, as a result, the working man will not have to pay this amount. But as far as importations from abroad are concerned he will have to pay it. If we add what he will probably spend on narcotics and stimulants the sum will be

increased to £17, or 17 per cent. of the whole of his income. A man who is in receipt of £1,000 a year would not, upon many items, spend as much as the working man. Under this Tariff it would be impossible for the former to contribute to the revenue more than £50 per annum, which represents only 5 per cent. of his income. That is the difference in the taxation imposed by this Tariff upon the wealthy man and the hard-working skilled mechanic, small farmer, or small tradesman. In line after line there is every evidence that protection is being extended to the manufacturer, but no sign that any protection is being given to the working classes who play such a large part in the creation of the wealth of the Commonwealth. It is all very well to talk about vested interests in regard to the manufactures established in Victoria and elsewhere. I maintain that the vested interests which ought to be protected are those of the bone and sinew, the stomachs and brains, of the individual members of the community. There has been no consideration shown for them. The whole of the protection offered by this Tariff is bestowed upon the manufacturers, most of whom are making money, and will continue to do so whether protective duties are levied or not. If a man has sufficient capital, he will soon discover a way in which to make money out of it. It is all very well to talk about the sweat and blood which are expended in the clothing factories of London, but sweat and blood are spent in Australia, upon the fringe of our civilization. I have seen small selectors on the outskirts of our civilization struggling to obtain a livelihood. These people have no protection extended to them under this Tariff. They are called upon to bear all the heavy burdens of the proposed taxation. In this connexion I wish to refer to a speech made by the honorable member for Mernda in 1892. He said—

It is clearly our duty and our interest to see that these sources of the supply of our exportable surplus are placed in the best position to produce effectively and satisfactorily for themselves, because, if the woollen manufacturer feels aggrieved when he cannot make a profit, if the boot and shoe maker comes up to Parliament and whines because trade is not in a paying condition, and wants an extra percentage of protection, what must we think of the position of the farmer, the miner, and the grazier, who, from the nature of their callings, have got to produce the exportable surplus to which I have referred, and the prices of whose surplus products

are not ruled by the prices in the colony, but by the prices obtained throughout the world? If those who engage in these great producing industries are not placed in a fair position to obtain ease and comfort of life, which they have as much right to enjoy as those who are engaged in the protected manufacturing industries of the colony, how can we expect them to produce that exportable surplus in sufficient abundance to meet our obligations and provide for all our requirements?

That is the contention of honorable members upon this side of the House. If we heap these taxes upon the people for the purpose of benefiting a set of manufacturers who number about one-twelfth of the population, the effect must be felt upon the articles we export—the articles out of which we live, and out of which we have created the wealth we now enjoy. Let honorable members examine the anomalies of this Tariff. Sealskin jackets—articles that most civilized communities desirous of obtaining customs revenue tax pretty heavily, because nobody but millionaires and semi-millionaires can afford them—carry a duty of 15 per cent., whilst blankets are taxed 20 per cent.; gloves bear a duty of 20 per cent.; mangles and clothes-wringers, 20 per cent.; rough crockery, 50 per cent.; silk, 15 per cent.; perfumery, 20 per cent.; and moleskins and dungaree, 20 per cent. I maintain that this is not an equitable system of taxation at all. It is one under which the poor bear all the burdens. Then we come to a new industry, that of parasol-making. The honorable member for Bland said that, protectionist as he is, he does not believe in imposing duties which will not assist in establishing substantial industries. What sort of an industry is this? Printed books, I notice, are to be admitted free, but a duty of 10 per cent. is to be levied upon paper. I should like to point out that many firms in Australia at the present time print large books, such as directories, &c. Under this Tariff it will pay them to send such work out of Australia, simply because of the 10 per cent. duty which is to be imposed on the paper. I believe that a newspaper ought to pay the duty. It is not the raw material of the newspaper publisher, but it is of the maker of books, and the *Bulletin*, which is the ablest protectionist paper in Australia, and “knocks spots,” as the sporting men say, off the *Age*, is quite prepared to pay the duty, and also newspaper postage rates. We have no right to put a duty on raw paper out of which books are made, when we have in our midst an

industry of the class I have mentioned. The terms of the motion have been ably defended by the leader of the Opposition and most of his more immediate supporters, and I have no doubt that if the question were remitted to the people, a vast majority would be found to be in favour of framing some different system of taxation. To put a tax on the primary industries of the country, and impose a burden on the great masses of the people for the benefit of the few, is a system of finance which is neither honest nor reliable. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo the other night gave some reasons for the faith that is in him. I listened very quietly, knowing the honorable and learned member to be a very able man; but I could not discover in what he laid before us anything beyond the old stock arguments which have been used in defence of protection, but which were dead and done with long years ago. One of his arguments was used in Spain 300 years ago—namely, that we ought to keep the gold in the country. Not to trespass too much on the time of the House, I would like to read an extract from a speech of the late Sir Henry Parkes, in which he said:—

With regard to protection, this country (New South Wales) had for many years past been known all over the world as a free-trade country, and he believed we were favourably known because we were free-traders. We once lived for a period of eight years under a system of duties very much the same in character as those proposed to be levied by this Customs Duties Bill. We lived under that system for eight years, and during that period we made no progress in our commerce, while the very opposite was the case when the duties were taken off. The other day a wise alderman at the Glebe stated that if we only had protection instead of sending the money out of the country to buy railway plant, we should have the railway plant made in the country, and have the money also.

That is the sort of argument which we hear in this House. Sir Henry Parkes continued:—

A man so wise as that was above the reach of argument. It never occurred to that alderman to give himself the trouble to examine into the inevitable laws of exchange and international trade which were as exacting and true as the laws of nature. You could not import anything by sending your money out of the country as a rule; though that might be done in a trifling, isolated case. You could not import without exporting; and your imports were the measure of the real value of your exports. As an illustration he would suppose a man to invest £10,000 in horses for the Indian market. He chartered a ship and took his horses to Bombay, where he sold them at prices

which gave him £5,000 profit clear of all expenses. He would not bring back his ship in ballast and his £15,000 in Indian coin; but he would purchase rice or sugar, or other produce of Indian labour, and if he purchased well, his clear profit on his new venture might be, say, £2,000. So that the complete transaction between Australia and India would be represented by exports £10,000, imports £17,000. Would any one say that the balance of trade was against Australia? Was it not clear that Australia would gain £7,000 of additional wealth by the transaction?

That is what we say. We cannot impose taxes on trade which will not be felt by all the community. So far as we restrict trade, we restrict development of wealth, and prevent that process by which we are gradually extending the fringe of civilization further and further into the wilds of Australia. The honorable member for Mernda, when speaking the other night, used a phrase—"Codlin is your friend, not Short," and an honorable member interjected that this was a "coddling" Government. A protective Tariff results in nothing but unhealthy industries, whereas enterprises which are left alone grow up naturally strong and able to stand a succession of storms. When industries have to be supported from the beginning, it is inevitable that, when the pinch comes, they have to ask for more assistance. The curse of the system of protection is that when once it is begun we have to go on giving more and more support, until it becomes so bad that even protectionists have over and over again admitted that if a 45 per cent. duty is not enough, the industries ought to die. That is the point at which we must arrive at some time or other, and it is better to make a stand at the beginning, and refuse to have any but industries which are healthy, and which will survive under the ordinary laws of commercial transactions. The honorable member for Mernda, in defending the Tariff as regards starch, grew angry about what he considered was a personal imputation on himself. I have taken some part in ridiculing this duty upon starch; and I should regret if the honorable member thought that I, or any other honorable members on this side of the House, would make any imputations on him in this matter. It is not the man we are dealing with, but the principle of levying a duty on starch. The honorable member for Bland, in referring to-night to the duty on matches said that there are industries which are not worth establishing by protection; and I regard the starch industry as one of

these. I admit that the honorable member for Mernda has a reputation as an honest, honorable merchant, a reputation which has extended beyond this State, and anything I say must not be construed as an imputation on him. Starch, according to the honorable member's own figures, realizes 1½d. per lb. more in Victoria than it can be obtained for elsewhere. An industry like this is as bad as the match industry; it employs too few for the price we are paying for its support. The honorable member himself said that about 2 lbs. of starch per head per annum were consumed in the Commonwealth, and, though I think that is a low estimate, I shall adopt it, seeing that the honorable member knows more about the subject than I. If 2 lbs. per head per annum of starch are consumed throughout the Commonwealth, the effect of the duty will be—even admitting that the difference is only 1d. per lb., though it is greater—that the people will pay £33,000 a year more for the commodity, while the Government will get a revenue of only £3,733. That is the sort of industry which I contend ought not to be established in our midst. We are better without such industries, and, as I said before, it would be an abler expedient to put on a poll-tax, and free us from such an impost. Even supposing the foreigner, as the protectionists contend, pays the £3,733, the people of this community are called upon to pay £33,000; and I condemn the establishment of industries which do not employ, perhaps, more than 100 or 200 people, and which give such results as these figures show. The honorable member for Mernda the other day said that there was very little difference between the charges in Victoria and the charges elsewhere for Victorian starch. But I know that Victorian starch is sold in New South Wales at a lower price than in Victoria. I have in my hand invoices from manufacturers in Victoria, which show that starch was sold in Echuca at 4½d. per lb., and at Moama at 27s. 6d. per gross. This works out in the following way:—Allowing 3s. 10d. for the different kinds of packages used in the trade it makes a difference of a 11-16th of a penny, whether the starch is sold in New South Wales or in Victoria, though it is Victorian made starch in either case. That carries out my contention that in the Commonwealth we shall be paying 1d. a lb. more for our starch in order to keep up two or three factories.

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

It is businesses like that which this iniquitous Tariff is intended to keep up.

Mr. CHANTER.—I say that the Moama people pay no more for their starch than the people in Victoria, and I know, because I live there.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What I say is that they pay less. I have only two or three other points to make before I sit down. I should like to refer to the argument used by some honorable members opposite, that it is the foreigner who pays these duties. Only the other day the *Age* had an article contending that it is the foreigner who pays the taxes imposed at the Customs-house. If the foreigner pays the taxes, why on earth do the protectionists go in for exemptions at all? If the foreigners pay the taxes why not impose a tax on printing paper, which the *Age* has never given its consent to? If the foreigner pays the taxes, there should be no exemptions at all. But we know very well that we ourselves pay the taxes, and that is the reason for the exemptions. It is also the reason why the free-traders thoroughly disapprove of this policy. I feel that upon this question I hold a brief for the poor. I know that all arguments from that point of view are called "clap-trap" by some honorable members opposite. But, as long as I can "vent clamour from my throat," I will lift up my voice against taxation of this sort, which, from start to finish, is placed upon the poor while the rich are exempt. The question before us is not really one of free-trade or protection. I said at starting that we cannot have an ideal free-trade Tariff. But we ought to go as near to free-trade as we can, and by doing so we shall get an equitable system of taxation, under which we shall be more likely to have economic and honest government. It is for that reason that I support the motion of the leader of the Opposition. Sir, we have instituted the practice of opening the proceedings of this House by prayer. I was doubtful about the expediency of that practice when it was proposed, but I must say that it has turned out very well. The prayers are listened to reverently by honorable members. In the prayer with which every day we open the proceedings of this House, we pray to the Author of our being, "Give us this day our daily bread." Honorable members are now trying to impose heavy taxes on the bread, on the food of the people. I am aware that it is said that we can

produce our own food, and do not require to import from abroad. But experience in these States, especially in the northern districts, has shown that there are such things as failures of harvests. Sometime we shall be compelled to import food, and then heavy duties will be placed upon it. This taxation will make the food of the people dearer; and yet in the face of that we pray every day—"Give us this day our daily bread!"

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—In rising to take part in this debate, I should first of all like to acknowledge the indebtedness which I, in common with other honorable members, feel towards the Treasurer for the abundant information which he has supplied to the House in the shape of the papers accompanying his Budget. I should also like to draw particular attention to one paper which has already been referred to by other speakers, but which cannot be commended for its correctness. I refer to the return laid upon the table on the motion of the honorable member for Kooyong. It deals with statistics of manufacturing industries in the States. If the figures relating to other States in that return are no more correct than those relating to Tasmania the less attention honorable members pay to it the better it will be for the accuracy of their deductions. It includes bakers and biscuit makers for other States, but we in Tasmania are supposed not to make our own bread, and apparently also, according to this document, there are no such things as smelting works in the State I represent. The whole return is most misleading so far as Tasmania is concerned. Dealing with the subject before the House, I do not intend to follow the course which most honorable members have thought it necessary to pursue, and to enter into a controversy in relation to free-trade and protection. What I do wish to do is to examine one of the indictments laid against the proposals of the Government by the leader of the Opposition. I refer particularly to the first allegation in the resolution which he has submitted, that the financial and Tariff proposals of the Government would—

Place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

Then I want slightly to examine the position as it affects my own State and to give some reasons for my own attitude in regard to the motion. While I do not intend to enter

upon the subject of protection and free-trade, I do not wish it to be thought that I am in a position of hesitation about the principles which should prevail if we were in a position to apply them in their entirety. The discussion has been of a very instructive character, and after listening to it patiently I have come to the conclusion that the honors of the debate, so far as its academic character is concerned, lie with the advocates of the cause of free-trade.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The honorable member for Indi knocked them all out!

Mr. PIESSE.—I listened with a great deal of attention to the speech of the honorable and learned member. It was an admirable speech, but there was an element of special pleading in it. However, as I have said, I do not wish to discuss the speeches of honorable members, because if I did I should take up more time than would be fair to the House. I would say, however, that though the leader of the Opposition would look with a light heart upon a change of fiscal policy for Australia, and would, if I judge him rightly, seek to do in the Commonwealth what he was able to do in his own State, the conditions are altogether dissimilar. In his own State he found a community in which manufacturers had not had the support of protection as they have had in a great part of the Commonwealth, and it was much easier to bring about the change which, to his honour, he brought about when he so largely introduced the principle of free-trade in that State. But we must—and I am sure he himself would, if he had to bring in tariff proposals, consider the state of affairs as it really is. There are industries which, rightly or wrongly, have developed under protection, and we could not, in fairness to those engaged in them, and more especially to the workers, who even now are shivering in fear as to what may happen if they are interfered with, at once remove that protection. In this regard, we do not resemble the knights of old, in imitation of whom a cartoon has been drawn caricaturing the present struggle, who assailed their opponents, and beat down barriers, without consideration for the humanity that might have to suffer in the struggle. We have to bear the troubles which come to us from the past. As a community, we cannot dissociate ourselves from the past; and when we bring about changes in the direction of free-trade, as I

hope we shall, we must keep in mind existing conditions.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Is not the honorable member a free-trader?

Mr. PIESSE.—When I come to discuss my attitude more closely I am afraid I shall please neither one side nor the other. I cannot go with my honorable friends on this side, who desire to see prohibitive duties imposed, while, on the other hand, I cannot endorse the policy of free-trade as it is understood by those who have learned it in New South Wales. I have listened very attentively to the speeches made by the representatives of New South Wales, and I gather that their idea of a revenue Tariff is a Tariff imposing average duties of, some say ten, and others 15 per cent. An attack has been made upon the Minister for Home Affairs because of the statement to which it is said he gave utterance, that the duties would not exceed 15 per cent., and even the leader of the labour party has joined in it. These speeches show that if we were to have a Tariff introduced chiefly by members from the State of New South Wales, it would be based on duties of 15 per cent., but in view of the necessities of my own State, I am unable to accept such duties as sufficient.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Such a Tariff would raise more money than that proposed.

Mr. PIESSE.—The general rate of duties in Tasmania has been 20 per cent., and we have not had more money than we needed, though in the last year or two there have been surpluses. Tasmania will suffer by entering into this union, because of the freedom of imports between that State and the Continental States, since goods coming from Australia to Tasmania will give no revenue to Tasmania. If Tasmania required a 20 per cent. rate in the past, she needs an equally high rate now, in order to keep her solvent. This leads me to the main point to which I desire to allude in regard to the motion before the House. The leader of the Opposition declared that the proposals submitted by the Government disclose unsound finance, and are framed upon a basis extravagant both for the Commonwealth, and for the States. Before criticising those proposals, we must ask ourselves, have the Government been masters of the situation? There were three separate sets of difficulties in their way. In the first place there were six different fiscal policies to reconcile. There was the free-trade policy of New South Wales, the revenue Tariff policy of Tasmania, and

the scientific protective policy of Victoria; and between those several extremes were the fiscal policies of Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia. Secondly there were six different degrees of financial need, each State requiring a different percentage of revenue from customs, amounting to as much as 49 per cent. in Tasmania and decreasing to a very small percentage in New South Wales. In addition to those difficulties—and I am afraid this fact will remain a persistent one for many years—are the differing degrees of revenue-earning power which the States exhibit. I alluded to this matter on a previous occasion. If we take the revenue-earning power of Tasmania as represented by 1, we find that her power is a third less than the average of all Australia, while the earning power of Western Australia is 2·485, and that of Queensland 1·875. All these differences had to be considered by the Treasurer when he was trying to meet the difficulties of the situation. What has he done? It has been alleged by the honorable member for North Sydney, who I think has given us the most useful contribution of the debate on the subject of the Budget, that he proposes to raise £8,900,000. That is not quite correct. The Treasurer proposes to raise £8,009,000. The leader of the Opposition said that he ought to have taken as a basis the revenue raised by the States in 1899; but he has taken the revenue for the following year, which makes a difference of about £300,000. I believe that it would have been very difficult for the Treasurer to have said to the State Treasurers, "I shall at once reduce the amount you received last year by £300,000, and you must make it good as best you can." It must be remembered, too, that he had to provide £300,000 in the way of new Commonwealth expenditure, so that it would have been impossible for him to have faced the outcry which would have been made if he had accepted any other basis than the revenue of the year 1900. If that be accepted, and we admit that there will be a new Commonwealth expenditure of between £200,000 and £300,000, we have at once the need for a Budget of £8,000,000. But I should like to point out that the £7,750,000 which the Treasurer takes as the foundation for his Budget—the sum which he requires to raise for the purposes of the States—will not be returned to them during this year because he will have to deduct from it about £246,000 as representing

arrears up to the 30th June last. Virtually, therefore, the requirement of the leader of the Opposition is met in the Budget, and the Treasurer is not raising for the actual benefit of the States much more than the revenue of 1899.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Can the honorable and learned member explain that item of arrears?

Mr. PIESSE.—I cannot explain it, but I see that it has not been provided for. If the honorable member turns to page 12 of the Budget papers, he will see that the arrears are deducted. They are set out in detail and charged to each State, and they amount with other expenditure to some £246,000. That is a special deduction from the Budget of this year that ought not to occur again if the Treasurer's estimate is correct. He will not have to carry forward—or he ought to have revenue in excess if he does—any debit of that kind in years to come. This year the States are going to receive less on that account by nearly a quarter of a million. That being so, I do not see that we can object to the Budget. As to the means by which this revenue is to be raised, the Treasurer contends that in order to obtain £8,000,000 from customs he must make up a schedule of duties which, under normal conditions—with all the goods taxable under it entering into consumption and passing through the Custom-house—would yield £8,900,000. The odd £900,000 however is not going to be received. It is simply a floating revenue, which must necessarily be calculated in order that the Treasurer may make sure of receiving £8,000,000. There may be questions as to the accuracy of this estimate, but I am sure that any man who set himself up as a Treasurer would have to meet the pressing difficulties of the situation by adopting that principle. He would have to make up a schedule of revenue for a much larger amount than he expected to receive for the year. So far as this large excess is concerned I should like to see a change made in the Budget. I should like to see the item treated separately, so that it could be dealt with in years to come, and not left, as honorable members assume it will be, to be treated always as part of the revenue of the Commonwealth. I know that it has been said that it is absolutely necessary to have £8,900,000 as the permanent revenue in order that we may provide for the financial needs of the

States, and that even then we shall not get enough for three of the States. In the State of Tasmania it is said there will be a deficiency of £135,000. I do not like to think that Tasmania's need of another £35,000 means £900,000 additional taxation for the Commonwealth as a whole. On the other hand, I am pledged to obtain as much customs revenue as it is possible to secure without treating unfairly other parts of the Commonwealth. I am, therefore, bound to support the raising of the largest possible revenue. In regard to the details of this Tariff I shall have much to say. I cannot support duties which are imposed merely to shut out goods. According to my principles of revenue-getting, the duties that go on to the Tariff ought to be revenue-earning. We must, of course, have regard to the position in which we find ourselves. We must not ruthlessly break down at once the barriers which have sheltered some of the protected industries, and under which they have grown to their present state. I do not think the Treasurer has over-estimated the loss that Tasmania is likely to sustain under these proposals. If we take a return which has been prepared and laid on the table of the House, showing the consumption of a certain group of articles known as the opimeter group, we shall find that, as a matter of fact, the Treasurer has very much under-estimated that loss. We shall find that Tasmania will have some £30,000 or £40,000 more to meet, unless we obtain more than is shown by that measure of revenue. Even if the returns for 1891—the best year that Tasmania has experienced—are taken as an index of our possible revenue-earning power, we shall be still £28,000 worse off than the Treasurer has made out in what, in my opinion, are his optimistic calculations. I want to dwell upon this point, because some honorable members seem to think that £35,000 is a small matter. The honorable member for North Sydney said that another £35,000 would make very little difference to us. When I point out that we have the heaviest land tax imposed in Australia, namely, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the £1 on the total capital value, with no exemption—which represents 1d., or even $1\frac{1}{4}$ d., on the unimproved capital value—I think honorable members will agree that there is no land tax in Australia equal to the weight of its incidence. New South Wales has a land tax of 1d. in the £1 on the unimproved

capital value, but with an exemption up to £240, which means the exemption of the greater number of the landed properties of that State. South Australia has a land tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £1, up to £5,000, on the unimproved capital value, and of 1d. in the £1 in respect of properties over £5,000 in value. Tasmania's land tax applies to every property, without the slightest exemption, and it realizes just about that small sum that the honorable member for North Sydney considers is a mere bagatelle in the finances of our State—a sum of about £39,000. Therefore, from the Tasmanian point of view this is no light matter, and in endeavouring to meet our true position we are bound to see that we get the best possible customs revenue. The untouched sources of direct taxation are not sufficiently productive to meet this deficit.

Mr. POYNTON. — Is there an income tax in Tasmania?

Mr. PIESSE. — We have a partial income tax. We have an income tax of 1s. in the £1, upon the dividends earned by companies. The old income tax that was in force in Tasmania was 1s. in the £1 on unearned incomes, and 8d. in the £1 on incomes obtained by personal exertion. I asked that the calculation should be carefully made a few months ago, and I find that if that income tax were in force again in Tasmania, it would not add more than £20,000 a year to the present income tax receipts. So that if we put on even this old income tax and doubled our land tax, we should not yet receive one-half of the deficit which the Treasurer, optimistically I think, admits will accrue to Tasmania under this Tariff. The right honorable gentleman's estimate of the deficit is much below the amount at which any one else has calculated it, but the additional taxation to which I have referred would not cover more than half of it. I am very much obliged to honorable members for the patience with which they have listened to these references to my own State. I am sure they will bear with me, because, although in the Commonwealth we have entered into a partnership, it is not a partnership to the fullest extent, and when we come to the matter of customs it is every one for himself still. I do not say what is going to happen to the hindmost, because I believe the smaller States will receive the utmost consideration which honorable members from

other States, in deference to their duty to their own constituents, can see fit to render them. I am therefore unable, looking at the whole facts of the case, to support the motion put before the House by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition. At the same time I feel that I shall be compelled to differ from honorable members on this side when the details of the Tariff come to be considered. I have said sufficient to explain my position, and I shall not detain the House further than to say that I shall vote against the motion.

Mr. A. C. GROOM (Flinders). — I do not intend to make any apology for addressing the House to-night, for the simple reason that I think it is the duty of every member to speak upon this question. This was the one important question upon which the elections turned, in this State, at all events, if not in all the States. I desire to put my position, and the course I intend to take upon this motion, as plainly before the House and the country as I possibly can. I would say, at the outset, that I fully recognise that any Tariff brought down at the present juncture must necessarily be largely one of compromise. At the same time, the duties must be moderate, and they must be revenue producing, otherwise we cannot get the revenue necessary to carry on the Government of the Commonwealth, and give back to the States the amount necessary to enable them to fulfil their obligations. In my opinion the Prime Minister has not kept the compact which he made when he spoke at Maitland. I say distinctly that the people of the Commonwealth understood that the first consideration of the Government when framing the Tariff would be that it should be revenue producing, that it should be a revenue Tariff, but that in obtaining that revenue we should give our industries moderate protection if we found ourselves able to do so. The Government have not made revenue the first consideration. They have made protection the first, and revenue the second consideration, as I shall show before I finish. I do not intend to speak at any great length, because I know that a number of honorable members wish to address the House, and I do not think it is fair that any single member should occupy a very long time upon the question, seeing that we shall be able to deal with it fully when we get into committee. Looking through the Tariff, I am bound to say that it cannot

be considered a fair compromise Tariff. I find that the duties upon at least one-third of the items are higher than the duties of the previous Victorian Tariff.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Those are the revenue duties.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—They are not the revenue duties.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Will the honorable member read them out?

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I may read them out if it is desired, but to do so I should have to speak for two or three hours, and I do not think the House would care to have a speech of that length inflicted upon it at this juncture. In addition to that, there are at least one-third more on exactly the same basis as the duties of the Victorian Tariff; and in the case of the other third the duties are lower than in the Victorian Tariff. I find, therefore, that two-thirds of the duties imposed by the Tariff brought down by the Government are as high, or higher, than the late Victorian Tariff, and, in the case of one-third, they are lower. That cannot be considered as a fair compromise Tariff, or as such a Tariff as the Commonwealth was led to expect from the speech of the Prime Minister at Maitland. To my mind, the Government, in regard to this question of obtaining the revenue we require from the Tariff, has failed to grasp the situation altogether. The duties should have been fixed so as not to prevent imports. It is necessary that we should have a certain amount of imports. Immediately we impose duties of more than 15 or 16 per cent. we largely stop importations, with the result that we cannot get the revenue we require. We find that in the Tariff proposed by the Government the revenue duties are down to about 10 or 15 per cent., but the protective duties run up to 20, 25, and in the case of the fixed duties, to 30, 40, 50, per cent., and, in fact, we cannot say where they end. In some instances they are certainly over 100 per cent. If revenue was the first consideration, how came the Tariff to be framed in this way? If we take the average of the duties put on by the Government for the purpose of collecting revenue, we find that it is not more than 15 per cent. while the protective duties run from 25 up to 75 per cent. If it had been a revenue Tariff we should not have had these high protective duties included in it. Why is it that the Minister for Customs estimates that the imports

under this Tariff will be £5,000,000 less than they were in 1899? Is it not because the right honorable gentleman knows that these high duties will have the effect of preventing a large number of imports from coming in? The statement of the Minister himself shows most distinctly that he intends the Tariff to be protective, for the purpose of preventing imports. What is the use of protective duties unless they do that? The Minister talked a great deal about the free list, but when we come to look through that free list, we find that it really contains hardly any articles at all in general use. I have a list of the articles in general use included in the estimate of £6,000,000, as the value of imports covered by the free list. They are axes—and the importation of them does not come to a large amount of value—bran bags, corn sacks, wool packs, gunny bags, brass, copper, tin, lead, canvas, cotton, such as sewing cotton and crotchet cotton, cream separators, on which they propose to put a duty shortly, hessian, timber in the log, needles, blasting powder, rabbit traps, reapers and binders, on which the Government propose to put a duty at a very early date, military rifles, rock salt, saltpetre, saws, sheep shears, scythes, spades, shovels, hoes, rakes, and forks. Just as a straw shows which way the wind is going to blow, one item indicates that this Government are going in for women's suffrage. I notice that stay-laces are to come in free; also, pitch and tar, pens, and typewriters.

Mr. MAHON.—They are taxing thimbles.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—Then the Government cannot be going for women's suffrage; they must be going for a mongrel thing. In the free-list we also have wire netting, the cheaper classes of tools, such as adzes, augers, braces and bitts, levels, drills, files, hammers, planes, pincers—none of which are made here, and which are tools of trade for carpenters, joiners, and others. In the free-list I also see the tools of trade of every manufacturer and every machine shop, no matter what the class of manufacture may be. All the highly protected industries have their tools of trade admitted free. For instance, bootmakers, hatters, bookbinders, brick-makers, brush-makers, carding machinery, electrotyping machinery, linotypes and metals. The poor unfortunate country printer has to pay a duty on his type, but the Government admit free of duty the metal for

the linotypes. The tools of trade for glass-makers, jewellers, leather dressers, manufacturers of paper, for apparel, for attire-making, indiarubber-making, metal working, paper-cutting, stone-working, and tile pipe making, and printing machines, scouring machinery, spinning machinery, are all free of duty. With the exception of reapers and binders, and cream separators (on which it is proposed to put a duty shortly), we do not find coming in free a single article of machinery which is used by the poor unfortunate farmer. The Government can see their way to admit free of duty all the tools of trade in the heavily protected trades of Australia; but they cannot admit free of duty anything which the poor unfortunate farmer uses, unless it is also used by some of those trades.

Mr. WILKS.—No wonder that the farmers of Victoria are rising!

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—When the farmers and producers of this State voted for federation, they knew that any protection they had enjoyed would be lost to them; and they knew also that the cost of the Government of Australia would necessarily be increased for some considerable time. But they believed that the all-round duties which had been so high in this State would be enormously reduced. They were led to believe from the speech made by the Prime Minister at Maitland that the Victorian Tariff would probably be reduced one half, if not more.

Mr. MCCAY.—Is that why they voted for federation?

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—That is one of the reasons why the farming community went solidly for federation.

Mr. MCCAY.—And that was a year before the speech was made.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—The farmers knew that they would necessarily lose the duties which had been of value of them. They knew that the stock tax and the duties on potatoes and other articles of that sort from Tasmania and other places would have to go. They knew that probably they would have a duty on oats, and also a duty on maize, but in any normal year those duties are of no use to them. They also believed that a large export trade would be developed, that our great natural industries would be encouraged in every way, and that the markets of the world would be opened up to them. They had a right to expect that the Government

would take the earliest possible steps to provide the cheapest freights, and to send out agents to the markets of the world to see how they could help the farmers and producers of this great Commonwealth. Neither in the speech of the Treasurer nor in the speech of the Minister for Trade and Customs did we have a single reference to what they propose to do for the great producing interests of Australia. All their sympathies were for the manufacturers. I want to glance at the Tariff for a few minutes to show the bogus duties which the Government have put on for the purpose of protecting the farmers. In the first place, I find a duty of 20 per cent. on live stock. But when I turn to the Estimates to ascertain the amount which it is going to produce, I see nothing against the item. I find a duty of 3d. per lb. on bacon; but we export more bacon twice over than we can use. I also find a duty of 3d. per lb. on hams and butter, and we send thousands of tons of butter out of the Commonwealth. Then we have a duty of 3d. a lb. on cheese, which we are exporting. Next I find a duty of 6d. a dozen on eggs. These are the duties which are to help the poor unfortunate farmer!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Is the honorable member in favour of letting in Chinese eggs?

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—The honorable gentleman will not turn me away from my subject. To interrupt me is just like throwing so much water on a duck's back; it will only make me speak longer than I desire to do. I find a duty of 1s. 6d. a cental on grain and pulse; 20s. a ton on hay and chaff; 20s. a ton on onions; 20s. a ton on potatoes; and 5s. a ton on straw. The only duty which might help the farmer in an extraordinary season is the duty of 6d. a cental on maize. I shall take, just as they occur in the Tariff, a few of the duties which the farmer and the settler—I include the miner and the poor man in the country districts—have to pay for the purpose of keeping alive the manufactories in Melbourne and other great cities of Australia. Coffee is taxed 5d. a lb.; tea, 3d. a lb. and over; kerosene, 3d. a gallon; oatmeal, 1d. a lb., or £9 6s. 8d. a ton, though it is one of the necessities of life.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Are we exporting oats?

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—We may be. What is the use of putting on a protective duty if it is of no use?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Sending the oats home.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—The honorable member admits, then, that that duty is no good. Will he help me to strike it out in committee, because I intend to move in that direction?

Mr. KENNEDY.—We will discuss it then.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I am much obliged to the honorable member. Matches are taxed 1s. a gross, safety matches 6d. a gross, rice 1d. per lb., common soap 1d. per lb., and candles 1½d. per lb. These are all practically prohibiting duties, and the farmer has to pay them. But what does the farmer get in return—where are his advantages? Then there is a duty on apparel of 25 per cent., and upon blankets of 20 per cent. Under the Victorian Tariff cotton blankets were free, and it is well-known that they are used principally by the poorer classes. But blankets, under the present Tariff, are taxed all round 20 per cent. Then there are duties on floor cloths and mats of 20 per cent., and upon hats and caps, common felt hats, of 1s. each and upwards. There is also a duty of 20 per cent. on flannelette, which is used, as we all know, by the poorer classes more than anything else. We also find that tents and tarpaulins, powder and shot, cartridges and guns are taxed. Firearms and ammunition have to be used by the farmer for the purpose of destroying rabbits and other vermin. Then we find a duty upon corrugated iron of 30s. per ton. Will the Minister for Trade and Customs tell me that that is a revenue duty? Why is it that there is an import duty on plain iron of only 15s. per ton, whilst double that impost has been placed upon corrugated iron? The extra 15s. has been put on for the benefit of the manufacturer here who turns plain iron into the corrugated article. That is a new duty, because corrugated iron was free under the old Tariff, and it is a highly protective duty. While I am on this question I should like to say that the other day I consulted with a builder who came to see me with regard to this Tariff when I was in Gippsland. He told me that under the new Tariff any one who desired to build a four-roomed cottage would have to pay £10 or £12 more for the material than would

have been paid under the Victorian Tariff. As bearing this out I may inform the House that I spoke to one or two honorable members recently, and they told me that they had been similarly informed. There is a difference of £10 or £12 in the cost of a cottage that would involve an outlay in the ordinary case of £160. Plain galvanized iron pays 15s. a ton. Lamps are subject to a duty of 20 per cent., and all agricultural machinery, horseworks, chaffcutters, ploughs, harrows, rollers, &c., and oil engines have to pay 15 per cent. The duty of 7s. per cwt. on horse-shoe nails is another highly protective impost.

Mr. HUMPH COOK.—That duty has been reduced.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—Then it shows how iniquitous the duty was before.

Mr. HUMPH COOK.—Horse-shoe nails are cheaper than ever.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—Then those who manufacture them do not need the duty. Going further down the list I find that amongst the articles that are subject to duty are tanks, weighing machines, scales, boilers and pumps, axles and springs, bolts and nuts, and barbed wire. The Government propose also to put a 10 per cent. duty on bar, rod, and angle iron, and even on axle grease they have placed an impost of 4s. per cwt. Oils are taxed to the extent of 6d. per gallon, and paints at the rate of 1s. per cwt. Portland cement is also subject to a highly protective duty ranging from 30 to 40 per cent. We were told that these were to be revenue duties, but when we come to look into them the Government at once stand convicted of having failed to carry out the promise made at Maitland, that the Tariff would be a revenue-producing one first, with protection, if that could be given, afterwards. I do not for a moment say that I am going to throw myself into the arms of those who tell us that they are absolute free-traders. I am nothing of the kind. I am here to keep my election pledges. I explained my position when I spoke during the debate on the address in reply. I then said I had stated on the platform in perhaps the largest agricultural district in the Commonwealth, that the duties which we should probably require would be, on the average, somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent.—at the outside 20 per cent., although in a few instances it might be necessary to give some specially favoured industry as

high a duty as 25 per cent., but nothing more. Now I find that the average of the duties proposed under this Tariff is, at least, 10 per cent. higher than the people had any reason to expect, and for that reason I intend to cross the floor on this question.

Mr. CROUCH.—Is the honorable member a moderate protectionist.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—Yes, moderate; and moderate only.

Mr. McCAY.—More moderate than protectionist.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—That may be the opinion of the honorable member, but there is just a possibility that he may have to defend himself before his constituents.

Mr. McCAY.—I am ready to stand by my position.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—Now for a few more of these precious duties. Furniture bears a duty of 20 per cent., and casks, and axe-handles, and watches and clocks, are similarly taxed. Boots are subject to a duty of anything from 25 to 50 per cent., and cloth for waterproofs, indiarubber hose, and harness and whips are also taxed. On express waggons, which are really farmers' vehicles, there is a duty of 35 per cent. and more. The duty is fixed at £5 each, and, with a 15 per cent. *ad valorem* duty added, honorable members may work out the percentage for themselves. Then there is a duty on halters of 20 per cent. Even the poor fisherman has to pay 20 per cent. on his nets. There is a duty of 1d. per coil on the fuse that is used by the miner. The Government could not even let him be free, for in addition to paying on his fuse he is also subject to a tax on his candles and other things. A duty is placed on reaper and binder twine, and butter boxes are subject to an impost of 3d. each. This is the way in which the Government propose to encourage our great natural industries and to stimulate our export trade. The fixed duties are, I think, the most iniquitous in this Tariff because the actual amount of the duty is covered up under a provision that it shall be reckoned at so much per cubic foot, and that there shall be an *ad valorem* duty as well. Articles such as china and glass are charged at 6d. and 9d. per cubic foot with an *ad valorem* duty as well, and if the articles are of the class generally used by the great mass of the people in the Commonwealth it will be found that the duties will run up to 25, or even 75 per cent., and that they will be practically prohibitive. There

is not the slightest doubt that if there were a dissolution to-morrow—and I am not afraid of it—and the Government went before the country, they would be swept out of existence. The feeling throughout the whole length and breadth of the Commonwealth amongst the farming communities, the mining communities, and the lower classes, is one of disgust at the high duties which are being imposed under this Tariff.

Mr. McCAY.—What does the honorable member mean by the "lower" classes?

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I should have said the poorer classes. Ever since this Parliament met and the debate upon the address in reply opened, there has been a great educational work going on in Victoria. The addresses delivered by honorable members upon the opposition side of the House have had a great educational influence upon the people of this State. The community is grateful for having been told the truth. Up till the time of the opening of this Parliament, the people of Victoria had heard only one side of the fiscal question stated, and that was the prohibitionist side. More especially are they indebted to the free-trade labour members, because the working men of Victoria are now beginning to see that after all there is something—I will not say in free-trade—but in moderate protection, in lower duties. They are beginning to realize that in the past they had paid through the nose in order to keep the large manufacturers going. They are getting tired of the operation, and the longer this debate continues the more will the people be educated in favour of the imposition of moderate duties. No wonder that the Government are anxious to close the discussion.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—They do not want to stop it.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—All I can say is that the newspaper which is supposed to represent the present Government offers daily comments upon what it terms the useless drivel which has been poured out by honorable members. It states that everything that can be said either for or against the Tariff has been said, and that we ought to close the discussion and get on with business. During this debate we have heard a great many statements in regard to the position of England under free-trade. It has been asserted that England is a decaying nation—that she is being ruined

by free-trade. But, as a matter of fact, the position of Great Britain to-day is better than it has ever been. Because that country has not advanced during recent years at the same ratio as she progressed when she first adopted a free-trade policy, it is argued that she must be a decaying nation. In like manner, because other nations which have adopted a policy of protection have advanced in greater ratio than has Great Britain during the last few years, it is affirmed that that policy is a wonderful success. But I would point out that when Great Britain started manufacturing she had practically the whole world at her feet. All the markets of the world were open to her. The result was that her manufactures increased by leaps and bounds. Her ships were in every port. She could not supply the demand that existed for her manufactures in foreign countries. The other nations of the world woke up to the advantages which she was deriving from those manufactures. What did they do? They started manufactures of their own. But they were not courageous enough to start them upon a free-trade basis. They had to surround themselves with a Chinese wall of protection. They had to go in absolutely for prohibition. Yet, despite this prohibition, we still find British manufactures in every country in the world, though not, perhaps, to the same extent as they were to be found formerly. The ships of Great Britain are in every port, and her position to-day is far in advance of that which she has occupied at any time during her career under free-trade. Great Britain has a position of "splendid isolation"—if I may use the term—amongst the nations of the world. She is the only nation that has had the pluck to maintain her free-trade policy in spite of the obstacles which have been raised against her. Foreign nations have to pay £80,000,000 annually to Great Britain for the privilege of having their goods carried in her ships. Is that evidence that she is a decaying nation? I cannot understand why honorable members should be continually decrying the mother land—the land from which they sprung—for the purpose of proving that she occupies a position which, in reality, she does not occupy. They should rather be roused to admiration of the situation which she holds in spite of the obstacles which have been raised against her. Notwithstanding all those obstacles she is still the dominant

mercantile power of the world. Nobody can deny that.

Mr. RONALD.—For how long will she remain so?

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I may tell the honorable member that the commerce of the British Empire is double that of any nation in the world, and half as much again as that of all the rest of the world put together. The honorable member for Gippsland started a fallacy the other night in reference to the imports and exports of Great Britain. The honorable member said—and I have heard the same statement made by other protectionist members of this House—that if a country imported more than it exported it must become insolvent. I will give a case in point in order to show the fallacy of that contention. If 1,000 tons of butter, for instance, is exported from Victoria, it is exported at the price which it is worth in this country—say 9d. per lb., or £75 per ton; and that is entered in our exports here at £75,000. When the butter reaches England it is sold, we will say, in order to keep within limits, at £100 per ton. That means that the butter, which was worth £75,000 in Victoria, is worth £100,000 in England; and payment for that butter comes back in the shape of imports, which are bought in England at the price which they are worth there, less charges. Whatever charges there may be are taken off the amount, and payment for the butter is remitted here in imports. But these imports are not entered here as worth £100,000, the price at which they left England, because at least 10 per cent. is added to the value at the Custom-house; and, therefore, the butter which was exported from Victoria at £75,000 comes back into this country in the shape of goods worth £110,000.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—The honorable member is avoiding the great point, and he knows it.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I have said that the goods come back, less charges.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—That is the whole difference.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—But does the honorable member mean to say that the charges amount to more than the difference between the value of the goods when they left Victoria and the value of the goods received in exchange? Is there no profit on the transaction? The profit comes here and swells our imports; and, therefore, I say that if,

as an exporting country, our imports do not exceed our exports, we are in a very bad way indeed. For every £100 worth of goods we send away as exports, we get in return imported goods worth at least £125, and these latter are entered on our books here as imports valued at that amount. This illustration at once does away with the fallacy which we have had advanced time after time by protectionists, that if a country's imports exceed its exports, that country must be going insolvent.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is not advanced by protectionists.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—It is advanced by protectionists in this House.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I never heard it advanced.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I said just now that, in the farming and mining communities throughout the length and breadth of the State of Victoria, there is a strong feeling against this Tariff.

Mr. WILKS.—In every State.

Mr. A. C. GROOM.—I speak of my own State, because I do not want to deal with matters which are beyond my knowledge. In Gippsland especially the feeling is most intense against the Tariff, and I propose to read a few letters which I have received from gentlemen representing various districts in my constituency, in order to show how the fiscal proposals of the Government are regarded. I do not propose to give the names of my correspondents, who possibly in sending the letters did not intend them to be made public, but I shall leave the documents on the table of the House for the perusal of honorable members. The first letter is addressed to me from Berwick, which is the centre of a very large farming district. It reads as follows:—

A public meeting of electors, convened by the president of the shire, was held in the Rechabite Hall, Berwick, to "protest against the Barton Commonwealth Tariff." More than 100 people attended, and the president was in the chair. The audience was totally against the Bill. The following resolution was carried, only six hands being held up against it:—

"That in view of the fact that this portion of the electorate of Flinders elected its representative as a 'revenue tariffist,' and the Tariff as propounded by Mr. Kingston is too severe in its taxation, and presses unduly on the resources of the agricultural, pastoral, and mining portions of the community, as well as being oppressive to the general body of small householders, this meeting desires to protest against the provisions of the Tariff, and requests its member to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the passing of the Bill."

I may mention that all classes of the community are speaking in the most bitter terms against the inequitable taxation, and as your "pledges" were for a "revenue Tariff" the feeling here is that you will most certainly oppose the Bill.

Here is another letter from Drouin, an important town in my constituency—

I can safely say that the feeling here is against the Tariff. I met several farmers in the town yesterday afternoon who objected to the high duties, and they pointed out that, their position was worse than before. They are taxed more, yet outside markets rule the price of their produce. The feeling is opposed to the Kingston Tariff. Undoubtedly the impression in the country was that the Tariff would be more moderate than the old Victorian list.

The writer goes on, and this is something for my Sydney friends—

I was in Sydney nearly the whole of last week, and there is not the least doubt that the feeling there is almost unanimously against the new Tariff. There is a belief here that, even if Mr. Reid fails to carry his motion, the duties will be very greatly modified in committee.

These are fair samples of letters which I have received. Another gentleman in Yarram, an important town in the south-east of Gippsland, writes—

The feeling here is very strong against the Tariff proposals of the Government, and the general hope is expressed that you will vote against it.

Here is another letter from Moe, another large district—

There is, I find, a general anxiety here as to your views upon the Tariff now before the House. I don't know what is thought of it in other parts of your constituency, but here I do not hear a single word in its favour. As a rule I find it will increase the cost of living to the farmer very considerably—at the least quite 20 per cent. The framers of the Tariff do not appear to know the effect of their own proposals, neither, strange to say, do they appear to know what articles are affected. We find hardly anything used upon the farm or the home is left untouched. The increases are more numerous than we ever remember, and the reductions few, very few. Our only hope is that the Tariff will be rejected *in globo*, as there is nothing good in it, and one passed on revenue lines. Otherwise the farming industry will be ruined, as not only will the cost of living be raised, but to provide revenue we shall have a heavy land tax in the near future. This Tariff kills revenue.

I do not go so far as to say that the farmer will be absolutely ruined, but this letter shows the feeling on the subject. The letters I have read are a fair sample of a large number which I have received from various people resident in the community, and I may add that the last letter I quoted is from a man who, until very recently

was a very strong protectionist indeed. We were sent here by the nation, if I may so put it, to create the best fiscal policy possible for the whole of Australia, not for any one State in particular. The whole Commonwealth is looking to us to do that, irrespective of what Government occupies the Ministerial bench. I trust that although I am going to vote against the Government they will listen to reason in committee. I have made up mind to cross the floor upon this question. I do so with very great regret, for the simple reason that all my friends whom I have known for years are sitting on the Ministerial side of the House. I am sorry indeed to leave them, but at this stage we are called upon to fulfil the pledges we made to our constituents. It is the knowledge that I am compelled to do this which leads me to cross the floor, and I intend to sit on the opposite side of the House as soon as a division has been taken. I feel that I could not consistently sit behind the Government when there are such a large number of items in the Tariff which I shall have to use strenuous efforts to get knocked out, or largely reduced. It is for these reasons that I intend to cross the floor.

Mr. SKENE (Grampians).—In addressing myself to the question before the House, I regret that I shall be compelled to introduce rather more of the personal element into my speech than is congenial to me, but I hope I shall be able to do so without transgressing the proprieties, and without any discourtesy towards any honorable member to whom I may have to refer. When I took my seat on the Ministerial side of the House, I was actuated by two considerations—the personality of the right honorable the Prime Minister, and his policy. At that time I had no personal knowledge of the right honorable gentleman. I had never had an opportunity of a personal introduction to him. But his name was a household word throughout Australia as that of one who had fought the battle of federation in the front rank, and who had been intrusted by the Governor-General with the formation of the first Ministry of the Commonwealth of Australia, and with the task of setting the Commonwealth machine in motion. As to the Prime Minister's policy, I took as my text a speech which he made at the Town Hall, Melbourne. I had not an opportunity of reading the speech which

has been so much referred to by honorable members—the Maitland speech. But I had studied the *Argus* report of the Prime Minister's speech in the Melbourne Town Hall. The Prime Minister himself has assured me that he acknowledges that report as absolutely correct, and as being one of the best reports he has had. In that speech the right honorable gentleman said this:—

First, it must be recollected that the Federal Tariff must produce a large revenue, and must in one sense be a revenue Tariff. (Applause.) But while I have any hand in the Government of the Commonwealth, it will not be a revenue Tariff accompanied with destruction, but it will be a Tariff which will prevent destruction. (Loud cheers.)

A Voice—A high or low Tariff?

Another Voice.—A moderate one.

Mr. Barton.—In New South Wales there are some who have been frightfully annoyed with me for only saying half-a-dozen times in every speech that I was a protectionist. They wanted me to say it 100 times. (Laughter.) While the Commonwealth has to raise a large revenue, it will have to have moderate duties.

Then a little while afterwards, in the same speech, the right honorable gentleman said—

It is the belief of myself and my colleagues that you must take care not to destroy that which has been created, and that is—phrase it as you like—the continuance of protection upon certain industries worth continuing.

In addressing the constituents who returned me to this House, I took that speech as my text. In doing so, I believed that I was justified, free-trader though I am, in adopting the policy outlined by the Prime Minister. I had some little knowledge of free-trade tactics in the United States of America, where by the indiscretion of some of the free-trade leaders the cause was set back for years simply because they tried to force matters on too hurriedly. Recognising that, I felt that it would be a difficult and dangerous thing to adopt an altogether free-trade policy. I have heard a great deal of late years of the the limitation made by John Stuart Mill in regard to one of his doctrines, or rather of an admission he made modifying an opinion which he had previously entertained in regard to free-trade. That modification has always commended itself to me as a fairly reasonable concession, although objectionable in one particular. That objection is the difficulty, once duties are put on for protective purposes, of getting them taken off again. As a free-trader, feeling that,

I realized that before committing myself absolutely to the policy of the Prime Minister, I should, if possible, have to try and find some indication of his mind as to matters of that kind. After considerable research through the reports of the convention debates, I found that during the discussion of the bounties, the following passage occurred between the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General. The Attorney-General was referring to the Victorian dairying bounties, when an honorable member interjected—

When were these bounties first granted?

Mr. DEAKIN.—They were granted by the Victorian Parliament in 1889.

Mr. BARTON.—Then they have been on long enough.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes, these have been on long enough, and they have been discarded. These bounties have ceased, having answered their purposes.

It seems to me that if the honorable and learned member recognises that a bounty having served its purpose should cease, he cannot logically contend that a duty which has done so should be continued for all time. It was that statement which reconciled me to the programme of the Government; but I had another reason for believing that that programme would be characterized by moderation and compromise. The Minister for Home Affairs, when speaking in Sydney, is reported to have said—

He knew from experience that the imposition of revenue duties was in many respects in its incidence protection.

In another speech he said that—

In his opinion the duties would range from 10 to 15 per cent.

Reading those statements in connexion with the speech of the Prime Minister, I concluded that a very much more moderate Tariff would have been introduced than that which has been put before us. When I heard the Minister of Trade and Customs, in introducing the Tariff, say that it was designedly protective, and that it was intended to expand it in the future in the direction of further protection, I felt that I had been under considerable misapprehension as to the intentions of the Government. There are a great many internal evidences of protection throughout the Tariff. It was hardly necessary to tell us that it was a protective Tariff. To me the strongest evidence of all is the deduction of £5,000,000 to allow for the stimulation which will be given to protected industries. Another

heavy deduction was made because the figures were based upon the returns for an abnormal year, and for various other reasons. Although it is true that New South Wales imported largely last year, in anticipation of the proposed duties, quite the contrary took place in the other States.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—In Victoria we got £250,000 last year that we should have got this.

Mr. SKENE.—Of course, if the right honorable gentleman says so, it must be so; but it seems to me like saying that water runs up hill. If the importers thought the duties would be decreased, they would not be likely to increase their imports. But do the Government mean to say that local industries will be stimulated in one year to such an extent that £5,000,000 worth of imports will be kept out?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No. I spoke of a normal year.

Mr. SKENE.—We are dealing with the proposals for this year.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Nearly £1,000,000 less revenue is to be collected this year than will be collected in a normal year.

Mr. SKENE.—I understand that £5,000,000 is deducted to provide for the estimated stimulation of local industries.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes; but not during this year.

Mr. REID.—During next year?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—No.

Mr. SKENE.—Well, when is it to be? I contend that if duties are imposed upon £26,000,000 worth of imports, instead of upon £21,000,000 worth, there will be no necessity for such high average rates. Then, too, I think that something should be allowed for the expansion of our exporting industries, and for the recovery which the Commonwealth is making after the boom. I am satisfied that it is not possible for our local industries to respond so rapidly that £5,000,000 worth of imports will be kept out this year.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Ministry had to make out a case for their Tariff.

Mr. SKENE.—My objection is that too much revenue will be collected under the proposals of the Government. The Prime Minister gave us to understand the financial exigencies precluded the imposition of anything like a low Tariff; but I believe it is the deduction I speak of that bars the way to a lower Tariff. If duties were imposed upon a

larger importation, the average rates would be less, or a larger free list could be created. I do not propose to take up time by dealing with the items of the Tariff, but I desire to say something as to the way in which the primary industries of the country are to be treated. All political economists agree that the labour of the agriculturalist is productive of wealth to a State. The operations of the miner in winning from the bowels of the earth the precious metals, which form the base of our mediums of exchange, are second only to those of the agriculturalist. It is not possible to assist the primary industries by protective duties, because they are exporting industries, and no duties can help industries the productions of which have to compete in the markets of the world. The only possible way to help them would be to diminish the cost of production. So far as I can see, not the slightest attempt has been made in that direction?

Mr. HUME COOK.—What is England doing for agriculture?

Mr. SKENE.—She is losing a great deal of her agricultural industry, but, like other old nations, she is becoming a net-work of towns. We have to remember that we have here a continent of what is practically virgin soil. We have heard a great deal about our home market, but, after all, it is a very small one, and every industry which has to deal with the production of the soil very soon reaches the export stage.

Mr. HUME COOK.—England is losing her agriculture under the fiscal policy which the honorable member is proposing to support.

Mr. SKENE.—I do not follow the honorable member. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo put before the House the other night some calculations which he had worked out in regard to the number of holdings in this country, and the amount of duty payable upon agricultural implements. I think his figures worked out at something like 4s. 6d. per holding. I fail to see that that fact proves anything. It does not prove what I should like to know, namely, the extent to which the agricultural implements upon these holdings are increased in price by the protective Tariff on imported machinery. If he could have shown us that, then we should have had something to work upon. In my opinion a protective duty increases the price of importations of that

kind. I fail to grasp it in any other way. Some ten years ago I had an experience which bears out that view. I went to a Melbourne firm to purchase a portable engine. The first question asked was whether it was required for Victoria or New South Wales. When I inquired the reason for the question, I was told that if the engine was required for New South Wales, the price would be £180, but that if it was for Victoria, the price would be £210. That was ten years ago, but the fact stares me in the face that a farmer in New South Wales who wants an engine of that kind, would have to pay something like £30 duty on it, under the present Tariff of 15 per cent. I have had a life-long experience in the country. I have known the farmer as a neighbour and a friend. I have known him as a partner on the share system, and in every relation of life in which one man may know another. I feel that the Tariff, which is now proposed, will be a hindrance to men of very small means, who are trying to work out a living under the share system. I should like to put a concrete case before the House, in the shape of an experience which I had last year with one of my own tenants. He made a proposal to me that if I would find him half the quantity of phosphate manures required for fertilising 200 acres, which he proposed to put under crop, he would purchase the necessary drill. I consented at once to do so. Under our agreement I was to get one-third of the crop, while he took the remaining two-thirds. After a very careful calculation the farmer could not see his way clear to purchase the drill, the selling price of which in Victoria is about £35 or £40. I estimated that the amount of duty payable upon it was about £3. Expert evidence goes to show that seed drilled into the soil with these manures gives a return of at least 4 bushels per acre in excess of the yield obtained from seed sown in the ordinary way. This farmer friend of mine could have bought the drill upon the time-payment principle, and very probably if the price had been a little lower he would have been tempted to secure it. He would thus have been able to put 200 acres under crop under conditions which probably would have returned him 4 bushels per acre more than he could secure from the ordinary sowing. But even if by this means he had obtained an increased yield of 2 bushels to the acre,

the carriage of the additional grain from the local railway station to the market at the rate of 4½d. per bushel would have amounted to £7 10s. That sum would have gone to the railways of the State, and surely it is just as well to obtain the revenue in that as in any other way. That farmer's chance of purchasing a drill this year is much reduced, because he is a man with a family, and he is taxed upon the whole of the necessities of life. The food that he and his family eat, and the clothing they wear, are taxed, and therefore he is thrown back further than he would have been under other circumstances. This may seem a very small thing but it has been said that the advancement of the world depends on the use made of the small balance of advantage over disadvantage. If that appertains to the whole world how much more does it apply to a man who has to struggle hard in order to improve his position? Some honorable members can hardly realize how much the payment of a small sum in that way affects a farmer. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo expressed the opinion that protection did something for the inventive genius of the country. I think, however, that a great deal more harm is done to the country by shutting out the inventive genius of the whole world. Inventive genius is largely imitative and we know perfectly well that the reason why the local manufacturers of agricultural implements have been able to do so well is that they have been able to improve upon the imported machines.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I suppose the honorable member would say that the stripper and the harvester are illustrations.

Mr. SKENE.—I know that these machines were invented here. I do not question that there have been some local inventions, but I see no object in shutting out an invention, which a man could use at the present time, for the sake of getting something hereafter, which another person will be able to use when that man is dead. I see no reason why for the sake of a very small and paltry duty we should keep back the best implements from outside.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—A paltry duty would not keep them out.

Mr. SKENE.—Then why impose the duty? We are told on the one hand that the duty will not keep them out, and yet it is said that it will have the effect of protecting local manufacturers. I cannot

understand that form of reasoning. In my opinion the farmer certainly should be encouraged. Money in the hand of a farmer is not simply a piece of inert matter. It is matter which he may sow, like the seed in the land, to beget a product. It is the concentrated essence of product, and in the hand of the producer it grows into additional wealth. The large farmer conducting large operations should be encouraged to go on and still further increase his operations. I think it was the honorable member for Moira who said that there were 30,000 acres less put under crop this year than last year.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It was not I.

Mr. SKENE.—I understood it was the honorable member who said so. I find from the Government statistics just published that the area under crop this year is less than the area put under crop last year by no less than 250,000 acres. This is really true with regard especially to wheat areas. It must be remembered that our wheat farmers have to compete in the markets of the world against the best appliances in the world in the United States, and against cheap labour in the Argentine, in India and in Russia, and also against the advantage of a shorter distance of carriage. Seeing that the farmer has to compete against all these advantages in favour of other countries, it is certainly in the interests of the country that he should be encouraged by diminishing the cost of production. I know of many farmers, and particularly one farmer in a large way alongside my own holding, who have given up farming altogether. This particular farmer has gone in for growing lambs for freezing, partly because of the increased rate of wages, and probably still more because of the low price he got for his produce.

Mr. PAGE.—The same old gag—"The wages we have got to pay." The honorable member is red-hot on the wages.

Mr. SKENE.—I can assure the honorable member that it has a great deal to do with it.

Mr. KENNEDY.—And that is the condition of the agriculturist of Victoria. Wages are so high that they have to give up growing wheat.

Mr. SKENE.—I am simply stating a fact within my own knowledge. The area under wheat is being diminished for some reasons.

and one is the difficulty of getting agricultural labour. The honorable member for Moira must feel that in his district also, as it would be a very extraordinary thing that it should occur in one part of the country and not in another. Whatever may be given to the farmer or the worker in the way of concession now, and in the way of cheaper necessities of life, is a penny saved, and a penny saved is a penny gained. A penny now will be a great deal more to them than a very much larger amount in prospective, and which they may never realize at all. I feel that the cost of living under the altered conditions imposed by this Tariff will be so much increased that it will affect the poorer people throughout the Commonwealth. The effect will be practically to raise the starvation line. There is here, unfortunately, as there is in all countries, a submerged fraction of the population, and if we increase the cost of living to the poorer classes of the people we increase that submerged fraction, and in this case I believe it will be increased to a very considerable degree.

Mr. WATSON.—A revenue Tariff will do that also.

Mr. SKENE.—As the honorable member says, a revenue Tariff will do that also. I came into the Chamber this afternoon when the honorable member for Bland was speaking, and I follow very much the lines the honorable member took. I feel that the danger we are running now is that of raising too much money through the Customs to hand back to the States. I should prefer, as the honorable member for Bland was suggesting when I entered the Chamber to-day, that the States should be left to raise the amount required to meet any deficiency themselves rather than that too much should be collected, because the whole of the money received will be spent. In this connexion I should like to make a quotation from Professor Ely's book on *Taxation in American States and Cities*. I value the book particularly on account of an incident which I may relate. When I got it as far back as 1891 I drew the attention of the late Mr. Service to it, and lent it to him for a few days. He sent it back to me with a note saying that he thought so much of it that he intended to invest in one for himself. That should be a recommendation of the book to Victorians.

Mr. McDONALD.—Professor Ely is a socialist.

Mr. SKENE.—I do not mind; he is very sound upon this point, I think.

Mr. FOWLER.—He is one of the best authorities upon economics in the world.

Mr. SKENE.—I confess I am not competent to enter deeply into the subject. I desire to put before the House some statements from the book which bear upon the suggestion made by the honorable member for Bland to-day, that it might be necessary that there should be some sort of taxation by the States to make up any deficiency arising from an insufficient collection of revenue through customs duties. Whether the taxation is made through the State Parliament or through the Federal Parliament it is all the same. The first part of this book is devoted to a discussion of taxation as it is, and the second to taxation as it ought to be. The one idea running through it is, that there should be what Professor Ely calls a "central variable tax." He is, of course, referring to America, where they have the same federal form of Government as our own, with State Governments and systems of local government such as we have. He says—

One tax ought not to be considered by itself, but all the taxes our Federal State, county, and local taxes must be considered as forming one system of taxation, and the aim of the legislature should be so to adjust the burdens of taxation, that each one may pay a fair share of all the taxes to which he is liable. Federal taxes, for example, bear with undue severity on the poorer and middle classes, and as we are American citizens as well as citizens of our various Commonwealths, and as States are not independent in matters of taxation, it is but fair that State and local taxes should aim to lighten the burdens of the poorer and middle classes, somewhat, as compared with the wealthier classes.

He then goes on to say—

It is not extremely difficult to frame a system of taxation for American States and their cities, and the other political units, into which they are sub-divided, if the various principles which have been elaborated, be kept in mind.

After making a number of suggestions, and saying that for local government a real estate tax should be the central tax, he says this—

The taxes which have already been described are suitable for local purposes. The central tax of a proper system of local taxation is the tax on real estate; and this will vary from year to year according to the needs of the public Treasury. An estimate must first be made of the revenues from productive property and local enterprises, from natural monopolies, from liquor licences, and from all other sources, and then a tax rate on real estate, just high enough to make up what is still lacking, should be fixed. It ought not in

any American city to exceed 1 per cent. of the true selling value of the property. The central and variable tax in a proper system of State taxation ought to be an income tax. This should vary from year to year, according to the needs of the State Government, and its rate should be calculated after the revenues from other sources has been estimated.

It occurs to me that some system of that sort will eventually have to be adopted. It would be a most extravagant system to collect, haphazard as it were, an immense surplus, as we might accidentally do, and hand it over to the States to be squandered practically, and have one fourth left, which we probably would not know what to do with.

MR. FISHER.—There are old-age pensions, remember.

SIR GEORGE TURNER.—They will soon eat up anything we have left.

MR. SKENE.—However, I shall not detain honorable members any longer on that subject. I revert to the question of my own position in the House. In the January number of *United Australia* the Attorney-General wrote in these terms—

The first Parliament must be protectionist or anti-protectionist, and its first work an Australian Tariff. That is the clear-cut issue. In the best of tempers with all possible politeness, and, without a tinge of bitterness, firm federalists as we are, we must now separate to our opposing standards.

The Minister for Trade and Customs has raised that standard with no uncertain sound. I took my seat here in a spirit of compromise, expecting moderation and compromise from the Government but their proposals display those qualities only in name. In the circumstances there is only one course for me to pursue. I regret it very much. I feel that I cannot march under the protectionist flag. Ever since I have had anything to do with public life I have taken up the position of a moderate free-trader. I wish, in conclusion, to show my position by reading a very short extract from my first address to the electors when I stood for a seat in this House. I said—

Eventually, I believe, we must come to a parting of the ways with the present Government, or some members of it. It is quite possible that the House may divide into three parties, with the extremists at each end, and a Revenue Tariff party as the happy medium. But there are good grounds for not anticipating these difficulties. Mr. Barton, as I have said before, has honorably earned his present position as leader of the Commonwealth. Let us give him a fair show. Some say his policy has been forced upon him by the necessity to get revenue.

What need that concern us, if it is a sound policy? Time enough to tighten the rein upon him when he shows signs of wanting to get off the track. Now, gentlemen, I hope I have made my position clear. If I have anything to do with it, I want to be generous to Mr. Barton, because of the good work he has done in the cause of federation, and because I feel, after having followed him through the greatest part, if not the whole, of the Convention debates, that he has been consistent throughout, moderate, and willing to act in a spirit of compromise. I think Sir William Lyne is also determined to act in a broad spirit. With regard to the others, I reserve my judgment. All I hope is that Mr. Barton will not permit them to drag him away from the broad lines he has laid down.

Before the termination of that meeting I was asked a question by Mr. Hudson, which I would like to read to show the position I took up—

In the event of Mr. Barton moving in the direction of a protective Tariff, would the candidate support him?

My reply was, "Not one yard." The position I find myself in to-day is that this Tariff has been introduced as a distinctly protective one. Therefore I feel that I cannot do otherwise than shift my seat to the other side of the House. The Government will not receive any factious opposition from me. Where their measures commend themselves to my judgment I shall be only too pleased to support them, but this is a matter of principle that I am not prepared to sacrifice to any man or to any body of men living.

MR. V. L. SOLOMON (South Australia).—After the somewhat lengthy speeches we have had from both sides of the House on this very important question, I do not propose to take up more time of honorable members than I can possibly help. At the same time its paramount importance on the threshold of our federation, seems to me to warrant every honorable member in giving his views and letting his constituents know the manner in which he is keeping his pledges. We have had, both last evening and this evening, some very able speeches on both sides of the House. The speech from the honorable and learned member for Indi was notably a clear-cut fighting protectionist speech, but also tinged with some good free-trade principles to leaven it a little. We have also had a speech from the honorable member for Flinders and the honorable member for Grampians, giving their reasons for sticking to their pledges to their electors. I do not intend to continue

the line of argument which has been so frequently indulged in by comparing the various industries of the sister States of Victoria and New South Wales, by contrasting the rates of wages, the hours of labour, the number of operatives, males or females, employed in the different factories, or, in fact, any of those statistics of which, I feel sure, most honorable members are pretty well sick. I cannot see that any good result can come out of an analytical comparison of statistics such as I have mentioned. To attempt to compare two States having entirely different circumstances, different areas, different climates, different natural resources, and different rainfalls, seems to me to be a fruitless way of endeavouring to convince honorable members on either side of the benefits of either free-trade or protection. I think it is nearly time to drop this State *versus* State comparison. In our addresses to the electors, both before the advent of federation and since, we have all prophesied that it would mean the abolition of those imaginary border lines which have marred the map of Australia, and fondly imagined that even the jealousies, the trade rivalries, which had operated in different States, would speedily be forgotten. It is not for us to consider what the result has been either to Victoria under a protectionist policy during the past few years or to New South Wales under a free-trade policy. I think it has been amply demonstrated by both sides of the House that, whatever may have been the varying causes of the prosperity of New South Wales, the fact remains that under a free-trade policy her industries have increased and her prosperity is at least equal to that of any other State in the union; and, in saying this, I consider that I am extremely moderate. We have had numerous comparisons of the progress of different free-trade countries with that of protectionist countries of the older world. We have had day after day from the protectionist side of the House what I may term the most unpatriotic allusions to the British Empire. Judging from the remarks of some honorable members, notably the honorable member for Gippsland, England is a decaying power. The fact that America, with her vast areas, with her resources almost untried, has made more rapid strides in the last quarter of a century than Great Britain, that was at the time America started pretty well at the apex of her

commercial power, has been looked upon as a positive proof that the policy of free-trade in the case of Great Britain has been a failure. I suggested the other night, by interjection, an argument for which I was indebted to the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn. It is a very cogent argument to use, when two nations such as America and Great Britain are compared, namely, that we can hardly expect the growth of a fully matured man to be as rapid as that of a growing lad. To compare Great Britain, fully matured as she was in her commerce, and her industries, and her power, almost before America, with all her vast resources, had started, is, to my mind, somewhat absurd. The idea that England is gradually decaying has been so drummed into my ears during this debate that I have been strongly reminded of an incident that occurred in one of the back-blocks gold-field townships of Western Australia, where I had the pleasure of staying at a little shanty some few years ago. There were some other travellers there, including a few teamsters, who were having a high time. One of these was a musical gentleman, who kept the one song going for 24 if not for 36 hours, and the refrain of his song was very much in this style—“Hingland, dear old Hingland, is a-goin’ down the ill.” I believed as much then in the truth of this gentleman’s musical statement as I now believe in the correctness of the conclusions of honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House as to the decadence of the British Empire when compared with Germany and America. The Minister for Defence, when speaking a night or two ago, seemed to regard the question before the House as one merely of personal ambition, and as the outcome of a struggle for office on the part of the leader of the Opposition and those associated with him. I do not think it is anything of the kind. That is certainly not the aspect from which I view the matter. It is of little consequence to me or to the State which I represent whether the Prime Minister or the leader of the Opposition leads the Government of this Commonwealth. What is desired, however, by the State of South Australia and the whole of the smaller States is the adoption of a policy which will best serve the interests of the whole Commonwealth, and advance the prosperity and happiness of the people. When I was addressing the

electors a few days after the Prime Minister had spoken at Maitland and declared the policy of the Government, I told the people distinctly that if the somewhat veiled remarks of the Prime Minister as to revenue without destruction meant that he was going for a protectionist Tariff which would seek to bolster up the industries in the State of Victoria at the expense of the people of the Commonwealth, the Barton Ministry would have my opposition. Therefore it is not necessary for me to explain my attitude beyond saying that, after having most carefully analyzed this Tariff, I regard it as one designed more in the interests of the Victorian manufacturers than either for the purpose of obtaining revenue or for the advancement of the industries of other States. It has been pointed out that this Tariff is lacking in consideration for the three greatest industries of Australia, which have made the various States what they are, and to which we must look in the future for our advancement. I mean, of course, the mining, agricultural, and pastoral industries. The general trend of the Prime Minister's speech at Maitland did not lead me to believe that these industries would be so utterly neglected as they have been in connexion with the framing of this Tariff. When the Prime Minister, after having uttered those notable words as to revenue without destruction, and as to his intention to protect the sugar-growing industry of New South Wales, told the people at Maitland that he did not intend to do any juggling with figures or words, I did not know what was in his mind. One thing, however, I did call attention to at once, and that was that the cry about protecting the sugar industry of New South Wales was rather far-fetched when it was considered that the sugar of Queensland—the greatest rival of New South Wales—would have to be admitted free the moment federation was accomplished. Upon this point I took the liberty of pointing out that the Prime Minister, when estimating the amount of money that the Commonwealth would require, had not said one word about the immense amount of duty which the Federation would lose by the opening up of the markets of the other States to the sugar of Queensland. I then pointed out that in the year 1898 the exports of sugar from Queensland to the adjoining States amounted to 116,260 tons, of which New South Wales received 28,992

Mr. V. L. Solomon.

tons; Victoria, 49,000 tons; South Australia, 15,000 tons; and the other States, the balance of 3,000 odd tons; and that the duty which would be lost to these various States through this sugar being permitted to come in free would amount to something between £480,000 and £500,000. I then sought—and the speech was published throughout the length and breadth of South Australia—to learn from the Government how this £500,000 was to be made up. I endeavoured to elicit whether there was an intention on the part of the Ministry to impose an excise duty. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister for Trade and Customs, both of whom knew the importance of this question, and how it was being discussed in South Australia, deigned to take any notice of it. In Queensland the Prime Minister was especially careful to avoid telling the people that they were not to have a free market for their sugar, but would first be required to pay an excise duty of £3 per ton upon it. Had the policy of the Government in regard to this sugar excise and the encouragement or discouragement of sugar planting in Queensland been clearly put to the people of that State, I think that even at that late hour they would have endeavoured to withdraw from the federation. Whilst recognising as much as does any honorable member the necessity for a reasonable revenue being raised through customs and excise, I say most emphatically that the revenue to be derived under the items enumerated in this Tariff casts a burden upon the shoulders of those least able to bear it. It presses harshly upon the miners, the agriculturalists, and the workers—not upon the artisans in protected industries—but upon the men engaged upon cattle and sheep stations, and those who have no trade at their fingers' ends which can be protected. The necessities of these people are being taxed to the uttermost, and even the materials for the prosecution of their industries are also to be subjected to heavy imposts.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Ought not the honorable member to ask leave to continue his remarks? It is shameful that the members of the Government should leave the Chamber.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I thank the honorable member for the suggestion, but as I have very little hope of being able to get any argument into the heads of those

honorable members who have vacated their seats, I am not at all troubled about their absence. Indeed, it rather pleases me, because I shall probably avoid some very stupid interjections, which might have led me away from the ordinary current of my thoughts. The burden of this Tariff falls upon the shoulders of the miners, agriculturalists, workers, and pastoralists, who receive no protection in return. The honorable member for Moira said that the mining industry had received assistance to the extent of some £200,000 or £300,000, and that agriculture had been aided by the construction of roads and railways. As a matter of fact these industries have contributed to the wealth of the various States, in proportion to the amount which has been expended in their encouragement, one hundred fold more than have any of the fostered industries in Victoria. Let us take the case of the mining industry. I find that mining machinery is taxed 15 per cent., and in some instances 20 per cent. When one considers that last year, in Western Australia alone, over £300,000 worth of mining machinery was imported, more than half of which came from the older countries of the world, much of which was patented machinery that could not be made in Australia, and when one remembers that the timber which it is necessary to use upon these mines, the galvanized iron for their sheds, battery buildings, and so forth, as well as the timber employed in the Broken Hill mines, are to be heavily taxed, one may safely conclude that the mining industry is not being assisted, but is more likely to be injured by the Tariff which has been placed before us.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is plenty of good timber in Western Australia.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I heard a similar interjection from the Minister for Defence the other night. I do not know whether he has ever visited Broken Hill, but if he had seen the timber employed in the mines there, he would know that what is necessary for the open-set system in the Barrier mines is not either Jarrah or Kauri, but Oregon. The explanation given by the whole of the leading experts of Broken Hill, is that both Jarrah and Kauri are too short in the grain and too hard to work, and that their tensile strength is not nearly so great as is that of Oregon. Is it at all likely, if Jarrah and Kauri could be used, that the Broken Hill companies would spend hundreds of thousands of pounds in

importing Oregon from great distances for their mining work?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is lighter to handle, I think.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—On the other hand, the smaller Jarrah for some purposes would be more suitable than is Oregon. But in the underground work of the Broken Hill mines, where at times there is a strain of thousands of tons of overhanging rock, it is necessary to have a timber which will not crack, but which will give a little, and the experts of Broken Hill, who have been mining all their lives, are, I think, better qualified to give an opinion as to the relative value of the timbers mentioned than is the Minister for Defence.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable member say that Oregon is stronger than Jarrah?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Undoubtedly it is for that purpose.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is it stronger when it is of the same size?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It is stronger than Jarrah when used for the purposes I have mentioned. As I have already explained, the grain of the Oregon is longer, and its tensile strength is greater. Also it will give a little, whereas the Jarrah snaps. I find also that duties are placed upon dynamite, fuse, and nails, whilst there is a heavy impost upon galvanized iron. What is still worse, there is a large duty upon iron tanks, altogether regardless of whether they are imported full or empty. The Minister for Defence knows that there are thousands of 400 gallon tanks in use throughout Western Australia. They are almost as indispensable to the miner there as are his flour and meat. A 400 gallon tank has to pay a duty of 12s. irrespective of whether it is full or empty. Throughout the length and breadth of Western Australia, these tanks during the last seven or eight years have been the salvation of the country. They are not used for conserving water, because the rainfall in the back country is so infrequent and light that they are utterly useless in this respect, but they are required for condensing purposes. These tanks, which cost only a few pounds, can, with the little skill possessed by most miners, be converted, with the aid of a few hundred feet of iron for tubes, into plant for the purpose of condensing fresh water. One may see, not tens or hundreds, but thousands of such tanks throughout the

back country, providing tens of thousands of people with fresh water condensed from the salt water of the lakes. Without these tanks in Western Australia back-country prospecting would be impossible, and it is a matter of surprise, or should be, that the Minister for Defence, who knows that country so well, should have permitted such a ridiculous and tyrannical duty to be placed on what is an absolute necessary for the working miner. Then we have to consider the position of the ordinary father of a family, or of the ordinary housewife, under this Tariff. It has been pointed out before that blankets, rugs, woollens, flannels, and flannelettes are subject to a duty of 20 per cent., while silks, velvets, ribbons, trimmings, flowers, and embroideries, which are all articles of luxury used by the more wealthy portion of the community, and which have hitherto been taxed 25 per cent., 27½ per cent., and even more in some States, have been let off with 15 per cent. Yet that is what the Ministry call a revenue Tariff. Flannelette forms an important item in the daily and weekly expense of poor families, and yet this commodity is, along with blankets, taxed to the extent of 20 per cent., whilst silk is admitted on payment of a duty of 15 per cent. In the Government we have honorable gentlemen who have hitherto posed as leading democrats and friends of the working classes, and who owe their present position, honorable as it is, to the loyalty of those classes. The Minister for Trade and Customs defended the duties I have mentioned, pointing out that blankets are a finished article, and, as such, are charged at the rate of 20 per cent., but that silk, which may be worth 6s., 15s., or 1 ls. a yard, is an unfinished article, which has to be sent to the dressmaker in order to be made up. In like manner flannelette, which is sold retail in many instances at from 2½d. to 4d. a yard, and, perhaps, at even less, and in poorer families, is such a valuable article—

Mr. PIERCE.—And a dangerous article.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I do not think that flannelette is more dangerous than any other dress material. We hear of as many fire accidents in connexion with muslin or cotton dresses as in connexion with flannelette underclothing. Embroideries, ribbons, trimmings, and other similar articles, which cannot be produced in the State, but are manufactured in Paris and

Berlin, and which could well be charged a stiff revenue duty, are to be admitted at 15 per cent., while the absolute necessities of the poorer classes are charged 20 per cent. I observe that dungaree, calico, moleskins, and shirtings are allowed to come in at the same rate as silk, feathers, flowers, and trimmings. The Government put a 25 per cent. duty on patent medicines. If there is one class of commodity more than another that is a boon, not only to the poorer classes of people in the city, but to those who have to go into the bush and on the mining fields, very often many miles from medical assistance, in order to develop the industries of this vast continent, it is that of patent medicines. I admit that many of the drugs and medicines which are advertised are absolutely useless; but, on the other hand, there are patent medicines, such as chlorodyne, the old fashioned pills, and Friar's balsam, which are absolutely invaluable to the poorer classes of people who are out of the reach of medical aid. Now we come to the increased duties on pretty well all the necessities of life, such as tea, starch, kerosene, candles, coffee, cocoa, currants, raisins, oatmeal, and tinned milk. I intend to deal with several of these items presently, and give a few particulars regarding them. As to the last item of tinned milk, it was rather amusing to see honorable members on the other side, who, perhaps, have never been in all their lives more than a few hundred yards away from a cow, and who hardly know what condensed milk is, laughing when honorable members on the Opposition side talked of the injustice of placing a heavy duty on this commodity. Out of the 100,000 residents of the gold-fields of Western Australia, the 7,000 or 8,000 people in the northern portion of Australia, and the 10,000 on the northern coast line of Australia at various ports between Brisbane and Cape York, I do not believe there is 1 per cent. who see a glass or a cup of cow's milk from one year's end to the other. Preserved milk is an invaluable article of food to people in those outside districts. I know that at least one of my children had to be brought up on this food at Port Darwin, and I do not believe that for £1 a quart it would have been possible to obtain, within a radius of 100 miles, a pint of fresh milk for the child's use. Other families in the back-blocks of northern Australia have had the same experience.

This tax on preserved milk is undoubtedly protective, and meant to foster an industry which ought to be able to fight its own way; and I regard it as a most unfair impost. Many of these imposts I have alluded to, that will press so hardly on certain classes of our community, whose interests are worthy of consideration, will not bring in much to the revenue, and it is clear that they are not intended to be revenue-producing. For instance, we find that the tanks, which are so invaluable to the miners and prospectors in the back-blocks of Western Australia, and which are used for condensing purposes, are being taxed to the extent of 12s. per 400 gallon tank. Not only are they used by miners, but every occupant of a shearer's hut, and every little cocky farmer who is trying to make a start, is glad to obtain one of these 400 gallon tanks, with which he can conserve a little rain water. The duty of 12s. is estimated to bring in a revenue of £7,560. When we come to starch, we find that the total duty estimated to be received, is £3,733. Candles are expected to yield £3,468; preserved milk, £28,750; and kerosene and the other things I have mentioned bring in various sums. I will allude to them presently. Meanwhile, as I have mentioned starch, I will deal with that question, and with the amount that the duty on it is expected to realize. The honorable member for Mernda, in discussing the Government policy, expressly referred to the starch duty. With tears in his voice, the honorable member told us that he was in a most delicate position in regard to this question, and that he had never been placed in such a delicate position during his political career. I am rather surprised at that statement, seeing that the starch duty has been imposed for years in Victoria, and that during that period the honorable member for Mernda was a member of the State House. There is no excuse for a member of this House or of a State Parliament being placed in a delicate position concerning a matter which he feels affects his own pocket. It is easy for him to be out of the House when the vote is taken on the article in which he is interested. That is a course which I have seen adopted in the State Parliament, of which I was a member, in regard to a similar thing, and that course could easily have been adopted by the honorable member, by means of which he would have avoided placing himself in a somewhat delicate position. I

am not surprised, however, at the honorable member feeling the position somewhat acutely. The importation of starch into the Commonwealth, judging from the importations into the States, will amount roughly to about 7,000,000 lbs. weight. A duty of 1d. per lb. on this would amount to a trifle over £29,000. But with the duty of 2d. per lb., which the Government have put on starch, they only expect to receive a sum of £3,733. In the years 1897-8, there was a total weight of 7,500,000 lbs. of starch imported into the various States of the Commonwealth. Of this quantity, considerably more than half was imported into New South Wales, where it paid no duty. A small portion was imported into Tasmania, where it paid only 1d. per lb., and into Western Australia, where starch paid a duty of 15 per cent., £2,500 worth was imported. One half of this 7,000,000 lbs. of imported starch yielded, in one year, duty to the amount of £15,653. It is now estimated—I presume on a similar basis of 7,000,000 lbs. of starch being imported into the Commonwealth—that the duty of 2d. a lb. will yield £3,733, although a duty of 1d. per lb. would yield £29,000. I should like to ask the representatives of the Government whether that is one of their revenue-producing duties, or whether it is designed merely as a protective duty to the starch industry? It appears to me that there can be no other answer than one to that question. I anticipate that the answer of the Government will be—"Although we have put this duty on starch, we have a counter-balancing duty on rice. If the starch duty will only yield one-seventh of what the duty of 1d. per lb. would yield, we put a duty on rice which is expected to bring in £142,000." How much of this rice is to be used in the manufacture of starch? Approximately, the rice imported into the Commonwealth during a given year amounted to about 23,000 tons. Out of that the quantity used for the manufacture of starch is only 7,000,000 lbs. So that we find that for the purpose of encouraging this industry the Government not only put a prohibitory duty on starch, but they also charge the consumers of the whole of this 23,000 tons of rice a duty very much in excess of what should be charged upon such an every day article of diet, which is certainly appreciated by the poorer classes—an article which should rather have been

selected to be let in free as a necessary of life. The Treasurer, in speaking about some of these lines, told us that he recognises since framing the Tariff that mistakes have been made in regard to several lines, and that there is no doubt that on re-consideration some of those lines might be altered. I do not quite know what the Treasurer meant. If he meant that, seeing the feeling of some of the protectionists, that the duties were not nearly high enough, the Government would, if sufficient pressure were brought to bear, consent to still further increases in a protective direction, I may safely utter a word of warning that any such attempt will do much to prolong the debate upon this question if the Tariff gets into committee. If the Government have any desire to see the Tariff agreed to in any form this side of Christmas, they will turn a very deaf ear to the blandishments of some of their interested protectionist supporters who may ask them for alterations in the direction indicated. I come now to deal with the manner in which some of the items on the Tariff will press upon the consumers of the Commonwealth. I have received information from South Australian importers as to the effect of the duties upon crockery. Several of the speakers who have preceded me have pointed out that the composite duty upon the commoner kinds of crockery of 15 per cent. and so much per foot measurement will press most hardly upon the poorer classes of the community. The firm of Flint and Sons, a large importing firm in South Australia, has written me a long letter on the subject, which I shall not read to honorable members, because I do not wish to lengthen my remarks more than I deem absolutely necessary, though the question is too important for honorable members to refrain from expressing their opinions upon it, and I am only the second representative of South Australia who has spoken. Messrs. Flint and Sons point out that in connexion with an invoice of brownware, the cheapest form of crockery, valued at under £30 the 15 per cent. duty amounted to £4 9s. 6d., while the measurement charge of 6d. per foot brought the total charges up to £10 9s. 6d., or over 50 per cent. of the first cost.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I saw a similar invoice in Sydney last week, where the duties amounted to 89½ per cent.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—In another invoice for printed earthenware of the

commonest class, 29 crates cost £196 7s., and the duty of 6d. per foot measurement and 15 per cent. amounted to 37½ per cent. upon that sum. The firm say that in some instances these composite duties will increase the price of the cheaper kinds of glass and crockeryware by nearly 90 per cent., so that I think that I may safely say that this is one of the duties which we can deal with in committee with a view to paring it down rather than to increasing it. Coming to the duties upon timber, I find that the importation of timber into the Commonwealth in 1900 was valued at £1,492,000. A great deal of that timber was used in the Broken Hill mines. The *Mining Standard*, in dealing with the manner in which the duties will affect mining operations, points out that the mineral production of Tasmania for the last year for which the figures were available was £2,539,000; of Western Australia, £6,346,000; of Queensland, £3,140,000; of Victoria, £3,579,000; of New South Wales, £6,081,000; and of South Australia, £516,000; or a total of £22,201,000; which is 18 per cent. of the aggregate wealth produced in all the States, or 23 per cent. of the wealth produced in the Commonwealth by the primary industries. To say that an industry such as the mining industry should be hampered at the inception of federation is to ask honorable members to sanction a course which I do not think they will sanction. I had intended to give the number of hands employed in the timber industry of the States, but as the hour is late, and I have more important matters to deal with, I shall leave that matter for others of a more analytical turn of mind. I now come to another matter which has already been alluded to by some honorable members. Under the new Tariff it is proposed to put a duty of 1s. 6d. per lb. on unmanufactured tobacco, and an excise duty of 1s. per lb. when it is manufactured locally, the whole duty upon tobacco locally manufactured from imported leaf being 2s. 6d. per lb., as against a duty of 3s. 6d. per lb. upon the imported manufactured article; the duty in most of the States having hitherto been 3s. per lb. The difference does not appear to be very much, but I had occasion some months ago, in dealing with the federal question, to challenge the figures of the tobacco manufacturers of South Australia. Since this Tariff was placed upon the table, I have

ascertained from Sydney and Melbourne the position of the tobacco manufacturers in New South Wales and Victoria. I have here figures showing the importation of unmanufactured and manufactured tobacco in both States during the years 1897 to 1900 inclusive. I shall not weary honorable members by giving them the whole of the figures. In 1897 the quantity of manufactured tobacco imported into Victoria was 988,113 lbs., while in 1900 it was 745,027 lbs., or a decrease in the manufactured article, on which a duty of 3s. per lb. was paid, of 243,086 lbs. The quantity of manufactured tobacco imported into New South Wales in 1897 was 924,707 lbs., while in 1900 it decreased to 858,053 lbs., showing a falling off of 66,664 lbs. During this period there was a decrease of over 300,000 lbs. in the quantity of manufactured tobacco imported into these two States. The decrease of duty paid in Victoria amounted to £36,463, and in New South Wales to £9,998. As a contrast to this picture, which shows the decrease that took place under Tariffs very similar to the Tariff now proposed, let us take the importations of leaf tobacco. In 1897 the importations into Victoria of leaf tobacco for local manufacture totalled 640,433 lbs., while in 1900 they amounted to 1,328,707 lbs., or an increase of 688,274 lbs. The importations of the unmanufactured leaf into New South Wales in 1897 totalled 683,928 lbs., and in 1900 they amounted to 1,181,668 lbs.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think those figures are wrong.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have obtained them from a reliable source, and have had them checked. The fact that they have been taken from different statistical returns may be responsible for some slight variation, but practically, I am quoting the absolute figures. The duty paid on the manufactured leaf in Victoria, during the period under review, showed an increase of £34,415, while the increased duty in New South Wales was £24,887. To put these figures into a condensed form, we find that in 1900, as compared with 1897, there was a decrease in the importations of manufactured tobacco into New South Wales and Victoria amounting to 309,000 lbs., and a decrease of £46,000 in the duty paid upon it. On the other hand, there was an increase of 1,186,014 lbs., in the tobacco

manufactured from imported leaf, with an increase of duty amounting only to £59,302. If the imported leaf had been barred altogether from New South Wales and Victoria during these years, and only the imported manufactured tobacco introduced, the additional revenue of those two States would have amounted to £365,034. One would imagine that in framing a Tariff like this the Minister for Trade and Customs and those assisting him would have looked more closely into such astounding figures. When we see a decrease on the manufactured article, which pay a duty to such a large extent, and an increase of over 1,000,000 lbs. in the unmanufactured article, which pays the lower grade of duty, the thought is suggested at once that some tremendous profits must be made in the manufacture of this tobacco locally, or else the State is losing a very large amount of revenue. What is the real position? It is difficult to obtain absolute details of the manufacture of tobacco here, but I think I can come very close to them. There are two very large tobacco manufactories: one in New South Wales and the other in Victoria. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the output of tobacco from these factories averages about 100,000 lbs. per month. The tobacco leaf imported into the State costs from 10d. to 1s. per lb. The darker tobacco, of which four-fifths certainly is manufactured in both States, costs 10d. per lb. in its raw state; the lighter tobacco which comes from Virginia, costs 1s. per lb. The duty in one of the States has been 1s. 9d. per lb. The cost of manufacture, including the cost of labels, boxes, and so forth, approximates 5d. per lb., and the profit that has been made by these tobacco factories is according to the computation of two or three gentlemen with whom I have consulted on this question, no less than from 10d. to 1s. per lb. on every pound turned out by them. In proof of that statement I am informed on good authority that this tobacco, when manufactured and exported in bond to Tasmania in large quantities, is invoiced at 1s. 3d. per lb., which shows that the estimate of 10d. per lb., first cost, and 5d. per lb. for manufacturing charges and casing, is a fairly good one.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It is a monopoly.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Therefore, I hold that it is fair to tax the monopoly represented by these two large firms, in each of which not more than £100,000 is

invested, and in which each of them has been making as much as from £50,000 to £60,000 per annum out of the consumers of these two States. This shows that when we go to work to encourage our industries there should be a limit to that encouragement. When I point out that in spite of the countervailing excise that we are allowing in the Tariff as introduced, the difference between unmanufactured and manufactured tobacco is 1s. per lb., and that the cost of manufacture is at the outside not more than 5d. per lb., I think I may safely say that the suggestion made by the honorable member for North Sydney—and indorsed by the honorable member for South Sydney—that tobacco could well stand a slight increase in excise is a good one. Perhaps a better course still would be to lower the import duty upon the manufactured article, and that would bring into the Commonwealth, in the way of increased revenue, anything from £25,000 to £50,000 a year, and still give magnificent profits to those who have invested their money in machinery for carrying on this industry.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Did the honorable member suggest a particular amount?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The honorable member for North Sydney suggested that, instead of the excise of 1s., it might be as well that it should be raised to 1s. 3d.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Raise the excise, or reduce the import duty by 3d.?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have figures in reference to the manufacture of tobacco from colonial leaf. The amount manufactured in Victoria in 1897 was 406,315 lbs.; and in 1900 the quantity was 220,253 lbs., or a decrease of 286,062 lbs. The quantity manufactured in New South Wales in 1897 was 1,188,808 lbs.; and in 1900 it was 996,998 lbs., or a decrease even there of 191,810 lbs. So that, in spite of these duties placed upon imported manufactured tobacco, the use of colonial leaf has been gradually decreasing.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That occurred immediately the last Tariff in New South Wales was brought in, because the excise on tobacco made from colonial leaf was too high in proportion to that made from the imported leaf.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The excise on tobacco made from the local leaf in New South Wales was 1s. 3d.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That left a difference of 9d. per lb.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Even with the difference of 9d. only, I have already shown—and I challenge those interested in the trade to prove my figures wrong, if they can—that the cost of manufacture does not exceed 5d. per lb.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Those are trade figures!

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Yes; they are supplied to me by various persons in the trade, and I have compared them pretty closely. It is impossible, of course, to get at the books of the two manufacturers to whom I have referred, but they are turning out, approximately, 100,000 lbs. weight of tobacco each month, and are each making something like £50,000 a year out of the transaction. These figures were given to me by a gentleman for whose opinions I have the highest respect, and I am sure they are approximately correct. I say at once that we have here an opportunity to take some of the duties off the necessities of life that have been mentioned, and to make up the difference by a slight extra duty to be collected, not from the pockets of the consumer, but from the pockets of these gentlemen who are making such magnificent fortunes out of the tobacco manufacturing industry. In contradistinction, I find that the profit from cigarette manufacture has been reduced by this proposed Tariff to the vanishing point. The figures given to me show that although the manufacture of cigarettes by machinery may still be profitably conducted, the manufacture of hand-made cigarettes, in which hundreds of operatives are employed, cannot be conducted at a profit. In one factory I went through a little time ago in Victoria, there were 300 girls employed. They sit down all the time, and apparently have easy and clean work to do. They are employed merely in the rolling and papering of cigarette tobacco, and not in the preparation of the tobacco itself. Manufacturers who have machinery are still left a fair margin of profit, but those who have to resort to hand labour in the manufacture of cigarettes, and who are largely employing labour, can only continue the manufacture at a loss of something like 6d. or 7d. per 1,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is the honorable member going to distinguish between machine made and hand made cigarettes for the purpose of excise? That cannot be done very well.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I admit it is a difficult problem to deal with.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is difficult ; we cannot differentiate between the two. If we increased the duties the machine man would get it all.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I admit the difficulty, but the position as stated to me is that in the manufacture of cigarettes by hand the total cost, including the cost of the tobacco, is something like 18s. 1d. per thousand, and the selling price is something like 17s. 6d. per thousand, leaving a loss of 7d. per thousand. I believe that machine made cigarettes will still show a profit, and it becomes a question as to whether, if we are going to encourage local production at all in these things, it would not be fair to differentiate, where the employment of a large amount of labour is involved. We might either do that, or fix the duty at such a rate as would give the revenue the benefit of the whole. We have no more right to play into the hands of those who can afford this machinery, as against those employing labour in an industry, to the detriment of our revenue in the case of cigarettes, than we have in the case of any other article. I shall be glad to hand the Minister the figures supplied to me, so that he may be enabled to take any steps that seem necessary. Now, with regard to the duty on tea, I have received a communication from several firms interested in the trade, and a somewhat lengthy letter from the leading importers in South Australia, pointing out that the composite duty on tea proposed by the Tariff is one which would be most difficult to work and most unsatisfactory in its working.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Did the honorable member intend to say anything about cigars, because that is also a troublesome matter ?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have a circular in reference to cigars, but I am not sufficiently posted upon the matter. I do not care to use figures without having thoroughly verified them. I suppose the Minister has received a similar circular to that which comes to me from leading cigar importers in Sydney. It seems to me to be a kind of pitched battle between the importers and the local manufacturers. I am not in possession of sufficient information to enable me to deal with the subject in an intelligent way, or even to make up my mind as to what the rights of the question really are. On the question of the duties upon tea, the circular I have from the leading importers of South Australia, including

Messrs. Gilbert Wood, Fowlers' Limited, Berry and Co., Gollin and Co., and Wilkinson and Co. first of all refers to the fact that the duty would be a difficult one to collect, and they add that it will lead to under-valuation. Of course, that argument is used in reference to everything upon which an *ad valorem* duty is placed, but there is no doubt that under-valuation will take place in the case of tea, and it will be a most difficult thing to check it. I have had something to do with groceries during my life, and I know it is a most difficult thing to get even an expert to tell the value of tea. We would have constant trouble with the customs—constant disputes between experts as to the value of the tea.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Will they not produce the invoices ?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The invoice value of tea of course would be taken as a guide, but the Customs might say—"This tea was imported from China, where they are pretty good at invoices, or from Ceylon. We shall not accept their value. We shall get the opinion of an expert," and he might say—"This tea instead of being invoiced at 4d. should have been invoiced at 9d." It is represented, and there is very little doubt, that it would lead to a poorer class of tea being imported. Again, some of the importers are very strong on the point that an additional duty of a penny a lb. upon the teas done up in given weight packets, is an impost to which they should not be submitted. They put it that these teas, fresh from the pickings, are packed in one or two pound packets, lined with thin sheet-lead and stout paper to keep the aroma of the tea intact almost straight from the plantation to the home of the consumer. There is a very great deal in that argument. Any one who has had anything to do with the business knows that tea if it is left open for a very short time loses a very great deal of its strength and delicate flavour. These are the points which are put by the various importers, and even though it may mean a little difference in the revenue—which is estimated at £382,312—I would rather have a distinct duty of 3d. per lb., which, taking the nearest estimate I can get as to consumption, would yield £340,000. A duty of that kind would be more satisfactory to importers as well as consumers. In committee I shall endeavour to alter this line in that direction, and to do away with

that somewhat unjustifiable impost of an extra 1d. a pound because the tea is put up in packets for its preservation. I am not certain whether a memorial on this question was presented to the Government by the honorable member for South Australia, Sir Langdon Bonython. I had a letter from the firm of D. and J. Fowler, of Adelaide, in which they say—

The tea trade are concerned at the fixed and *ad valorem* duties proposed by the Government on tea entering this State, and they have addressed a letter to the Treasurer, Sir George Turner, which we are sending through Sir Langdon Bonython. We enclose you a copy of the petition herewith, and also a copy of a letter which we have written which will enable you to follow the position, and anything which you may be able to do to forward our object will be esteemed.

I do not know that I have put the case as strongly as it can be put from the view of the leading firms in South Australia. Their letter runs as follows :—

We, the undersigned, representing the whole of the tea trade in the State of South Australia, desire hereby to lay before you the reasons following herein for the opinions we hold in regard to the Tariff proposals of the federal Government in reference to tea. Our opinion is to the effect that the old system of a fixed rate of duty is preferable to the proposals of the Government, which we are unanimously of opinion would prove to be eminently unsatisfactory and difficult of application in practical working. We base this view on the considerations following, viz. :—1. That the fixed rate of duty is the almost universal system throughout the Empire, if not the world, and it is a system which works satisfactorily and economically. The application of the principle of *ad valorem* would, on the other hand, involve a vast amount of detailed work in passing entries, since an original import invoice generally covers a number of lines of varying cost. Under a fixed duty one entry would be passed for the whole shipment, whereas ten or twenty entries might be necessary under the Government proposals.

It seems to me a perfectly reasonable argument, that where a firm imports 100 half-chests of four or five different values—for instance, 20 invoiced at 4½d., 20 at 6d., 20 at 8d., and so on—an enormous number of customs entries will require to be passed. Then they go on to say—

That large quantities of tea have been and are sold in bond by the importers, and it would be impossible to continue this practice (which has for long prevailed, to the great convenience and advantage of the trade) if the *ad valorem* principle is applied. The seller would not for obvious reasons disclose his costs before a sale was completed. And the buyer would not operate unless he could determine beforehand the duty-paid cost of the tea to him, for he might buy a tea at 10d. in bond, and find he had to pay an *ad valorem* duty on a cost of 1s.

Mr. F. L. Solomon.

That seems to be a very reasonable point. It would be absurd for a business man to have to produce his invoice to the person to whom he was intending to sell a parcel of tea. He would not only divulge what the tea had cost him, but he would have to produce his invoice before he could estimate what expense would be involved in clearing the tea from bond. It is further pointed out—

That in the case of consignments, and assuming unscrupulous parties involved, a wide door is opened to fraud. Tea is different from most other articles, in that it is one to which only a highly-trained expert could apply a check upon the invoiced value; and even here, because the tea may have depreciated since shipment, the check is by no means beyond criticism. That a very large export trade from this State to Western Australia has been carried on for many years in blended teas, which would be practically killed by the Government proposals. Whether packed in bond or free store, it would be almost impossible—and, if possible, only at enormous cost in detail work—to ascertain the basis for an *ad valorem* tax, consequent upon the great variety in values and proportions of the teas so blended. That the consumption of high-class teas is a very small proportion of the whole, and the effect of the proposed *ad valorem* duties will simply further reduce this proportion. The whole tendency of an *ad valorem* rate would be to throw the consumption on to the commoner and cheaper teas.

Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 11.45 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 25 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. BARTON.—I wish to make a personal explanation. In my speech, on moving the second reading of the Pacific Island Labourers Bill, I made use of the following expressions, reported at page 5946 of *Hansard* :—

Honorable members will be familiar with the name of Mr. Morehead, who was long a prominent figure in Queensland politics. In this debate (i.e., in the debate on the 1884 Amendment Bill) he called the traffic what I venture to think it is, in its inherent conditions, and not because of any fault of the Government or Parliament of Queensland—a system of limited slavery.

I have received a letter from Mr Morehead, calling my attention to a fact which I overlooked in my reading of the speech from which I quoted, that Mr. Morehead's phrase "limited slavery," was applied by him, not, as I thought, to the kanaka traffic in general, but to the proposed extension to time-expired islanders, as well as to those newly introduced, of the provisions forbidding their employment otherwise than in the cane-fields. I need hardly assure honorable members that nothing was farther from my intention than to misquote Mr. Morehead, or to misrepresent his attitude towards the kanaka traffic, and I feel that it is due to him that I should thus publicly state that the quotation to which I have referred did convey a wrong impression. In justice to myself, however, I must say that the passage in Mr. Morehead's speech which immediately followed the words "limited slavery" to some extent explains my misapprehension of the application which he intended to give it, as honorable members can see for themselves by a reference to volume 41, page 146, of the *Queensland Debates*. In saying this I desire to guard against the supposition that I have in any way altered my own opinion of the kanaka traffic, or that I have any doubt at all about the applicability of the phrase "limited slavery" to it. On the other hand, one result of my more careful examination of the speech of Mr. Morehead has been to enable me more clearly to realize the propriety of the expression. This, however, is no reason for my refusing to do Mr. Morehead the justice of admitting that I am not able, as I thought I was, to claim his authority for describing the traffic as limited slavery.

POLITICAL TELEGRAMS.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I desire to ask the Prime Minister or the Minister for Defence a question.

Mr. BARTON.—We cannot answer questions just now.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I desire to ask, as it is a matter of some urgency, whether the long statement in the papers, which the *Age* declares to have been telegraphed by the Minister for Defence to Western Australia, has been sent at the public expense, or whether it has been paid for out of his private purse? If it has been sent at the public expense, I desire to ask the Prime Minister if he will permit me the free use

of the wires to make some reference to that scandalous and abusive letter which has been written to him by my late political opponent?

Mr. BARTON.—The letter to which the honorable member refers came to me from Mr. Sandford, with the expression that I was at liberty to publish it. The personal remarks, which convey reflections in which I am in no way concerned, and which it was not my business to indorse, got into the letter which appears in the *Age* contrary to my authority, and without any fault of my secretary. My instructions, which were that all personal reflections were to be omitted, and only the facts and arguments stated, have, unfortunately, not been carried out, and I say this in justice not only to myself but to the right honorable and learned member at the head of the Opposition. My colleague, the Minister for Defence, will give an answer as to his telegram, if he cares to do so.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 24th October, *vide* page 6458) on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

- (a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.
- (b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.
- (c) And because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by Address, to His Excellency the Governor-General

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON (South Australia).—When we adjourned last night I was addressing a very thin House on this important subject. It appears that a large number of honorable members, most of whom have their homes in Victoria, could not manage to stop here after a few minutes past ten o'clock, owing to the fact that Victorian representatives were not addressing the House—a sort of courtesy to which,

in the Parliament of South Australia, I have not been used. Of course it is recognised that there has been no desire on the part of the Opposition to obtain a count out, but probably such a thing would be welcome to the Government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Government do not want to count out the House.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It looks very much like it when their supporters desert the House shortly after ten o'clock, and then insist upon keeping the business going till midnight.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The honorable member knows very well that a member on his own side tried to count out the House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Nothing of the kind.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—He admitted it.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON. — That statement is absolutely contrary to fact.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I saw the honorable member trying to count it out.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I rise to order. Are these honorable members in order, sir, in stating that honorable members on this side have deliberately tried to count out the House?

Mr. SPEAKER. — The remarks were made by way of interjection, and all interjections are, as honorable members well know, disorderly, and should be restrained as far as possible.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—You know they are not true.

Mr. SPEAKER. — That interjection is one of the worst for three reasons. In the first place, as an interjection it is irregular; in the next place, it is irregular because it is addressed to an honorable member, and not to the Chair; and in the third place it is irregular, and must be withdrawn, because it is an allegation of untruthfulness on the part of honorable members.

HONORABLE MEMBERS. — Hear, hear. Withdraw.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Are these honorable members in order, sir, in conducting themselves in this way when I rise to address you and to obey your instructions? I desire to withdraw the words if I am permitted to do so by these unruly members who are constantly interjecting.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am sorry that there should be any question of this kind raised. I only preface the continuation of

my speech with these remarks, for the purpose of pointing to the most unfair treatment which some honorable members on this side get at the hands of honorable members on the other. It is quite good enough for these honorable members to stop here until after ten o'clock to listen to a speech from any honorable member on the protectionist side, but it is not good enough, although the Government they support force honorable members on this side to speak until nearly midnight, to pay them the common courtesy of staying here in reasonable numbers—those who are not called away on urgent business—and listen to the speeches. I shall say no more on the subject, except that it is a class of procedure which frequently recoils on those who use it. I dealt last night with the general bearing of this Tariff, and I pointed out that it pressed most heavily and unduly upon the three principal factors in the prosperity of Australia—the farming, pastoral, and mining industries—and also upon the very large section of our Commonwealth workers who are not engaged in protected trades. I referred in this connexion to the statement made by the Minister for Trade and Customs as an excuse for the somewhat absurd duty of 20 per cent. upon blankets, flannelettes, and the necessities of the poorer classes as compared with the 15 per cent. duty upon silk dress pieces. The Minister made the somewhat lame excuse that whilst blankets were manufactured and completed articles, silk dress pieces were raw material. If that is the best excuse that the Minister has to offer, I leave it to the people of the Commonwealth to judge—and I think they are judging day by day—as to the justice or otherwise of the incidence of the taxation proposed to be levied under this Tariff. I dealt also with the duty upon starch, and I showed that it would be absolutely prohibitive, inasmuch as whilst starch realized a revenue last year of between £15,000 or £16,000, with more than half of it admitted duty free into the Commonwealth, the duty proposed by the Government would bring in only some £3,733; so that under this revenue Tariff, we shall absolutely lose many thousands of pounds. The countervailing duty on rice has also been alluded to, but the tremendous duty of 1d. a lb. on rice will fall most heavily on the poorer classes of the community. It is calculated to bring in £140,000, and as a very small

proportion of the total importation of rice is consumed by the Chinese, the bulk of the taxation will come out of the pockets of the poorest of the working classes.

Mr. PAGE.—But we must have revenue.

Mr. WATKINS.—Would the honorable member tax rice or not?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—That is a question that I should have to consider in the light of the information I should have at my fingers' ends if I had a staff of officers working for six or seven months to compile all the necessary data.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Which information the honorable member has not got, I suppose?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have not a good deal of the information I should like.

Mr. PAGE.—Give the Government credit for something.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I shall tell honorable members as I go on how revenue may be obtained, and what duties may be dispensed with. I also touched last evening on the duty upon tanks, amounting to 12s. per 400-gallon tank. Honorable members know that these tanks are absolutely indispensable for the small farmers, prospectors, and others in the back blocks. They are used—thousands of them—for the purpose of supplying the fresh water necessary to sustain the life of the miners in Western Australia. By putting a duty on these tanks and on mining timber, fuse, dynamite, and galvanized iron, the Government are hampering the mining industry, which, as I have pointed out, produced wealth last year amounting to £22,200,000 odd, which is equal to 18 per cent. of the total wealth produced, or 23 per cent., or nearly a quarter of the wealth resulting from primary production in the Commonwealth during the same period. I think that I omitted only one point in arguing as to the necessity for treating the mining industry with liberality, and that was in reference to the present position of the Broken Hill mines. We in South Australia perhaps realize more keenly than the people in the other States how important the Broken Hill mining industry is to the whole of the Commonwealth, and especially to South Australia in connexion with her railway traffic. We know that owing to the falling off in the price of lead, and the reduction in the silver and lead contents of the ore at Broken Hill, the mining companies there have had a very hard struggle

to continue the work of development. Those mines employ many thousands of people, and the reduction in the prices of silver and lead during the last few years, although to some extent counteracted by the increase in the output and by the improvements in concentrating and other machinery, has caused the industry to reach such a point that the additional tax on the timber required in the mines may absolutely bring about the closing down of many of them. The honorable member for the Barrier, who has taken a great deal of interest in this matter, and who realizes to the fullest extent the importance of the industry, will know that it only requires this last straw to break the camel's back, and throw out of employment several thousands of people, most of whom support families. Surely the interests of the Commonwealth demand that this should not be done—that the matter should be more closely looked into. It is all very well for the Minister for Defence to talk about importing from Western Australia mining timber for use at Broken Hill. He should know that the jarrah and karri timber of Western Australia are utterly unsuited for use in the open set system of timbering that is adopted in the Broken Hill mines. The tensile strength and the length of grain of oregon timber make it superior to any other timber obtainable for that purpose, and the experts at Broken Hill will use no other.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The jarrah and karri are also heavier to transport.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am not certain that the bulk of the oregon does not make up for that; but the point is the suitability of the oregon to bear the immense strain of thousands of tons of overhanging rock, giving a little at times, where jarrah, owing to its short grain and brittleness would not.

Mr. PAGE.—How does the honorable member account for the fact that all the timber used in the mines of Queensland is Queensland timber?

Mr. THOMAS.—There is absolutely no comparison between the size of the lodes.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Having been through most of the leading mines of Australia I can tell the honorable member for Maranoa that the taking out of immense bodies of ore, ranging from 30 to 100 feet in width, under the open cut system, is very different from mining small bodies of ore which are only from 2 to 8 feet wide.

Mr. PAGE.—We have the best timber for carrying weight in the world.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am not speaking against the Queensland timbers. I am thoroughly satisfied, however, that if those timbers were suitable for use in the mines of Broken Hill, the Barrier companies would have introduced them long ago. In New South Wales there has been no duty upon timber, and if the Queensland timbers are suitable for use in the mines of Broken Hill how, is it that the companies conducting operations there—and they generally know the side upon which their bread is buttered, and employ skilled men with high salaries to conduct their operations—have not introduced them? Unquestionably oregon has been proved to be the most suitable timber for use in those mines.

Mr. THOMAS.—The Broken Hill companies have tried every Australian timber.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I do not intend to touch upon the question of tobacco duties, or the imposts levied upon tea or crockery, more than to say that the figures which I gave last night show conclusively that in the past, owing to the duty upon manufactured tobacco having been 1s. per lb. more than the customs and excise duties combined upon the imported leaf which is made up in the States, immense sums of money that ought to have gone into our revenue have been thrown into the hands of two or three large factories. There is one factory in Sydney and another in Victoria whose outputs of tobacco, manufactured from the imported leaf, have been 100,000 lbs. each per month. Upon this quantity, which represents 1,200,000 lbs. per annum, they have been in a position to make, at the lowest estimate, from 10d. to 1s. per lb. profit. The capital invested in each of these factories is not more than £50,000 or £100,000. It will therefore be seen that they have been making profits of from 75 to 100 per cent. upon the amount of their invested capital. If the Treasurer wants to find lines which will yield an increase in the revenue, not at the expense of the people, but at the expense of monopolies which are making immense sums of money, here is an item which can readily be availed of.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If the honorable member will give me the names of the companies I will try and get their balance-sheets.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I thought that the Treasurer would be better informed upon these matters than I am. I have received numerous letters upon this subject. The names of the firms in question are Cameron and Co., of Victoria, and Dixon and Sons, of Sydney. The Treasurer will find that my figures are approximately correct.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I know that those firms are cutting each other's throats in order to get the trade.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—If the Treasurer will look into the figures he will find that they are approximately correct. I know that in Victoria they are selling tobacco manufactured from imported leaf in bond for export to Tasmania at 1s. 3d. per lb. That will give some idea as to what the absolute cost of manufacture really is. The honorable member for Flinders and the honorable member for Grampians took what I consider was a very manly and proper course last evening, when they told us in a straightforward manner that they intended to adhere to their hustings pledges, and to vote against this Tariff. I was expecting to see another honorable member come over to the opposition side of the House upon this question. I was of opinion, judging by his utterances when before the electors, that this Tariff would not meet with his approval. I refer to the honorable and learned member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse.

Mr. PIESSE.—Then the honorable member did not read what I said when I was before the electors.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I know that the honorable and learned member was selected by the Tasmanian division of the Free-trade and Liberal Association.

Mr. PIESSE.—But was not supported by the president.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I know that the advertisements in the public press included his name amongst the free-trade candidates for the House of Representatives.

Mr. PIESSE.—If the honorable member wishes to do me justice, he will read my own advertisement, and not the advertisements of other people.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Does the honorable and learned member disclaim an advertisement in which it is suggested that the free-traders should vote for him, and that there should be no truckling to Victorian protectionists? Does he say that the advertisement in the Hobart Mercury

of 27th March was not authorized by him, and did not appear with his consent?

Mr. PIESSE.—Read the whole of the advertisement.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am not in possession of the whole of it; I have merely an extract. But the words to which I have referred form a portion of the honorable and learned member's advertisement.

Mr. PIESSE.—If the honorable member will read the whole of the advertisement, I will reply to him.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I ask whether the honorable and learned member had anything to do with an advertisement which states—

No truckling to Victorian protectionists. Vote for Piesse.

Mr. PIESSE.—If the honorable member desired to be fair he would read the whole of the advertisement. It is a despicable piece of trickery upon his part.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—If I had the whole of the advertisement I should read it. Certainly the extract which I have read points to the honorable and learned member having been returned as a revenue tariffist or free-trader. In that advertisement it is specially suggested that there should be no truckling to Victorian protectionists, and yet we find the honorable and learned member now sitting beside those who are endeavouring to coddle the industries which have been bolstered up in the past by the Victorian State Tariff.

Mr. PIESSE.—I think I have a right to appeal to the Chair as to whether this is fair comment upon my speech of last evening. The honorable member for South Australia is misrepresenting my position.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not a point of order. If the honorable and learned member desires to make a personal explanation, he can do so as soon as the honorable member for South Australia has finished his speech.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have no desire to misrepresent the honorable and learned member for Tasmania.

Mr. PIESSE.—Take my advertisement, and read the whole thing.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I should like to obtain it. It is published in the *Hobart Mercury* of 27th March. The extract which was sent to me struck me as being so inconsistent with the honorable and learned member's attitude, that I could not resist the temptation to call attention to it.

Mr. PIESSE.—The honorable member should look for himself.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—If the honorable and learned member looked at these matters for himself, no doubt he would be upon this side of the House. I alluded last night briefly to the duties on cigarettes, and handed to the Minister for Trade and Customs a memorandum showing the relative cost of imported cigarettes and of those made by hand labour in the State of Victoria. I have ascertained that in one factory in Victoria there are 300 persons employed, and that the wages paid for the year ending June 1901, amounted to £9,204. In addition, the boxes and printing required in the business, and provided locally, cost £2,943, while the excise paid was £5,783, and the duty, £5,562. The firm who handed to me the circular from which I get this information, Messrs. Snider and Abrahams, of Lonsdale-street, Melbourne, are, I believe, the only cigarette manufacturers in the States who do not use machinery, and they point out that under the new Tariff, which places a much heavier excise duty on their manufactured article than they had to pay before, they will absolutely not be able to carry on this branch of their business.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Does the honorable member make a distinction between hand-made cigarettes and machine-made cigarettes?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I admit that is a very difficult question, but I do not know that it is more difficult than that of the composite duty on cigars. It might be asked why there should be an increased duty put on cigars of a certain value, in contradistinction to locally-made cigars. According to the circular which I have received, the composite duty on cigars results in giving a tremendous advantage to the locally-made article. Ordinary cigars, weighing 12½ lbs. to the 1,000, are sold retail at 3d. each, or five for 1s.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member is giving the importer's view.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Yes.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member should give the view of the other side, too.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—On such cigars the duty is £3 8s. 9d., to which must be added 9s. 10d., the *ad valorem* duty on the value of 60s. per 1,000, making a total of £3 18s. 7d., which has to

be paid by the importer, as against £1 17s. 6d., which is the cost to the local manufacturer of the duty and excise on the leaf. The importers contend that if this *ad valorem* duty, in addition to the duty of 5s. 6d. per lb., is persisted in, the result will certainly be to throw a certain amount of money into the hands of the local manufacturer, while the revenue will suffer tremendously.

Mr. KINGSTON.—On the other hand, the manufacturers say that they will suffer.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—No doubt there are two sides to the question, but what I have placed before honorable members is, at any rate, worth consideration. In the light of the information I have received about the tobacco industry, I am inclined to view with belief the statements which have been made to me in respect to the manufacture of cigars. The result of having a duty on imported tobacco lower than the excise on imported leaf, has been a gradual decrease in imported tobaccos, much to the detriment of the revenue, while the profits of the local manufacturer have been increased. In four years, in Victoria and New South Wales, the decrease in the revenue from this cause amounted to the large sum of £360,000 odd, all of which, less the amount paid in wages, has gone into the pockets of the local tobacco manufacturers. I am now alluding to tobacco, not to cigars and cigarettes.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Do not purchasers get their tobacco much cheaper?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I certainly think that purchasers do not get locally manufactured tobacco one penny cheaper than imported tobacco, while the revenue is losing an immense sum annually in supporting those manufacturing monopolies. In view of the loss of this £360,000, which would have been paid on imported tobacco if the leaf had not been manufactured locally, it is interesting to inquire how many persons are employed in the tobacco industry. So far as I can glean from a return placed before the House, there are 1,388 males, and 1,047 females, or a total of 2,435 persons employed in the cigar, cigarette, and tobacco manufacturing industry throughout the Commonwealth. No more than half of this number are employed in the tobacco industry itself, so that the employment of 1,200 people has in four years meant a loss of revenue to the amount of £360,000. Some of my friends

on the Government side of the House may be ardent protectionists, but figures like those are well calculated to shake their faith.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Are the honorable member's quotations correct?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The figures have been obtained after most diligent search, and though there may be trivial differences, they will be found approximately correct. The two factories in Melbourne and Sydney are, in consequence of the duties, benefiting to the extent of £50,000 a year each at the expense of the people of the Commonwealth. I challenge the Minister for Trade and Customs and the Treasurer to look closely into the figures I have quoted; indeed, I am a little surprised the figures have not already been more carefully investigated. I now come to the question of the sugar duties. In 1899 the duties collected on sugar throughout the Commonwealth aggregated £543,959, and amongst the importations, were 8,700 tons which were admitted free into Western Australia. The estimate of the Government in regard to the sugar duties is much the same as the revenue previously obtained. The Treasurer estimates that the revenue from that source this year will be £120,000 in duty, and £410,000 in excise, making a total of £530,000, as against the £543,959 previously collected. In South Australia the sugar duties collected in 1898 amounted to £45,666 under a £3 Tariff, and the estimate for this year is approximately the same, or £47,000. There is a rather important point to which I desire to direct the attention of the Treasurer. In calculating the Inter-State duties that would be lost by the establishment of federation, the Treasurer, after deducting Western Australia's duties, estimated that the other States would lose approximately £1,000,000 which they had previously collected. Now, I should like to know from the Treasurer if I am correct, or incorrect in estimating that when this calculation was made the sugar duties which were then in force were not included?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Certainly they were; and one way of making up for them is by putting on an excise which otherwise would not be put upon them.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Precisely; I anticipated that such was the case. I calculated at the time the Maitland speech was delivered, and mentioned to the

electors, that in this £1,000,000 there was £500,000 of sugar duties. If that is the case, what is the use of members of the Government telling the people of these States that, although the taxation under the new Tariff appears to be very high, and a tremendous lot of money is going to be raised, it must not be forgotten they are to be relieved of nearly £1,000,000 in Inter-State duties? They are not being relieved of anything of the kind. One-half of the amount is represented by the sugar duties of the various States which are now re-imposed in the shape of excise duties. This may appear to be a mere trifle, but I look upon it as a direct misstatement. The figures given by the Government as to the Inter-State duties strike me as being something very far from the absolutely true position of the case. We have had an explanation from the Minister of Defence as to his attitude on this Tariff. It was not a very clear or satisfactory explanation, and judging from the opinions that have been expressed by the press, the people, and the Parliament of Western Australia, a tariff which imposes such heavy duties upon the workers and upon those engaged in mining, farming, and pastoral industries, is utterly unsatisfactory to the people of Western Australia. We also know that in Queensland, South Australia, and New South Wales there are outcries against the Tariff—not because of the necessity of raising £8,000,000 or £9,000,000, but on account of the mode in which it is to be raised, and because of the class of people who are to be forced to pay. Not that I agree absolutely with the statement of the Treasurer that so large an amount is necessary. I venture to think that upon the figures which have been placed before us, there is no necessity for starting with a Tariff to bring in such an immense sum of money. I will endeavour to show honorable members my reason for that opinion. To commence with, the basis of calculation seems to be somewhat false. In deducting from the general imports of the States the sum of £29,000,000, as representing Inter-State trade, I venture to think that a miscalculation has been made. It has been taken for granted by the Treasurer, who should have better means for ascertaining than I have—though criticism is sometimes of use, even to one so experienced in finance as the right honorable gentleman—that the whole of this

£29,000,000 consists of the products and manufactures of the various States.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not at all. Everything has been taken out in detail. Months have been spent on the task by the best men who could be found to do the work.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—On a careful examination I find that, in round figures, at least £5,000,000 included in that £29,000,000 represents goods of oversea origin, and not products or manufactures of the States.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I should like the honorable member to show me that that is so.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have not been able to take out the whole of the figures, but I have had a few statistics culled from some of the interchange returns, showing the exports of the different States under the head, first of all, of domestic and other imports—domestic meaning, as I take it, the products and manufactures of the States themselves, and “other” goods meaning goods of any other origin. Although I could not get the figures for Tasmania and South Australia, I find that in New South Wales, Western Australia, Victoria, and Queensland the Inter-State domestic trade amounted to £18,463,107, as against “other” goods to the amount of £4,693,677. So that, without reckoning Tasmania and South Australia—whose figures I have not been able to glean—I take it that there is included in this £29,000,000 of Inter-State trade about £5,000,000 of trade that will still bear some proportion of taxation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I assure the honorable member that it is not so. I will get him the figures in a quarter of an hour.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have taken out these figures as carefully as I could from the interchange returns of the different States, and that is the calculation I have been forced to with regard to this Inter-State trade of £29,000,000—that it includes a very large proportion of goods which have been re-exported from State to State, but which were originally of over-sea origin. Another point that I noticed in going through the Treasurer's figures was that in calculating the imports of 1899 at £34,000,000, and for 1900 at £41,000,000, an increase of £7,000,000, the right honorable gentleman said that it was absurd to base his calculations on the figures of 1900,

because there was such a tremendous increase in the value of the goods imported into the Commonwealth, approximating something like $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon previous values. I am sure the Treasurer will not think that I am casting any reflection upon his figures.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They are taken from the *Economist*.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I only desire to criticise the figures as closely as the information at my disposal will allow. No doubt the Treasurer has to depend very often upon his officers, and they are not infallible any more than I am. He accounts very largely for this estimated increase of £7,000,000 in imports by the statement that the value of goods in 1900 increased to the extent of about $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I took 10 per cent. as the basis.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have the Minister's own words that they were $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher in 1900 than in 1899. He certainly did not take the whole of this $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase into consideration. But what is the position? The duties of customs and excise in 1900 amounted to £7,762,653, while in 1899 they were £7,437,596, showing an increase of £325,057. If values were $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher in 1900 than in 1899, we have to deduct about £5,000,000 in respect of calculating it, not on the £41,000,000, but on £36,000,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member forgets that the increase in value did not affect the revenue from duties on alcohol and other articles at fixed rates. It only affected the revenue from goods subject to *ad valorem* duties.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I know that it did not affect spirits and narcotics. There was no rise in regard to them. I follow closely the commercial questions of the day, for I have been interested all my life in commerce, both as a retail and a wholesale merchant. My idea is that the increases were connected principally with iron and the manufactures of metals. There have been no great increases in apparel or groceries, or in oilmen's stores, or slops, or any of those goods.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—There have been decreases.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—One can judge by the prices which he has had to pay in his own household during the last two years, whether there has been any increase.

With the exception of metals and machinery there have been very few increases, and this estimate of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on £36,000,000 seems to me to be ridiculously inflated.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The *Economist* is better informed on the point than we are. It is a leading London financial journal.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It may be dealing with a class of goods that do not enter largely into the imports of Australia, although they do so in regard to other portions of the world.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It deals with goods home-made for export.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—For export to all parts of the world, only a small proportion of which would go to Australia. But coming to definite details, does not the Treasurer know that there has been no permanent rise in the price of apparel, furniture, and fancy goods during the years 1899 and 1900? The difference in the amount of duty collected in 1900 as compared with 1899 is only £325,057. If the increase was in respect of goods subject to *ad valorem* duties of 20 and 25 per cent., such as have prevailed in many instances, the additional revenue should have been fairly large, but this additional revenue of £325,057 calculated on the £5,000,000 difference in value amounts to about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—But a large proportion of the imports has been free, as the honorable member has mentioned.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—In New South Wales?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes; and in other places.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Then I take the Treasurer's own words. If such a large portion of the goods upon which this increased value is obtained have come in free, where is the necessity for the deduction of 10 per cent. on £41,000,000, or £4,000,000, from the goods upon which revenue can be earned, now that they are not to come in free?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is on the imports.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Precisely. The Treasurer deducts £4,000,000 from the imports, and I point out that the additional duty calculated on what he says is inflated value only amounts to about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If, as he says, the bulk of these goods were then free, why, when they are not free now, deduct this £4,000,000 from the taxable

amount which is to give us our revenue for the Commonwealth? The Treasurer bases his calculations on the imports of £41,000,000 for 1900. He starts by a deduction for the inflation of values, not of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but of 10 per cent., or £4,000,000. He then takes off another £2,500,000 for loading up; that is to say, it is believed that many of the traders in some of the States have been abnormally increasing their stocks. They have evidently been able to gauge the Tariff proposals in advance much more accurately than some honorable members on this side of the House. We have not got the particulars before us, but I venture to think that a large portion of this loading up has taken place in New South Wales where there was no duty upon the goods in question, and where they knew that any change must be for the worse. In my opinion it is the New South Wales revenue that will be affected during the bookkeeping period, and not the revenue of the other States. I object to the Treasurer's deduction of £4,000,000, because I do not think that there is any ground for the belief that there will be less importation during 1901-2 than in 1900. Having made that deduction, however, as well as the £2,500,000 for loading up, the Treasurer goes on to tell us that one of the virtues of this Tariff will be that it will immediately reduce imports by £5,000,000—not in the course of a few years, when these industries have become firmly established.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is exactly what I did not say. The honorable member is reversing my statement. I spoke of a normal year.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have no desire to misrepresent the Treasurer. We are asked to believe that in a normal year the increased manufactures of these States, under the protectionist policy of the Barton Government, will lead to a reduction of imports aggregating over £5,000,000. but the Treasurer does not wait for a normal year to come. This calculation is made as if it is going to be this year.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not at all.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—This calculation reduces the taxable amount of imports from £41,000,000 to £29,500,000. The Treasurer then proceeds to deduct another £1,000,000 for gold and specie, a further £1,000,000 for Government importations, and a further

£6,500,000 for a free list, leaving the taxable amount upon which he bases his calculations of the revenue which is to come into the Commonwealth at £21,000,000. In all these calculations the Government have shown a magnificent readiness to use the pruning knife. They deduct £4,000,000 for inflation, another £2,500,000 for loading up, and another £5,000,000 of taxable imports owing to the effect of the Tariff in the stimulation of manufactures, but we find that no allowance whatever has been made in their calculations for the gradual and steady increase in our general trade. We have only to look at *Coghlan's Seven Colonies* to see that in connexion with our aggregate imports and exports trade there has been for the last four or five years, going back even to 1896, a gradual expansion which leads us to the not unreasonable conclusion that under federation the trade of the States should continue to expand in at least the same ratio, if not in a greater ratio. In 1896 the total trade of Australasia amounted to £129,000,000; in 1897 to £138,000,000; in 1898 to £147,000,000; and in 1899 to £161,000,000. Looking at similar figures which are available to honorable members, we find that even in the six States of the Commonwealth the figures showing the imports for the past three or four years have gradually been increasing at the rate of something over £3,000,000 a year. Taking the revenue realized by the various States under their separate Tariffs, we find that in 1899 it amounted to £7,437,596. In 1900 it had increased by over £330,000; and in 1901 it had increased again by nearly £400,000. Under these circumstances, I find it difficult to understand why the Treasurer, in all his calculations, has given no credit whatever for the probable increase in the trade of the Commonwealth, but has, on the other hand, sought to depreciate the trade of the Commonwealth, and reduce the estimate of our probable income. I can form no other conclusion than that the Government, in framing this Tariff, have been desirous of inflating the revenue, in order that they may be in the comfortable position of having large balances to come and go upon. The Treasurer's estimate of revenue for a normal year is £8,942,401. His estimate for the present year is £8,009,000. In explaining the necessity for raising this large sum of money,

the Treasurer says it is due to the States that their position should be kept absolutely clear from financial embarrassment, and that they must have back much about the same Customs revenue as they have been accustomed to receive under their separate Tariffs in the past. But there is one point the Treasurer appears to have overlooked in his calculations, and that is, that since the Federal Convention framed an estimate of revenue to be obtained from Customs duties by the different States, and an estimate of the expenditure in the different States upon the departments to be transferred to the Commonwealth three years ago, the revenues of the States from Customs have gone up by leaps and bounds, and the States, of their own free will, have continued in an equal, if not a greater, ratio, to increase their expenditure upon the departments about to be transferred. I ask, is this Parliament responsible for the fact that in such a department, for instance, as that of Defence, the expenditure by the different States, since the calculation was made as to what it was likely to be, has gone up to the tune of over £250,000? Are we to be held responsible for the fact that owing to their desire to adjust the Post and Telegraph departments, the Customs departments, and all the transferred departments, before federation was absolutely proclaimed, they increased their expenditure by making an enormous number of increases in the salaries of their staffs? In view of these facts, I ask is it a fair thing for the States, and I represent one of the smaller ones, to throw the whole brunt of this undue increase in their expenditure from year to year, since the sitting of the Federal Convention, upon the Commonwealth Parliament, and to ask us to make it good in addition to returning to them the same Customs revenue as they obtained previously?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The Constitution does it.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am aware that the Constitution lays down how it shall be done, but the States, with their eyes perfectly open, have increased their expenditure on these various departments, and, therefore, they cannot expect, unless they are prepared to pay an immense sum through the Customs, their revenue to be kept up to what it was previously.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We cannot cut it down; the Constitution does not allow us.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The Constitution gives this Parliament the right to cut down the expenditure on the Defence department, and when we come to consider the immense sum which is placed on the Estimates for defences—£884,000—and to notice that in the Tariff every article of daily food in use amongst the poorer classes is taxed to the utmost to provide for such an expensive department, I venture to think that there will be a considerable reduction made in the Estimates, that the desire of the Treasurer that we should assist him in this direction will be fully met. But the point of my argument is that as the States have chosen to increase their expenditure in these departments, knowing full well what their revenues were from direct or indirect taxation, some degree of the responsibility in regard to the expenditure may, with considerable justice, be placed on their shoulders. According to the Treasurer, whose figures I do not doubt for a moment, Western Australia will be deficient by £330,000. That State has an opportunity to easily adjust her finances. She has the power, if she chooses, to tax the products and the manufactures of the other States for a period of five years; and, in addition to that, she has immense resources on which to levy a land tax or an income tax.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They would get very little from a land tax in Western Australia.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Western Australia would get an immense sum from a land tax. As the owner of some small blocks of land in Western Australia, I can assure the Minister that the value of land in mining townships to-day is something enormous. Quarter-acre blocks in some of the mining townships are worth £5,000 a-piece. But the Government of the State, and a lot of those persons who are interested, are rather reticent about a land tax. I would rather pay a land tax or an income tax on my land there, as I would have to do in South Australia, or some of the other States.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have to pay a land tax in South Australia, and an absentee tax as well.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I would far rather pay a tax of that sort in Western Australia than see the value of my property

reduced, as it will be by the mining industry receiving a severe and crushing blow from the taxation which is imposed by this Tariff. It would be very much fairer, even looking at it from the narrow stand-point of my own interest, and certainly much fairer, looking at it from the broader and more statesman-like stand-point of my duty to the working classes.

Mr. KINGSTON.—In Western Australia only?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am speaking of Western Australia and her deficiency of £330,000. In South Australia we have a land tax and an income tax. The Minister for Trade and Customs was so long in power there, that I think he strained the various means of taxation to their limit. He taxed the people alive, and he taxed them dead. He imposed a land tax, an income tax, a probate tax, a succession tax, and other taxes, rising in every instance according to the ability of the taxpayer to bear the burden.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I had the honour of preparing the first land tax for any part of the continent, and I am proud of it.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—And it was on the lines, I think, that the richer the man, or the more valuable the land, the higher the tax. It was levied on the progressive system.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Not in the first instance. Afterwards we made the richer man pay more.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The taxation was put on the shoulders best able to bear it. The man who had a big lump of valuable land had to pay proportionately to its value. If a man had so many more thousands pounds worth of land, or so many more thousands in income, the tax went up proportionately. In the framing of this Tariff, the Minister for Trade and Customs has not placed the burden on the shoulders best able to bear it, as he did in imposing taxation on South Australia. He has placed the bulk of the burden on the shoulders of the poorer classes and the working classes. The fact that luxuries have been let down so much more easily than they should have been, while the duties on necessities have been increased as high as they could, I think proves that he has lost sight of his old and sound policy of levying taxation proportionately to a man's ability to pay. I am not suggesting that there should be increased land taxation

levied in South Australia, but I think that if the Customs taxation which I shall suggest, were taken off the people of that State there would be very little grumbling if the State Government imposed some slight additional taxation to make up for it, so long as it fell on the shoulders of those who should bear it. Rather than that the increased taxation on mining machinery, which is likely to adversely affect the trade of Broken Hill—a trade on which South Australia relies for the bulk of her railway revenue; and which absolutely means to its Treasurer the difference between financial difficulties and making both ends meet—rather than that this increased taxation should be levied on mining material, and the mining interests of Broken Hill and of Western Australia, with which State South Australia does an immense trade, should be seriously affected, it would be much better for the people of South Australia to pay a little more direct taxation. Coming to the Treasurer's figures, I find that he has estimated the revenue for the current year at £8,009,000. This includes the whole of the revenue from customs and excise, the details of which we have had an opportunity of scanning pretty closely. We find that the expenditure upon the transferred departments amounts to £3,507,481. The other expenditure which the States will have to contribute to *per capita* is £269,726, and I do not think that we have much to growl at in that.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—£50,000 of that will be for new buildings.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—There is nothing to grumble at in that so long as the amount is kept within the Estimates. Then I come to the item of arrears to the 30th June.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Those are amounts that ought to have been paid during the last financial year, and which I shall either have to pay this year or carry them on for ever.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am not complaining, but I desire to point out that this £246,899, the bulk of which, I take it, should have been debited to last year, was paid to the States previous to 30th June—paid to the States over and above the amount they were absolutely entitled to for that year, because there had been corresponding debits to that amount which now come into this year's expenditure.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We have had to do it under the terms of the Constitution

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—So that, added to the expenditure of £3,777,207, we have £246,899 which was overpaid to the States last year, and which should be deducted from their payments this year.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It will be deducted of course.

Mr V. L. SOLOMON.—It will be, but in a different fashion. In the meantime we are placed in a worse position for the current year. It is taking the money out of one pocket and putting it into another; but the necessities for the current year are being inflated to the extent of roughly £250,000. Deducting the expenditure of the Customs department, and one or two other items, amounting to £269,368—particulars of which are to be found at page 13 of the papers given to us by the Treasurer—and deducting also the revenue from the Post-office and Defence department, amounting to £2,330,750, we find that the total to be provided out of customs revenue amounts to £1,423,988. Now the customs and excise revenue, after deducting the expenses of collection, will yield £7,749,632. That gives the Treasurer under his Estimates the sum of £1,937,408, representing one-fourth of the net customs and excise revenue, leaving a balance over and above absolute necessities—excluding £246,899 overpaid to the States last year—of £513,420. So that, including that item, we have a balance of £760,319, because the item of £246,899 has not to be returned to the States in the ordinary way, as they have already had the money and spent it. There is an old saying, that many a man who could demolish a castle would not have sufficient constructive ability to build a pigstye, and destructive criticism is, I admit, perhaps easier than the work of framing a Tariff. At the same time, I can see in this Tariff a very large number of items which could be and should be increased. I have shown that, irrespective of £246,899, which was overpaid last year, and which it is rather unfair to put against this year's revenue because it was not paid over last year, we have a balance of £513,420 to come and go on. I think that we can make increases in various lines of the customs duties, which will yield still further revenue. First of all, take the line of curtains, frillings, trimmings, and mantles upon which a 15 per cent. duty only is to be charged, and which are expected to yield £318,000. These are mostly articles of luxury, though

they do not appear to have included amongst them such things as embroideries, ribbons, and so on. An additional 10 per cent. on that item, increasing the duty to 25 per cent., would yield us another £212,000.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What about furs and feathers?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have not had time to deal with the whole of the articles. Silk piece goods, which are subject to a duty of 15 per cent., are expected to yield a revenue of £100,875. An increase of that duty to 25 per cent. would give us an additional £66,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That would be a free-trade Tariff, which would impose as much duty on the raw material as on the manufactured article.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I know that the Treasurer knows very little about drapery, and I can excuse him for calling silk dress pieces raw material.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Of course they are raw material to those who make up the dresses.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—If they are raw material, why should flannelettes and woollens, and flannels be charged at the rate of 20 per cent. If the piece of silk from which the lady's 20-guinea dress is to be made is raw material, is not the piece of flannelette valued, perhaps, at 2½d. a yard, out of which the clothes are made for the children of the working man, also to be considered as raw material.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I should shut it out absolutely if I had my way.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—That is not the question. The point is that the flannel or flannelette which is required by the poor is charged at a higher rate of duty by 5 per cent. than the silk which only the richer classes can afford to use. That is protection run mad, and this is certainly not a revenue Tariff, because in most of the States the duty on silks and luxuries amounts to 25 per cent., and when 10 per cent. is added for cost of freight and insurance it amounts to really 27½ per cent. on the invoice value. Why should we not levy a higher rate of duty upon the silk dresses, and flowers, and furbelows that the rich only can afford to use than upon the flannels and flannelettes and the blankets which are used so largely by the poorer classes?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Does the honorable member want a heavier duty upon imported silk articles?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—No; I am not a protectionist. We do not import made up silk dresses, or rather we import very few of them. As a rule, the silk required for dresses which cost from five guineas to twenty or thirty guineas is imported in the piece and is made up locally by fashionable dressmakers.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Does the honorable member say that there is a 25 per cent. duty on silk in any State?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I think that in South Australia the duty is about 25 per cent.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It is 15 per cent. in South Australia.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Upon most fancy goods I know that the duty in South Australia is 25 per cent. Rufflings, pleatings, ruchings, furs, &c., all carry a duty of 25 per cent. in that State. Cushions and curtains are also taxed at the same rate, and in fancy goods generally I know the Treasurer will find that the list is still further extended.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable member was talking about silks.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am saying that the duty could properly be increased to 25 per cent. To impose a tax of 15 per cent. upon pieces of silk from which the dresses of wealthy people are made, whilst levying 20 per cent. upon a piece of flannelette is ridiculous. I am surprised that the Treasurer should attempt to justify it. These two lines—curtains, frillings, &c., and silk piece goods—could properly be increased to the 25 per cent. limit. That would bring in an increased revenue of £278,000. I do not believe for an instant that the effect of the Tariff for some years to come will be a reduction in the value of the imports of taxable commodities by £5,000,000. I am inclined to estimate that reduction at about one-half, and even then I think I am well within the mark. I do not believe that in a normal year the suppressed imports will represent a value of more than £2,500,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Then this cannot be such a heavily protective Tariff as the honorable member says it is.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It is a heavily protective Tariff in regard to a number of

the industries of Victoria—the starch industry and the boot industry, for example. Upon tobacco an increase of £50,000 to the revenue could easily be obtained without injuring the manufacturers in the slightest degree, and whilst still allowing them a full opportunity of making reasonable profits. Assuming that the effect of the Tariff will be to reduce imposts by £2,500,000, instead of £5,000,000, a 10 per cent. duty would result in a further contribution to the revenue of £250,000. Now, if we add to the balance shown on the Treasurer's figures—£513,420—the sum of £246,899, which represents the arrears from last year, the increased revenue which I estimate from a higher duty on curtains, frillings, &c., £212,000, on silk pieces £66,000, on tobacco £50,000, 10 per cent. on £2,500,000 of additional imposts £250,000, and a further amount of £300,000 which would be yielded by a 10 per cent. duty upon my estimate of a natural increase in trade of £3,000,000, the total amount will be brought up to £1,638,319. This, with a reduction of at least £100,000 in the proposed expenditure on defence, which is unnecessary, will bring the total of savings and increased revenue to £1,738,319.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If the honorable member brought the duty upon silks up to 35 per cent. he could get more; but he would stop their importation.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—A duty of 25 per cent. on silk dresses and fancy goods has not stopped their importation into the other States, and it will not stop their importation now. My idea is that the operation of this Tariff will result not in a decrease in the value of taxable imports to the tune of £5,000,000 as estimated by the Treasurer, but in a decrease of £2,500,000. A duty of 10 per cent. upon this amount would result in an increased revenue of £250,000. I also calculate upon a natural increase of taxable imports of £3,000,000, which at 10 per cent. would yield a further contribution to the revenue of £300,000. But if we leave out of consideration both of these items, we shall still have nearly £1,200,000 in excess of the amount which I believe it is necessary to raise. If we remitted the duties upon galvanized iron tanks, starch, candles, arrowroot—

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We do not import 1 lb. of arrowroot.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Then how is it that there is an estimated revenue from it of £13,790?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is from arrowroot, sago, &c.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Arrowroot, tapioca, and sago, which are necessities of life to the poorer classes, are estimated to bring in £13,790. If we remove the duty off milk we lose £28,750; off cocoa and chocolate, £32,540; and off coffee, £23,463. To reduce by one-half the duty on currants and raisins will take £76,222, while a similar reduction of the duty on rice will give another £71,211 to the taxpayer. There is still ample margin left for the reduction of the duty on kerosene. Without more fully going into detail, I conceive that by striking off the duties on many of the necessities of life, and on mining machinery, timber and agricultural machinery, which represent the three leading industries of Australia, we can readily reduce the burden on the taxpayer by £1,000,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The people would have to pay taxation in some other way.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I have endeavoured to show, during—

Mr. SPENCE.—Three hours.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I do not think I have been speaking more than two hours, and I am sure that it cannot be said I have wasted a single moment in dealing with this important subject.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Three-fourths of what the honorable member has said this morning he said last night.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—If that be so, the blame rests with honorable members on the Government side of the House, who did not remain last night, and would not, without explanation, have been able to appreciate the context of my remarks this morning. The blame rests also with the Government for insisting upon proceeding with business last night, when their own supporters went away and left half-a-dozen members of the Opposition to continue the debate.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The Opposition benches are pretty well empty now.

Mr. KINGSTON.—If the honorable member had last night hinted he was going to repeat himself, an adjournment would have been granted.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I am doing no more than my duty to those who have sent me

here, and I have as much right to devote the necessary time to this subject as have the supporters of the Government.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is wasting time.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—If there has been any waste of time, it was when the Minister for Trade and Customs presented this Tariff to the House, and when for the considerable period, he dealt with every possible subject under the sun except the Tariff. Members of the Opposition have received little consideration, for which they can thank the Government. We have been forced over and over again to address a House of empty benches, because Government supporters, while insisting on the debate being continued, have declined to remain. Members of the Opposition had to sit here until twelve o'clock last night in order to keep a House, and if they are not present in numbers this morning it is because they do not require arguments from me to make them true free-traders.

Mr. KINGSTON.—A speech from the honorable member will clear a crowd like "God save the King" or the Riot Act.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The delicacy of the right honorable gentleman's humour is better appreciated by those who hear it for the first time than by myself, who recognised his remark as a "chestnut," which times out of number has been played off in the South Australian Legislative Assembly.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is successful in occupying time, but not in occupying attention.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The right honorable gentleman at no distant date may have extended to him courtesy similar to that he is now extending to me. I have no apology to make for occupying the time of the House at length, and a reference to my speech, as recorded in *Hansard*, will prove that I have not uttered an unnecessary word. I have endeavoured to deal with the principal questions involved in this Tariff, which is one which presses unfairly on those least able to bear the burden. The estimates of trade and revenue have been ridiculously inflated, and it will be the duty of the House to make considerable reductions in the rates of duty in many instances. I shall give my vote for the motion submitted by the leader of the Opposition, because I absolutely agree

with every word of that motion. I am carrying out the pledges I gave to my constituents in South Australia early in January, within a week of the declaration of the Government policy. I shall endeavour to lessen the burden of taxation, by decreasing duties where I think they unduly press on the producing and working classes, especially where those duties are intended not so much to produce revenue as to bolster up the manufacturing industries of the State of Victoria. Underlying the greater part of the Tariff, I see a distinct attempt to conciliate and obtain the votes and support of honorable members representing that State. The Tariff is more a Victorian than a Commonwealth Tariff. It is more a Victorian Tariff than a Tariff for the improvement and advancement of the industries of the Commonwealth; and its incidence is grossly unfair in many instances.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Would the honorable member support an excise duty on Australian wine?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—When the time comes I shall be found voting for an excise on Australian wine, as I was found voting for an excise on Australian beer. I am not afraid of a few wine-growers in South Australia; nor should I ever truckle for votes to any section of the community I represent. Fortunately, as South Australia was polled as one constituency, I am a member for the whole State, and not for any little corner or section of it. When the time comes, as it may come, when the revenue from duties on foreign spirits becomes very small, owing to the increased consumption of Australian wine—and the wine industry I believe will grow by leaps and bounds—it may be necessary to impose an excise on our wines to make up for the loss upon imported spirits. I hope that will be the case, because the consumption of our own wines is better for the people than the consumption of ardent spirits. In that case it will be quite as fair to impose an excise on wine as on the beer of the working classes, and I shall probably be found voting for it. I am entirely in sympathy with the motion submitted by the leader of the Opposition, and I compliment the right honorable member upon bringing this definite issue not only before this Parliament, but before the public of Australia. The expressions of opinion that are pouring in day by day from the States, and which

will continue to pour in, as the unfair incidence of this taxation becomes more apparent to the people, will, I hope, induce many honorable members to follow the example of the honorable member for Flinders and the honorable member for Grampians, and to institute such a critical examination of the Tariff as will induce them to vote for the motion. I hope, at any rate, that many honorable members opposite will be found voting for reductions in the amount of the duties, and certainly for reductions in the Estimates of Expenditure. I thank honorable members, with one or two exceptions of impatience on the Treasury bench, for the hearing they have accorded to me. We know that certain persons are impatient unless they can have things all their own way, which they cannot expect in this Parliament. With those exceptions, I am much obliged to honorable members, and I am sure that the House will not accuse me of wasting time in the discussion of so important a question.

Mr. PIESSE.—As a matter of personal explanation, I desire to allude to the attack upon me which has been made by the honorable member who has just resumed his seat. I did not take up much time in speaking yesterday, and I think honorable members will afford me a few minutes for the purpose of making an explanation. The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. V. L. Solomon, charges me with having been supported by the Free-trade and Liberal League of Tasmania, and with having deceived them by declaring my intention of voting with the Government on this occasion. I wish to say that I never accepted the platform of the Free-trade and Liberal League. On the first occasion, when I addressed a meeting in Tasmania, when the platform of the league was discussed, I took exception to certain planks in that platform. The plank to which I took particular exception was No. 5. I did that before I became a candidate, or was known to be a candidate. The fifth plank in that platform was as follows:—

That the first Federal Tariff should, as far as the exigencies of the several States will permit, embrace a number of duties somewhat similar to those in force in Great Britain with the intention of as soon as possible establishing a free breakfast table, any deficiency in revenue in such latter case to be made up by direct taxation. I have always repudiated that as in any way possible for the Commonwealth. I

also repudiated some resolutions which put the point still more strongly. One such resolution was as follows :—

The free-trade party will endeavour to restrict the Federal Tariff duties upon intoxicants and narcotics, leaving it to each State to provide for any deficit in its accounts by such methods of taxation as may recommend themselves to the people of such State.

I repudiated that also. Further, when I was asked by the gentleman who was secretary of the Free-trade League in Launceston to take part in forming a league in Hobart, I said, in a letter to him—

Apart from lacking the time, I have this difficulty to face. One who is in the front of a free-trade society must put free-trade first. Now I am not sure that Tasmanian federalists can do this. Our financial position for the first few years of the Commonwealth will be such a difficult one, that I fear all our energies must be expended in getting the largest possible Customs and Excise revenue.

That was written before my name appeared in connexion with that league in any shape or form. The president of the league informed me that they had had some difficulty about choosing me as one of their candidates, and on the 18th of March I received a letter containing the following passage :—

It was resolved that I should write you and ask you a definite question as to your attitude on the fiscal issue. This I regret has been found necessary in consequence of certain platform and press utterances of yours.

The question that I was deputed to put to you is—Should you, on the assembly of the Federal Parliament, if you are elected, find that the protectionists range themselves on one side of the House of Representatives and the free-traders on the other, on which side will you sit?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The only right which an honorable member has to speak a second time upon a motion is that conveyed by Standing Order 260, which says—

A member who has spoken to a question may again be heard to explain himself in regard to some material part of his speech which has been misquoted or misunderstood, but shall not introduce any new matter.

I am inclined to think that the honorable member is introducing new matter, and therefore he has no right to speak under that standing order. Probably, however, as the honorable member is complaining of what he takes to be an attack upon him, the House will grant him leave to speak. In that case I point out that the honorable member is not speaking in pursuance of the standing order, but by leave of the House.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. PRIESSE.—I thank you, sir. I did not wish to be out of order, and I thank you for putting me right, and the House for giving me leave. The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Solomon, who has attacked me, did not hear my speech last night.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I heard a great portion of it.

Mr. PRIESSE.—If he had done so, he could not in justice have made the remarks he has made. I was quoting a letter from the president of the Tasmanian Free-trade and Liberal Association. The question I was asked to answer I have already quoted. The letter concludes—

If your answer should be “with the free-traders” without qualification, will you cause the question I asked you, and your answer to be published once in every Tasmanian paper issued before the 22nd inst.

That was very short and sharp. My answer to it was a reference to a letter which had appeared in the Launceston *Examiner*, and a statement that I had no further reply to make. I do not think that the free-traders of Tasmania ever misunderstood my intentions. I wrote to the press, I addressed meetings all over the State, and I never gave the people any reason to doubt what my attitude was. Indeed the president of the league summed it up, for he went to Sheffield and made a most virulent attack upon me. He denounced me as unworthy of the support of free-traders. If the honorable member takes these facts into consideration, he will know what my attitude was. I do not quarrel with free-trade because I have been thus attacked. I am not going to depart from what I believe to be right principles because of that incident. I fully explained my position in the advertisement to which the honorable member has referred, and I set forth my governing principles as follows—

1. Inter-State free-trade.
2. Revenue Tariff to suit our needs, and stave off heavy burthens of land and income taxes.
3. No Commonwealth direct taxation.
4. A fair trial for Mr. Barton as the first Federal Premier, and general acceptance of his platform; but his fiscal proposals must fit Tasmania's necessities as far as possible.

I have not yet voted upon the Tariff. All that I am going to do is to vote against intrusting to the leader of the Opposition a task which I am sure he would not undertake in such a way so as to fit the necessities

of Tasmania. I have yet to see what the Tariff is going to be, and, therefore, it is a little premature for the honorable member who has just resumed his seat to attack me upon my attitude upon it, because I advertised "No truckling to Victorian protectionists." I am sure that the speech which I delivered last night did not please many honorable members on the Government side of the House, and it is open to honorable members to read it for themselves.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Would the honorable member mind reading the whole of his election advertisement?

Mr. PIESSE.—I think I have read the strongest passages in it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In fairness to the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Solomon, the honorable member might read the whole of it.

Mr. PIESSE.—Very well. I have read the first four paragraphs. The remainder of the advertisement was as follows:—

5. No truckling to Victorian protectionists.
6. Equitable transfer of fair proportion of State debts.
7. Great gains to the people of Tasmania—
 - (a) Many articles of daily consumption freed from heavy duties that now increase prices.
 - (b) A free market for Tasmanian products throughout the length and breadth of Australia.
 - (c) Greatly lessened Customs taxation.

That is the whole advertisement. The only other charge made by the honorable member is that I am false to one of my pledges as set forth in that statement, inasmuch as I am not going to secure a reduction of the duties on the necessities of life. The necessities of life which I had in my mind when I framed the advertisement were butter, cheese, flour, and meat. I did not lead any one in Tasmania to believe that I considered that such necessities of life as tea and sugar could be free from customs taxation. I circulated printed estimates of the revenue to be derived under federal taxation, and included those items in them. I have never led my constituents to believe that kerosene could come free into Tasmania. I do not think I am departing from what I told the people of my State in the advertisement, namely, that certain necessities of life would be cheaper to them under federal conditions than under the conditions then existing, for although one of the articles I named in it—butter—is to be taxed under this Tariff,

I know that that tax is not going to be a burden. All the butter that we require will be made in Australia, and will not be taxed at all. Thus, by union, we shall gain freedom of taxation in that respect. The great reduction in customs revenue is the whole trouble with the representatives of Tasmania, because the finances of the State will be upset by it.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—With the indulgence of the House I would like to assure the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse, that I was misled in regard to his attitude by the distinct statement in the extract from his advertisement which I had before me that he would countenance "No truckling to Victorian protectionists." I understood by that, that his fiscal policy would be against the protective duties which are inserted in the Tariff. It was in these circumstances that I looked to him to announce his opposition to the Tariff, and to cross the floor of the House just as two other honorable members have done. I had no intention of treating the honorable member unfairly.

Mr. PIESSE.—The honorable member might have read the whole advertisement.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—I have listened with some degree of interest, and sometimes with amusement, to this debate on what is supposed to be the question before the Chair. It appears to me that a great many members have wandered away from the motion before us. They have brought up the old familiar arguments which I heard in the days of 1877, when the alleged great principles of protection were introduced in Victoria. The discussion which has taken place reminds me that Mark Twain made a very good hit when he introduced an argument as to free-trade and protection into his book, *The Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. I am not quite sure that the audience at that celebrated dinner did not display a good deal of wisdom when they chased the modern Yankee, smart as he was, and good old King Arthur away from the place, as men who had escaped from a lunatic asylum. I am inclined to think that the student of social questions in the next century, if he takes the trouble to read the *Hansard* reports of the first Federal Parliament, will arrive at the determination that there were two sects in this Parliament who entertained peculiar superstitions. He will come to the

conclusion that one side considered free-trade to be an absolute panacea for all social ills, while the supporters of protection were strong in the belief that their policy was equally efficacious. He will form the opinion that, as superstitious persons always are, both were equally earnest in their respective beliefs. We have had slabs of more or less unreliable statistics thrown across the Chamber; we have had the "pink pills" of protection prescribed as a cure for the Opposition, while the Opposition in turn have said that the free-trade "bile beans" should be taken by the other side. It seems to me that from my point of view—the point of view that we should seek to improve social conditions, and do away with the misery which is in the world—neither is of any service to us. I propose, first of all, to state the position that I occupy, not only in relation to this motion, but in regard to the fiscal question generally. I cannot do better than say at the outset that I was one of the very few candidates for election to the Federal Parliament who sank the fiscal issue. My constituents do not know, even at the present moment, what are my views upon it. I know that it is quite hopeless to think of converting honorable members who have got hold of these superstitions. Each side has been trying to do so for a fortnight, with a more or less degree of relevancy to the questions that were before us at the federal election. On that occasion we had before the country three political parties, but mainly only two. They called themselves by certain names, because it is necessary to have a name even for a party. It is a good thing to have a party name, because you can bamboozle the electors with it. It is necessary, too, to have names, just as one man is called Jones and another Smith, that we may distinguish between them, but the names do not in any way express the character of the individuals who bear them. So we had a protectionist party on one side—and by the way I want to be strictly fair, and to say that in New South Wales they denied that they were a protectionist party—they were the "protectionist and progressive" party, and they had a little protection in the name. On the other side were the free-traders. Both these parties, as I pointed out to the electors, knew all the time, and admitted, that the

Commonwealth Parliament could not adopt either free-trade or protection. It appears to me after listening to the arguments, if they can be called arguments, and I do not call them arguments, about free-trade and protection, that honorable members have entirely forgotten where we are. They have forgotten the Constitution, and that we have in it the section popularly or unpopularly known as the "Braddon blot," providing for the bookkeeping system which renders it impossible for us to have that kind of free-trade which the right honorable the leader of the Opposition so eloquently advocated in New South Wales politics, and which had some principle in it—that of an absolutely free port and direct taxation for revenue. But the right honorable gentleman has departed from that policy, and joined the good old conservative revenue tariffists of Victoria. The policies put before the electors were in many respects misleading, and I think that in the debate we have had here, honorable members have frequently departed from the real question before us, and forgotten that as we have to raise a certain amount of revenue, we cannot have free-trade—the kind of thing worth calling free-trade, a free port, or English free-trade if honorable members prefer to call it so. We must have a revenue Tariff, because neither side of the House agrees to direct taxation. If they did it would alter the whole situation. I pointed out to my electors that it was impossible for the issue of free-trade or protection to arise until we had some experience of the effects of the abolition of our border duties, and until the abolition of the bookkeeping system provided for by the Braddon blot. It is then only that the fiscal issue can be brought up and debated, and I suggested that it should then be decided by the electors by referendum whether we should have full protection or absolute free-trade. The time has not come for that decision yet, and hence the only question before us is as to the incidence of the taxation which must be imposed. I shall consequently dismiss the question of the Tariff in a very few words. I recognise that no matter who is in power, if we gave a dozen men instructions to frame a Tariff to raise £9,000,000—and I do not know whether £9,000,000 are or are not required—they would probably bring in a dozen Tariffs all differing with regard to the various items upon which duties were placed.

There would probably be also a variation in the percentages of duties to be charged, but the ultimate result would be the same in each case. As one who holds that there are only two factors in production, land and labour, and that labour pays the whole lot—I mean labour in the broad sense, not pick and shovel work only, but including all work of hand or brain—I say that the difference between the two parties who have presented policies to the country is only a difference as to the number of articles upon which duties are to be placed, and possibly a variation of percentages. One would place a duty on hats and the other on boots, but the working man pays the tax no matter who fixes it. I expressed my surprise when the Tariff was presented at the duties fixed being so high. I am not expert enough to be able to judge, but it appeared to me on the face of it to be an unlikely Tariff to produce revenue. If there is anything in the claims of the protectionists it should not produce revenue. With respect to a very great portion of it, the result should be that local manufactures will displace imports, and if they cannot do that under the high Tariff proposed here, I am afraid they never will do it under any sort of Tariff. The Government assures us that from the experience of the States this Tariff will produce revenue; still I am one of those who believe that in the case of very many items the duties imposed are unnecessarily high and unjust in their incidence, and I shall join with those who advocate a reduction of them when we get to the committee stage. I do not say that the Tariff satisfies me, but I am one of those who are sinking the fiscal issue. I recognise that the fiscal issue has very little relation to social reform, and there are other issues, which, to my mind, are of far greater importance. I told my electors that I should support the Government that would go furthest in the direction of social reform, apart from fiscalism. I told them that I should stand any amount of fiscalism they might introduce, if their policy in other respects was in the direction of the reforms which I advocate. That is the thing that is going to decide my vote upon this motion of censure, which seems somehow to be forgotten in this debate. It has not been like a censure debate in any way. A motion that involves a change of Government is a very important matter. I am

sorry that some members of the House should seem to be so much frightened by letter from their constituents. A change of Government seems to some of them a matter of small concern. It is a big thing, and while I recognise that a change of Government is important, and I am not prepared to assert that equally good democratic measures would not be brought forward by the present Opposition, I have heard nothing from them to indicate that they are prepared to propose anything better than the present Government. I may therefore say, straight away, to ease the minds of those people who wonder how Spence is going to vote, that I have not heard enough to convince me that there is going to be any gain, from my point of view—the point of view of social reform—from turning this Government out and putting another in. Upon this motion of censure, therefore, my vote shall go with the Government.

MR. HENRY WILLIS.—What measures does the honorable member want in the way of social reform?

MR. SPENCE.—The honorable member is not a party leader. I have been rather surprised at some of the contradictions given utterance to by members on both sides of the House. We have heard from the high priest of protection in Victoria—who I understand is now the honorable member for Melbourne Ports—and also from the Attorney-General, and, by way of interjection, from both, that this Tariff is not high enough, and that it will simply ruin some of the Victorian manufacturers.

MR. DRAKIN.—Not the manufacturers.

MR. MAUGER.—Their employes. I do not trouble about the manufacturers.

MR. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports asserted that the people did not pay these duties, and that protection has the effect of cheapening goods. That may not be a puzzle to the honorable member, but it is a puzzle to me, and I should like some one to clear up that statement and a few others. How is a duty to be of any advantage to the manufacturer if he does not get the benefit of higher prices? What kind of help can it give him if he sells cheaper than he did before?

MR. MAUGER.—He gets the market.

MR. SPENCE.—What is the good of the market to him if he cannot get a profit out of his business? If he can sell at as cheap a rate as the imported article, what does he want protection for, and how is he going to

be ruined by this Tariff not being high enough? That is the kind of puzzle suggested to my mind by the remarks of the honorable member. Many claims have been made throughout the debate for protection or for free-trade, but honorable members have agreed that protection does not increase the yield of milk from Victorian cows, and that free-trade does not affect the weather in New South Wales. That is about the only thing that has been admitted. I want to deal briefly with some of the peculiar arguments which have been used in making comparisons. In my study of social science and scientific questions, which has been considerable, I have always understood that there has to be some degree of similarity between two things before a comparison can be instituted. We do not compare a man's actions with a cow's, because there is no great similarity between the two, except perhaps in some few respects. To compare New South Wales with Victoria, and to quote more or less unreliable statistics in support of the comparison appears to me a very great waste of time, to say the least of it. A country may be absolutely without factories, and yet be in a very prosperous condition; it may not suit her to have factories. The whole idea seems to be—and I know it is principally a Melbourne idea—that manufactories are everything. I am not so much gone on manufactories. I would rather have the people settled in homes on the land and off the wage market than see anybody put in a position in which he has to go round looking for someone to boss him, and pay the boss handsomely for doing it. I do not think there is anything in making a wage-slave of a man. A great deal of reference has been made to England. The honorable member for Gippsland compared England prior to 1840, when he says she was under protection, with America, and among the peculiar illustrations he used, he compared the output of coal in England with the output of coal in that then young country. Could anything be more ridiculous than a comparison of that kind? What it has to do with the Tariff is a question which is puzzling me, especially as England required immense fields for the supply of coal for her shipping, and America was a virgin forest, and she had not started factories to any extent. I do not know that there was much to boast of in England

Mr. Spence.

at that time. That there was big progress made no one can deny. But what honorable members have failed to see, and what I should like the remaining members who hold these views to explain is, what connexion fiscalism had either with the social evils of England or with her success. I, for one, deny, and I challenge any honorable member to prove, any connexion between the two in England, Australia, America, or any other place. That the fiscal question is a factor in social conditions, though a very small factor, I admit; but there are numerous other factors which, in this debate, seem to have been forgotten. I have only to remind honorable members of the position of the masses in the early part of the century. It was only in 1832 that women were relieved, by the Earl of Shaftesbury's Act, from working in the mines. I have known women who carried to the grave, not many years ago, marks on their bodies caused by the straps they had to wear round the waist to carry the chain with which they dragged the trucks in the coal mines. Some of them had to sleep down below, and never saw daylight except occasionally. According to the arguments of the protectionists, that state of things was due to protection. That is the most extraordinary kind of reasoning I ever heard. Would it not be remarkable if in this century of advance in the application of science, and the introduction of machinery, a go-a-head virile, energetic nation like the British had failed to succeed and make progress and bring about changes? They have made progress, but fiscalism had nothing to do with it. What connexion has the free-trade policy of England with the big socialistic reforms in Glasgow, with some of the changes in Birmingham, with the London County Council's work? What has the fiscal policy of England to do with the advance of the co-operative movement in many industries which has obliterated every middleman and secured the profits of the industries to the people? Nothing whatever.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Did not the liberals introduce the legislation?

Mr. WATKINS.—Not in all cases.

Mr. SPENCE.—It does not matter who introduced the legislation. The argument has been that these results have been due to the fiscal policy. The scientific method is to show the relation of cause and effect. Take honorable members on the other side

who have been throwing at us the white slaves of England—who have been quoting, and quoting correctly, the disgraceful condition of her workers, and the pauperism of England, and charging all that to her free-trade policy. It is not relevant: it has no connexion with her free-trade policy. I could quote American statistics which make the condition of the workers even worse than that of the workers in England. But I do not attribute that result to her policy; nor do I charge other failures to the free-trade policy of England. The policy has nothing to do with the cause. It is inherent in our social system, and is something apart from fiscalism and methods of raising taxation. According to the best authorities, who are not altogether political, on the American continent there are 3,000,000 paupers. The high priest of protection here does not tell honorable members that. The protectionists do not tell us of these things, lest it might be said that it is because of protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—I shall be very glad to admit it, if the honorable member will show me his authority. I cannot find it. I do not want to bolster up America.

Mr. SPENCE.—It is only a rough estimate, but it is given on good authority. In the United States there is a labour bureau in each State, with head-quarters at Washington, in which, under instructions from the Government, are carefully collected facts and figures in relation to industries.

Mr. MAUGER.—I shall be glad to see them.

Mr. SPENCE.—Anybody can see them. I do not want to quote the statistics. I thought the honorable member was familiar with them, and I am sorry to learn that he is not. I can understand now how he gets his very peculiar notions on questions, and why he has such faith in protection. The labour reports are issued at Washington in big volumes. I propose to touch a little on another side of the question, and my authority in regard to machinery is drawn from the same source. The rule in discussing these questions is to attribute certain results to entirely wrong causes, and I challenge honorable members to show the relation between one thing and the other. Reference has been made to the development and growth of trusts. The great home of trusts has been America. The Americans are a go-ahead people, who run pure commercialism, which the English first introduced, at a

faster rate than she does. It is a very natural development, not due entirely to the protective policy—aided and helped by it I admit, because they get a better chance there, but that is not the cause of it—but due to social conditions and mainly to a fact which, to my astonishment, has been very much overlooked in this debate, and that is the effect of machinery. This is the age of machinery. There has been a very great development in every branch of industry. When honorable members talk about the cheap products of foreign low-wage countries and all that kind of thing, they entirely forget that in very many industries wages have ceased to be a factor in the cost of production. Years ago, in the spinning and weaving industries, 90 per cent. of the labour was displaced by machinery. The inquiries have been made very carefully by the American authorities, and there is an immense data to work on. Some of the work is most elaborate, as any one may see in the reports. I shall take farming, as it has been referred to. Through the aid of the splendid machinery they have on the very large farms in the States, for instance in Minnesota, Dakota, and California, one man can produce 5,500 bushels of wheat per annum; one man can turn 5,000 bushels, leaving 500 bushels for seed, into 1,000 barrels of flour, and it is estimated that three men can feed 1,000 men. That is all done by machinery. They have all the most up-to-date appliances for loading and the cheapest freight trucks they can produce for carriage. Is it any wonder that the farmer in Australia, Russia, or anywhere else cannot compete with the farmer in these American States? Owing to the investment of capital in improved machinery for use upon the large farms of America, the agriculturists there are able to undersell the farmers of other countries, where less advanced methods are adopted for tilling the ground and harvesting the crops. The same thing will apply to manufactures. The question as to whether a manufactory will pay depends, not upon the wages that have to be paid for labour, but upon the efficiency of the machinery and the management and organization of the industry. Take, for instance, American boots, which are, according to some people, better finished and more up to date in pattern, and which, therefore, secure the public patronage.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is only prejudice.

Mr. SPENCE.—People have prejudices, and it is very unfortunate, to my mind, that there should be such a strong prejudice in favour of protection as the cure-all of social evils. So long as men's thoughts are concentrated upon that kind of fiscal "pink pill" they will not see other things that they ought to see. The effects of machinery upon industry have changed the manufacturing relation of the different countries of the world. I do not propose to go into many details, but I shall mention a few facts in order to illustrate my ideas. Four men and six girls working machines in paper manufactories in the United States now do the work that was originally performed by 100 men. In the manufacture of wall-paper one man now does the work that was formerly done by 100 men. In the spinning and weaving industry 98 per cent. of the labour formerly employed was displaced years ago by the introduction of improved machinery. I had a talk some short time ago with a representative of one of the largest cloth and woollen manufacturers in England, who was then on a visit to Australia. He said that long ago the question of wages had entirely ceased to be a factor in the cost of production, as the work was done by machinery to such a large extent that wages were not a matter of serious consideration. I am not overlooking the fact that wages do count in the making up of cloth into garments, and it is in such industries that we have the sweating that has been so much complained of. But it is an economic truth, that no high-wage country need fear the competition of any low-wage country, because the high-wage earners are more efficient than those who are badly paid, and when I hear honorable members speaking about shutting out goods manufactured by the employment of labour at low wages, I wonder where they have been living, and whether they have not just awakened after a sleep of 100 years or so. The success of Germany in competition with England is due not only to the expansion of enterprise, arising probably out of the federation of that great people, but to the fact that, in common with France, they have availed themselves of the advantages of technical education to a far greater extent than England has. It is the policy of the Germans to educate every one to follow some trade—rich and poor alike—whereas the tendency of English people, when they have received a decent education

is to look for some employment in which they can keep their coats on. The Germans have applied science to the commercial undertakings in every possible way, and have utilized the brains of the people in carrying on their industrial enterprises. Most of the foremen and managers of their factories hold university degrees, and are men who know all that can be taught in the best of their schools. If the people of this Commonwealth are going to hold their own under any fiscal policy they will have to adopt the same methods, and keep thoroughly up to date in their manufacturing enterprises. No fiscal policy by itself will enable them to compete with the outside world. We may put a high protective wall around the country, but that will not teach us to manage our business according to the most advanced ideas, or with the best economic results. Germany and America have followed the very best methods, but I expect that, in the very nature of things, England will lose her cotton trade for another reason. The more rapid means of transit that have been afforded of late years, and the extensive ramifications of trade, have changed the ideas of a great many people, and the old conservatism of the English manufacturers—solid and much to be admired in many respects—is being dissipated, and the Englishman is becoming imbued with the go-ahead ideas of the American, and is taking his capital and his plant to the countries where the raw material is produced. If it suits the English manufacturer to go to America, he will go there, as he will be perfectly secure under the stable government of that country, and will find himself amongst people of his own blood. These are the factors that seem to me to enter very largely into this great question of competition between different countries, and these are all apart from fiscalism pure and simple. The formation of trusts is not due to any particular fiscal policy. I admit that, under a high protective Tariff, the development of trusts has been encouraged to a larger extent than under free-trade; but I would remind my protectionist friends that most of the advanced thinkers and writers of the continent are free-traders. I do not know how they reconcile that fact with their idea that protection is an essential in any scheme of social reform. The rapidity of invention in connexion with machinery largely contributes to the formation of trusts. Those

who have their money invested in machinery must keep themselves thoroughly up-to-date, and adopt all the latest inventions if they desire to retain their business. It is difficult for individual manufacturers to do this, and thus combinations have been formed, not always with the object of securing a monopoly, but owing to the very nature of the social system we have set up. No system of fiscalism will interfere with or prevent the formation of trusts. I know that in America trusts are illegal, and I would advise those honorable members who want information on the subject of trusts to read Lloyd's work, *Wealth versus Commonwealth*, in which he gives the history of the Standard Oil Trust.

MR. KINGSTON.—Has the honorable member noticed a clause in the Canadian Customs Act which is aimed against trusts?

MR. SPENCE.—I know that the federation of America has used all its powers, and that on every occasion it has been defeated by the trusts. There is hardly a crime under Heaven of which these trusts have not been guilty. America is a gloriously free country. In one State a company planted their cannons in position in order to prevent another company from carrying oil to the seaboard. It is only in a gloriously free country that such things are permitted. They would not be permitted in England. In America the trusts have defeated the law by various devices, some of which are not unknown even in Australia. They have purchased newspapers so that they might control the editorial columns, and have engaged in all sorts of schemes in order to defeat the law and to gain their own ends. I may incidentally mention that recently some of the States of America have discovered a new method of dealing with these trusts. As they have failed to abolish them by means of their law courts—because the trusts took very good care to procure the appointment of their own judges—they have adopted the principle of taxing them. This action has aimed a bigger blow at the trusts of America than has anything which could be accomplished by force of law. I claim that these rings or combines are inevitable, and that from a philosophic point of view they are rather a good thing. They are good in that they teach the people, slowly it may be, but by the only method by which people will ever learn anything, namely by punishment, the advantages of combination. They teach the

people that if one big trust managed by a few men can control the whole output of the world, let alone that of America, they themselves ought to control industry, instead of allowing the enormous profits which are being made to build up millionaires like the Rothschilds and others. I regard trusts, therefore, as an inevitable factor in the development of co-operation. I contend that they are inevitable from the condition of things which has been brought about chiefly by the introduction of machinery. The protectionist principle seems to me to proceed upon something like the following line of reasoning: There are perhaps 100 bootmakers idle in Victoria. They want work. They approach the Government, and say—"If you will put a duty upon boots, we know a gentleman who will erect a factory and employ us." The Government accordingly impose the duty which is demanded. The 100 men thus find employment. But what happens? The moment they become employed, the news goes forth that there is not an idle bootmaker in Victoria. Consequently the idle bootmakers from the other States crowd into Victoria. The employer, for his own benefit, because he knows that if there is a lack of hands he cannot keep his wages down, circulates the report that there is plenty of work for bootmakers here. The result is, that instead of 100 bootmakers being idle in this State, there are soon 200 or 300. That is the best that protection can do. Does it give employment? Certainly not! In this age of invention capitalists are very careful how they invest their money in industries in which machinery is the main factor in production. If they employ labour, the moment they find that any particular industry does not pay they can close their factory, and their machines, the workers, walk away and look for employment elsewhere. But when they invest their money in machinery, if their industry does not pay, they cannot sell that machinery, because it is out of date. Hence no wise commercial man will invest his money in any industry unless the machinery employed in that industry is very nearly perfect. Otherwise he would have to purchase every labour-displacing machine as it came out. We have only to look at the printing trade in order to see the wonderful advance which has been made in labour-displacing machinery within the last few years. The linotype

now does the work which previously employed seven men. Then there are machines which print and fold newspapers at the rate of 72,000 an hour. One single invention in the printing trade enables type to be produced 60 times cheaper than it could previously be produced. A man with these mechanical appliances is able to cut out a newspaper, established under the old conditions, by reason of the fact that he can issue his journal so much earlier. To say that the high duties which this Tariff contemplates will increase the employment of labour is simply to close one's eyes to the circumstances surrounding us, and to ignore existing social conditions. I consider that just now we are in a transition stage—one of the most intensely interesting periods that the world has ever known. On the one hand we have a condition of things growing up similar to that which existed when the nations of the old world fell. When Egypt fell, 97 per cent. of its wealth was owned by 3 per cent. of its population. When Babylon fell, two men held the land, and the people were slaves. When Persia fell, one man owned the land; and when Rome went down, about 1,800 owned it. We cannot ignore the fact that the land and the means of production are rapidly getting into the hands of a few. It is certainly so in America. In sunny New South Wales, under the benign influence of free-trade, 600 persons owned more than half the land in 1896. In South Australia, 703 persons owned more than half its land values, and in New Zealand 1,600 individuals own 17,000,000 acres out of the 19,000,000 acres of land which have been alienated there. Even in France, with its peasant proprietary, the land is passing into the hands of the Rothschild family, and a few others. We are drifting towards the point at which ancient civilizations fell. The problem which faces thoughtful men is—"Are we going to survive, or shall we go down?" I think that we shall survive. There is a great education going on amongst the people. An interest is now being taken in social conditions such as was never taken before. We see it in our literature and in our legislation, and even in the discussion of superstitious free-traders and protectionists, that is, in the discussions of those who think that one or other of these fiscal systems is a cure-all. I am not charging every member

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here with that fallacy. Our first endeavour is to see that all have the opportunity of working so that they may make a decent living under reasonable conditions; and as one who is not only a student of the subject, but has taken an active part in the movement, I say that too much has been made of the fiscal policy on both sides.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is one policy better than the other?

Mr. SPENCE.—Protection can only employ some people locally, and no reasonable man can claim more for free-trade than that it cheapens the cost of living.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—What does the honorable member call this Tariff—free-trade or protection?

Mr. SPENCE.—I call it a very extraordinary Tariff—a mixture of free-trade and protection. It is the kind of Tariff I expected, though it is higher than I anticipated. I told my constituents that it was pretty well inevitable that there would be a Tariff with protectionist incidence, because if revenue had to be raised the choice was very limited as between the two parties, seeing that whatever means they adopted they had to realize the same amount. If there is I prohibitive Tariff goods are shut out, and as I have already said that, in my opinion, the proposed duties will prohibit importation. At the same time I am convinced, from my own line of reasoning, that it is possible for the foreigner, as he is termed, to undersell us no matter how high the Tariff may be, unless our manufacturers are as up-to-date as the foreigner in their methods. I speak of machinery merely as a further illustration of the position which I take up. It was estimated in 1886 that the machinery of the United States represented 3,500,000 horse-power, equal to 21,000,000 men, though the actual number of people employed was 4,000,000. To put it in another way, to produce the same amount of power by manual labour would require a population of 172,000,000, whereas the population of the United States at that period was 60,000,000. Some years ago it was calculated that in England the producing power of labour had by means of machinery been increased eleven times, and the increase is even greater to-day. It will be seen, therefore, that we want something that fiscalism cannot give us. We want a reduction in the hours of labour commensurate with the increased power of machinery; or what is the good of machinery?

The world is not suffering from the over-production of goods. Carlyle said that we had 2,000,000 of bare backs in our work-houses, people willing to work and earn money to buy their shirts, but that we would not allow them to do so. Are we to boast of a civilization which directs the whole of our energies to buying and selling the food and clothing that nature, through the forces which men control in the shape of machinery, produces for us with very little expenditure of human energy? We are trying by means of cut-throat competition to get the best of each other, and in the process we are building up millionaires, who do not possess wealth, but only the power of controlling men. What was the power of Jay Gould, with his £20,000,000? It is a mistake to regard this £20,000,000 as wealth, because Jay Gould had simply the power to make men work and produce for him to that value. What he possessed was only what we call money, and not wealth at all. I am convinced that a solution will come, and it can only come from looking at the evil fairly and squarely. The solution cannot come through any method of fiscalism, and, as I know there is some confusion of ideas on this point, I may be excused for referring to it. In Victoria, in 1877, I took some part in what was then termed the reform movement. I was a resident of Victoria then, and was president of a Reform Protectionists' League. We were driven into two camps, because, from the point of view of the democratic party, the revenue tariffists, who were then called free-traders, were the conservative party. In order to keep away from the conservatives, we had to go into another camp, and, mainly through the influence of the *Age* newspaper and its writers, the people of Victoria were taught the idea that, by adopting protection, they would be able to provide employment for their own population. No body of men were more loyal and self-sacrificing, or paid bigger taxes towards protection than the miners. Having been told that protection was good, and not having studied the subject economically, they believed that protection would provide the solution of the whole labour problem; and it has taken a long time to convince people that under protection it is possible for men to be rendered idle. We then had difficulty in convincing people that it was inherent in the social conditions that men should be

displaced and rendered idle by machinery; but now there is no trouble in proving that fact. On the fiscal question the ideas of Victorians developed in the direction of classifying conservatives on one side and liberals on the other. But the conditions of New South Wales are entirely different. In that State there are liberals, democrats, radicals, and conservatives on both sides. I can understand the astonishment of Victorians, who cannot realize that a man can be a free-trader, and at the same time a trades unionist and a liberal democrat. But I know that such is the case, because I have studied the subject quite apart from the mere fiscal basis. For years and years we had the old battle-cries at every election in each of the States, until some of us started to teach men that they had gained nothing from the old parties. It began to be felt that mere fiscalism could not secure reform, and hence there came into politics the labour party, the existence of which has been more than justified in the present debate in this Parliament, which represents the whole people. There are still a great many members who are unable to get away from the old-fashioned fiscal idea, which, to my mind, is scarcely worth fighting about. It is worth dealing with in regard to taxation, but I object to any fiscal system being prominently put forward as a cure - all. If the fiscal question be put in its proper place, I recognise its importance, but it is a small factor, and the people have been misled for years and years by the cries on both sides. They have been fighting for the shadow and neglecting the substance. An improvement in the conditions of life may come comparatively early, but it cannot come in a day. I have no panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to. I believe in employing our own people, but I would go about it in a direct manner. If the people of Victoria want to establish a woollen mill, let them do it, but why should they bribe any man to establish one when he will probably sweat the people who work for him? It is admitted that under protection in Victoria, wages boards and other means for assisting the workmen are necessary. The real progress of the workers in the old country, in America, and in Australia is due to the improvement of labour organizations. I am not overlooking the good work done by teachers in the press, on the platform, and in Parliament, and the practical results of their efforts, but the

real improvement of the social condition of the masses has had to be struggled and fought for, and whatever has been accomplished is principally due to the labour organizations. Wages are high wherever the organization of labour is good. Where it is not good, wages are low. I remember that the Victorian statistician in 1897-8 published a comparison of wages paid from 1886 to 1896, and I, being interested in the question, took out 22 lines of occupations connected with farming and pastoral industries. In those 22 lines, I found there had been reductions of wages varying from 27 to 47 per cent., with the single exception of the shearers, who had had an increase of wages. That increase received by the shearers was due to the fact of their being organized, and reductions in the other cases were due to the fact that the workmen were not organized. Neither the increases nor the reductions were due to any fiscal policy. Nothing but confusion is caused by quoting partial facts and attributing them to wrong causes. My endeavour has been to correct some of the fallacies into which others have fallen in this respect. When the Tariff gets into committee, I hope some changes will be made in its details. I would point out that the Constitution places us in rather a peculiar position, inasmuch as it imposes upon us the obligation of collecting money which other people are to spend. We have no control over the expenditure of the States in regard to the taxation which we impose, unless we cut off their supplies; and if we did that they would say that they were not able to carry on owing to their financial difficulties. It seems to me that it is not a good principle of our Constitution which imposes upon the members of this Parliament the unpleasant work of levying taxation, and confers upon the State Parliaments the pleasant duty of spending the money. Any one of us would rather have the spending of money than the earning of it. That seems to me to be rather a wrong-end method. I think that we should be justified in forcing the States to make up their own deficiencies. It would do them a great deal of good if they had to do that, even if they were compelled to resort to direct taxation. I hope that I have now made my position clear. If I were to vote against the Government, the only reason I could give to my constituents would be that I

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disapproved of their Tariff. I do somewhat disapprove of it, but by voting against them I should be making the fiscal issue of more importance than other questions. I do not do that. I believe that other issues are of decidedly greater importance than the fiscal question.

Mr. WILKS.—Would not they be dealt with by a Government formed from the other side of the Chamber?

Mr. SPENCE.—It may be so, but I do not think I should be justified in disregarding the tangible proposals of the Government, and in taking the chance of another Government, whom I do not know, proceeding in a similar direction. I shall be consistent with what I told the electors in sinking the fiscal issue, believing other things to be of far greater importance. I maintain that no kind of fiscalism will make up for the democratic reforms which I wish to see instituted.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member sinks the fiscal issue by voting for protection.

Mr. SPENCE.—No; I shall vote for the Government because they exist as a Government, and have undertaken certain legislation in which I am interested; and if there were any other Government in power which had similar measures as part of its policy, I should be inclined to vote to maintain them in power. That, I take it, is a fair position for a man who puts labour first and fiscalism in a secondary place.

Mr. KNOX (Kooyong).—After listening to the thoughtful address of the last speaker, with whose conclusions I cannot concur, I wish to state that in the few words I am going to utter, I have to make more or less of a personal explanation as to my attitude towards the Government, and the position which I intend to take up in connexion with the motion now before the House, and I wish to make at once a frank admission. Ever since the Government submitted their Tariff and Budget, I have felt very grave concern as to what was distinctly the best step to take in the interests of this great country. I feel that the Government deserve from honorable members on both sides of the House the fullest consideration on account of the magnitude of the task which they had before them in preparing a Tariff, and in submitting financial proposals which should bring together the many conflicting interests in the various States now joined in the Commonwealth.

I recognised that the position was surrounded with very great difficulty indeed, and if this motion happened to be successful I am thoroughly persuaded that the present Opposition would experience difficulties which I do not apprehend they desire to undertake. I have felt compelled to view the whole situation in the light of my election pledges. I subscribed cordially and thoroughly to the Maitland programme. Most honorable members, who have the best interests of their country at heart, believed at the time that it was a particularly comprehensive policy, which intended to consider justly the interests of the various States and of all classes of the community. I have read that statement through again since the submission of the Tariff to the House, and I have read also another address which I heard the Prime Minister deliver in the Melbourne Town Hall. I have considered carefully all the details of those speeches, and I may be pardoned if I express the opinion that in the interval between the delivery of the Maitland speech and the address in Melbourne there appears to have been a different tone adopted by the Prime Minister in regard to the fiscal policy which should dominate this country. Although I declared in favour of free-trade when I was before my electors, I recognised that any one who attempted to completely enforce the free-trade theory would act foolishly, and would attempt to impose something which was impossible. I wished it to be understood that if, by any turn of events in this House, an attempt were made to apply to the Commonwealth in its present financial position the free-trade conditions which had existed in New South Wales, I should not support it. On the other hand I felt that the protective conditions which existed in Victoria could not be brought in as a guiding principle in the framing of the Tariff. There must be a reasonably just compromise between these two extremes. In view of the position I venture to ask permission to read the following extract from my statement to the electors during the election campaign. It was as follows:—

The fiscal policy of the Commonwealth will be dominated by the necessity of raising enough revenue to meet the obligations and the new expenses of the Commonwealth, the loss of inter-colonial duties, and the necessity of returning to each of the States an amount which will recoup the sum which it loses by the transfer of the customs and excise to the Commonwealth, so that disturbances in our financial conditions may be

prevented as far as possible. I approve most thoroughly—

And this is where I dissent entirely from the last speaker—

of the principle that to the States should be reserved the right to make direct taxation, except in cases of urgent national disaster. If that is approved it is manifest that, after deducting the large amounts raised by duties and excise upon stimulants and narcotics, and upon sugar, a large amount will still remain to be levied upon other imports if the requisite revenue is to be obtained. We cannot get away from the fact that in order to assure the receipt of the requisite revenue we cannot adopt either the free-trade conditions of New South Wales or the high duties of Victoria. The duties must be so imposed as to produce the amount required for all purposes; and that amount can only be secured by such a modification in the incidence of the Tariff as will render it certain that the Tariff will not prohibit or finally exclude imports. Until Mr. Barton reveals the details of his Tariff proposals it will be impossible to express any opinion upon them. Of course, he cannot deal with the question in other than general terms; but necessarily, with the revelation of his mode of the application of his duties will come the points of possible cleavage between parties in the Commonwealth Parliament. So long, however, as Mr. Barton adheres to the establishment of a Tariff whose chief design is the obtaining of a revenue for the new expenditure of the Commonwealth and the necessary readjustments to the States, he will deserve the support of all true federalists. But should he depart from that position, and propose a scheme of Tariff which would mean the imposition of exclusive duties and advanced protection, he must not complain if he finds a strong opposition created by honorable members who believe, as I do, that high duties are detrimental to the best interests of the community, and bear most heavily upon that class which ostensibly they are expected to serve most.

I also put the following statement before the electors by circular—

I assume that the Government, in submitting their proposals for regulating the customs and excise, will submit a Tariff having for its primary object the raising of the revenue necessary to meet the Commonwealth new expenditure and provide for full refunds to the several States. Excluding narcotics, stimulants, and goods of that class and allowing for a comprehensive and necessary free list there will remain, in my opinion, a large enough value in imports from which the necessary amount may be raised by a *moderate average duty* which by judicious discrimination may be so regulated as to avoid needless interference with established and useful industries at present operating successfully.

I have read these statements for the purpose of making clear to the House what my attitude was when I was before my constituents. My intention was distinctly to give all the support I possibly could to the Prime Minister and his Government, and I may claim

that I have loyally done so up to the present moment, when it is clear that, if I am to justify myself, and to carry out the pledges made to my electors, I cannot support the Tariff which they have submitted to this House. On the figures which you, Mr. Speaker, were good enough, before you occupied your present distinguished position, to advise me in connexion with, and with which your name has been already widely associated, I say that it is quite possible, allowing for an adequate free list, and providing for the payment of higher duties upon stimulants and goods of that class, to provide for the necessities of the Commonwealth with an average 15 per cent. duty. I hold before me a document used at the time of the elections, and it is remarkable to see how the figures which I adopted at that time have been borne out by the exact figures presented to the House by the Government. They show that there could be a free list of £8,500,000 with duties at 15 per cent. If the free list were increased to £10,000,000 it would require 16 per cent., and if increased to £12,000,000 it would require only 17½ per cent. Having believed this, it was my duty to seriously scrutinize the figures which the right honorable the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs presented to the House. I wish to join in what I am persuaded all the other members of the House will say, that the Government have supplied the very fullest information it was possible for them to supply to honorable members, and have given us the fullest facilities for ascertaining the situation, and forming our own opinions in regard to it. Inasmuch as I had expressed the opinion that an average 15 per cent. duty, after allowing for the higher duties to which I have referred, would be sufficient for the purposes of the Commonwealth and the necessary refunds to the States, I have taken the advantage of the very full particulars supplied by the Government for the purpose of ascertaining whether, on the figures they have presented, it was possible to adjust the financial position on anything like the lines I have represented. I hope the Minister for Customs and the right honorable the Treasurer will do me the honour to consider the suggestions which I now make, because they are the results of very careful calculation and working up by men capable of dealing with these questions. I am now able to say that it is possible to suggest a

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financial scheme which is a considerable improvement, so far as the taxpayer is concerned, upon the scheme which the Government propose. I submit the figures with all the reservation necessary in the case of those who have not the complete knowledge and information which a Government department must have. I have only to say that the Minister for Customs very cordially gave me the fullest facilities to get any figures I required, and the greatest courtesy and consideration have been shown to me in this matter. I think that £673,000 can be written off the fixed and composite duties equal to a 10 per cent. reduction. I have the supporting documents, but I do not propose to trouble the House with them. I think there may be £115,000 written off the 25 per cent. duties, which would reduce them by 5 per cent. I think that 5 per cent. might be also written off the 20 per cent. duties with a consequent reduction of £298,000. These figures total £1,086,000. That loss of revenue would be provided for in the first place by what I think is an unnecessary provision of £500,000, in the Treasurer's statement, which in consequence of the reduction in revenue would be reduced to nearly £400,000. There is the amount of arrears to 30th June of £246,000, and I believe I have discovered that the Treasurer has not done himself justice in the amount of revenue we shall derive from licences. I think he will get £70,000 more than he expects. These are matters which have been carefully worked out. An increase in the revenue from sugar duties could be obtained to the extent of £163,779. The return from tobacco and cigarettes might be increased by £213,749, and from spirits by £74,000. The total then, on the figures which have been worked out, amounts to £1,167,528. As I have said, I do not propose to trouble the House with the supporting documents which produce these results, contenting myself with the statement of them, and with the hope that the Treasurer will allow me to submit them, that they may receive such consideration as he thinks they deserve. My chief object is to support the position which I ventured to take up during the election—that by a modification of our financial position on just and moderate lines it was quite possible for us to raise the revenue with 15 per cent. duties. This means duties at 17.2 per cent. on the Government figures. I have not dreamt of going into the details

of the Tariff at present, as I can only speak with any direct personal knowledge in connexion with one class of articles coming under the head of machinery, mining plant, and requisites of that character. I think the Treasurer has hardly been fair to himself when he expects that there will be a loss of revenue upon £5,000,000 of imports inasmuch as it would be impossible during the intervening period to have manufactories established whose production could be set off against them. There is another instance in which I am perfectly satisfied that the Treasurer has not done himself justice—he has made no allowance for the increase in commercial transactions up to 1902. He has taken, as he was good enough to explain fully, the figures of 1899; but I have figures with which I shall not venture to trouble the House, showing the expectancy that, according to ordinary usages of trade and commerce in the expansion, he will derive much greater revenue than he anticipates. The Treasurer has, I think with an amount of prudence, left himself sufficient to go and come upon, in order that the House may make such amendments as will undoubtedly be made in the incidence of the Tariff. I have satisfied myself that we can reduce the taxation to moderate duties, and I believe that my figures on examination will be found to justify the expectation. I refer to mining machinery as one item, and this is one of the subjects on which I can speak with some knowledge and authority. Take the case of the Broken Hill Proprietary. The material for that company has to go through South Australia into New South Wales. By the application of these duties, it will pay £14,400 per annum extra. The various other companies will be affected to the extent of £12,000, and probably £8,000 in addition. I do not wish it to be understood that I consider that the application of these duties presses more heavily on these big mining companies than it does on the small gold companies in the various States. I have a return showing how important it is that the duties on mining material should not be higher than the revenue requirements absolutely need. The honorable and learned member for Bendigo spoke strongly in favour of the work which is done by the manufacturers of mining machinery in the States. As one who has in various enterprises in different

States to use a large quantity of machinery, I heartily indorse the statement he made. The colonial manufacture is excellent, and practically as cheap as the imported; but for the complicated ores which exist in various parts of the States it is necessary to import a special class of machinery, which the Commonwealth has not commenced to manufacture. My hope is that when we come to revise the details of the Tariff, the Government will favorably consider any amendments in the direction of easing the amount of duty which these enterprises have to pay. If this great industry of mining is to be developed, it must be recollected that the margin of profit in their large undertakings is now so small that all the assistance and help possible is required to make the work productive. I think the House will admit that there is no industry which more rapidly develops cities and towns, and promotes the good of a large number of the community than does a healthy mining industry. I got out a few figures to-day to show that. The Mount Lyell Company has spent £664,206; of which one-third was used to pay for imported machinery. A company in Queensland has spent £70,000, and about the same proportion of the machinery had to be imported from foreign parts, because of the special nature of its appliances. Then, in addition, the Broken Hill Company has spent £1,250,000 on mining machinery, of which more than £250,000 worth had to be imported, because of its possessing special merits and being protected by special patents. I am unwilling to go into any detailed examination of the Tariff, and desire to look at the broad principles underlying it, but I am compelled to view the motion before the House from the stand-point of simply a high or low Tariff, and the obligations I undertook in connexion with the constituency which did me the honour to place me in this position. In my judgment, there is every justification for expecting, from the facts and figures I have presented to honorable members, that a moderate duty of about 15 per cent. is a feasible proposal, and one which would enable the Commonwealth to meet obligations to itself, and to the States. As to manufacturing industries, the natural protection which the manufacturers within the Commonwealth enjoy, in consequence of our geographical position, is, at the very least,

equal to an all-round duty of 15 per cent. Industries which demand more than that, combined with a duty which, under general circumstances, is equal to 30 per cent. as against the importer, are, in my judgment, being maintained at the cost of the community; it is the people who pay for them, and at present, I venture to think, pay for them unequally. I shall view the Tariff from the following guiding principles:—First: That the great natural producing interests of the Commonwealth are the foundation of our substantial and permanent wealth and prosperity as a people, and these should not be hampered or burdened by any avoidable taxation. Second: That the establishment and progress of our manufacturing industries are consequential upon the healthy expansion of the primary industries, and are entitled to receive such assistance and support as may be reasonably possible by the application of the incidence of taxation through customs and excise duties. Third: Customs and excise duties should be imposed primarily for revenue purposes, and in such a manner that they will not press most heavily upon that class of people in the community who are least able to bear the burden. Fourth: That the people of the Commonwealth must not be called upon to disproportionately enrich any manufacturer or body of manufacturers. It is undoubtedly also my duty, in view of the manner in which many manufacturing industries have been created and sustained in Victoria, to see that, as far as possible, there should be no sudden disarrangement of local conditions by any extreme change in the fiscal policy, and I still regard that as my obligation in the consideration of the items of the Tariff. It is also my duty to give the very fullest consideration to the effect of the Tariff upon the wages of the worker. I do not think it has been in any way proved that the wages in a protected country show any improvement upon the rates of pay in countries where free-trade or low Tariff conditions exist, unless they have the necessary corollary to high protection, namely, artificial means of maintaining wages through boards and other methods. I prefer to see the wages of the working classes maintained at a high level through natural means and not through forced measures. I have endeavoured to consider my attitude towards the motion of the leader of the Opposition upon a broad basis, as I am compelled to recognise that the vote

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which will be taken will be closely scrutinized throughout the length and breadth of this community, quite irrespective of the speeches for or against free-trade or protection. The people of the Commonwealth will look to that concrete expression of opinion by this House to determine whether our dominating policy is to be one of high duties or low duties. Consequently there is a wider responsibility resting upon the casting of this vote than its merely local effect, and it will be impossible for me to so record my vote as to improperly increase an apparent majority in favour of a high Tariff policy. The concrete results of the vote must be felt also in another place when they are considering the Tariff. If I were to vote for this Tariff, I should place myself in a false position in the eyes of the vast majority of the people in the great electorate which I have the honour to represent. I should be breaking the traditional and historical record which it has maintained—through the representatives which it has sent continuously to the State Parliaments, and now to the Federal Parliament—as an electorate always in favour of moderate and low duties. I regret with all my heart that I have to take this step. I am sorry that I have come to this parting of the ways, and that I find myself in opposition to those with whom I have ever regarded it as my great privilege to work in the federal campaign. I have in my mind particularly the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General. There are also other honorable members, but I refer particularly to those with whom I have been especially associated. It is with deep regret that I find myself in opposition for the first time in our association. I think that very justly and properly the names of the Ministers I have mentioned will live in the memories of the people through the untiring work which they have done in a great cause. In voting against the Government, I am taking a step which I conceive to be purely one of public duty, and necessary to the fulfilment of my election pledges. In whatever position I may sit in this House, it will be my desire always to do what I conceive to be in the best interests of the whole of the people, and in the interests particularly of the worker and of the poor, and I am perfectly persuaded that in dealing with measures of this class, I shall frequently find myself supporting the Government.

Mr. FULLER (Illawarra).—At this late stage of the sitting, I do not feel the disposition to enter upon this important subject that I could wish for, but I consider that we should occupy, to the best advantage, the full extent of our allotted time this afternoon. I fully indorse the statements which have been made by members of the Opposition regarding the policy of the Government as enunciated by the Prime Minister in his Maitland speech, and I also support their contention that the Prime Minister and his colleagues have departed from the pledges they gave to the electors of Australia. It will be for the country to judge in the future whether the Government have been true to their pledges or whether the members of the Opposition are correct in their criticisms. As representing the important district of Illawarra, in New South Wales, I was returned as a distinct revenue tariffist, and in opposition to the system of protection, and I have therefore no hesitation in saying that the motion of the leader of the Opposition meets with my hearty approval. It is all very well for some honorable members to stand up in this chamber and pose as country members, saying that they represent the farming and pastoral industries of this country. One would think to hear some honorable members speak that there are no members on this side of the House representing the pastoral or farming industries of New South Wales or the other States. But I undertake to say that if the agriculturists and pastoralists of New South Wales had for one moment anticipated that the Tariff was to be such as that now introduced, there would not have been a single representative of the country districts of New South Wales on the protectionist side of the House. I know perfectly well that under the Constitution a certain amount of revenue must be raised through the Customs. We all recognised when we were before the country that we could not hope to achieve absolute free-trade under the Constitution, but we came in here to establish, if we possibly could, a system of revenue tariffism, with a view to working onwards to a high free-trade ideal in the future. That is the position which honorable members on the Opposition side of the House take in connexion with this matter. One of the chief reasons why I object to the proposals of the Government is that the Tariff will impose

a great handicap upon all the primary producing industries of the country. Everything has been done to handicap the mining, dairying, pastoral, and agricultural industries which, after all, are the great sources of wealth, and ought, therefore, to be encouraged as much as possible.

Mr. RONALD.—That is a sweeping assertion.

Mr. FULLER.—I speak for myself. The honorable member for Southern Melbourne expressed his opinion the other day, and later on I shall have something to say about his deliverance, more particularly in connexion with his reference to the grand old mother country to which we owe so much. It is no wonder that this Tariff has provoked an outcry in New South Wales. Personally, I intend to discuss it, not from any State stand-point, but from the stand-point of an Australian, because I hope that in this Parliament, whilst honorable members recognise that they have been returned as representatives of different States, they will also realize that they are here not in that capacity alone, but as representatives of the great Continent of Australia. Is it any wonder that the electors of New South Wales, after the light taxation to which they have been accustomed, are indignant at the heavy imposts which it is now proposed to place upon them in common with the other States? Is it any wonder that the representatives of New South Wales are constantly receiving letters and telegrams from all parts of that State, expressive of the popular indignation which prevails there? We should, indeed, be recreant to our trust if we failed—either upon this motion of censure, or upon any future occasion in committee—to fight this Tariff as stubbornly as we can. I think that the debate, so far as it has proceeded, has proved of great educational value, not only to the people of Victoria, but to the people in all parts of the Australian continent. It is the duty of all who claim to be free-traders, and who wish to see the burdens of taxation placed upon the shoulders of those best able to bear them, to strenuously fight this Tariff in the future, so as to assist in bringing about a more equitable system in the interests of the whole people. I wish specially to refer to the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi, who, from what has been said by honorable members here, and from the approval which has been showered upon his

utterance by the Melbourne press, seems to have been put up as the champion of the protectionist policy, more particularly as it affects the country districts of Australia. It was a remarkable deliverance, because in speaking as the honorable and learned member did, he indorsed the protectionist policy of the present Administration. No one can deny that this Tariff is strongly protective in many respects. Some honorable members have shown how, upon some items, it ranges as high as 140 and 150 per cent. To hear the honorable and learned member for Indi expressing approval of this Tariff, more particularly in the interests of the country districts of Australia, is very remarkable indeed in view of the fact that, on 9th October, in the Victorian Legislative Assembly, he is reported, in volume 69 of *Hansard*, during the session of 1892-3, to have said—

Mr. McCAY.—He takes twice as long to change his opinion as does the leader of the honorable and learned member.

Mr. FULLER.—It does not take my honorable and learned friend very long to change his opinions. Time after time he has stood up in this House and spoken in a particular way, but within five or six minutes he has voted in a directly opposite direction.

Mr. McCAY.—I rise to object. That statement is absolutely untrue.

Mr. FULLER.—It is absolutely true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable and learned member for Corinella considers that he has been reflected upon by the remarks of the honorable and learned member for Illawarra, that honorable and learned member must withdraw. But I must first ask the honorable and learned member for Corinella to withdraw the statement that what the honorable and learned member for Illawarra said was untrue.

Mr. McCAY.—I withdraw it absolutely, but I say that the honorable and learned member for Illawarra is labouring under a misapprehension. Upon no occasion since I entered this House have I spoken one way and voted differently. If the honorable and learned member can point to a single instance in which I have spoken one way and voted another I will resign my seat and ask my constituents whether they agree with my action. The charge has been levelled against other honorable members, but it is the first time that it has been made against me.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable and learned member for Illawarra to withdraw the charge which the honorable and learned member for Corinella considers offensive.

Mr. FULLER.—I do so with all respect. At the same time I do not see why I should be accused by the honorable and learned member for Corinella in the way that I was accused. He said that it took the honorable and learned member for Indi longer to change his opinions than it took me to change mine.

Mr. McCAY.—No; I said the honorable and learned member's leader.

Mr. FULLER.—If the honorable and learned member was referring to my leader, that gentleman is quite able to take care of himself. I was about to refer to the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi as reported in the Victorian *Hansard*, session 1892-3. It is a particularly remarkable utterance when contrasted with the speech delivered by him the other evening. Speaking on the Budget, he said, amongst other things—

There is no tax proposed that will not create vested interests, but there are taxes proposed that, far from ameliorating the condition of the poor, so will remove those articles which are the necessities of their very existence further from their reach—the poor man's means of sustenance, his clothing by day and night, his shelter, his tools of trade, all these are removed further and further from his reach, perilously near to absolute deprivation. We have duties of 50 per cent. proposed on some of the necessities of life. Is that a proper mode of relieving the distress of the country? I cannot understand it.

According to this speech, from which I intend to make further quotations, the honorable and learned member for Indi was at that time a free-trader. No free-trader could possibly speak in stronger terms of duties which tend to create vested interests. I object to a strong protectionist Tariff, because it gives men the opportunity of establishing trusts and monopolies, and, by dipping their hands into the pockets of the masses of the people becoming rich at the public expense. I intend as far as I can to oppose the establishment of this system in federated Australia, in the initiation of its history. The next quotation I shall make from the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi is—

What, I should like to know, are the circumstances of the country which render that tax inexpedient at the present time?

The honorable and learned member was then speaking of the income tax.

Is it demoralizing? If we are to except all taxes that are demoralizing, let us abolish the Custom-house, so as to get rid of smuggling, salted invoices, false declarations, and perjury, and then we shall get rid of our demoralizing taxation.

Another quotation from the *Hansard* report of the honorable and learned member's speech is this—

Mr. TRENWITH.—How about the stock tax?

Mr. ISAACS.—I will answer in the words of the Premier. In the course of his Casterton speech, the Premier said—"There is one tax which I may mention, because the mention of it will not defeat the object the Government had in view in proposing it, and that is the stock tax. The present tax is merely a registration fee. . .

We propose a substantial increase of the tax as a partial remedy for the injustice of the land tax, and it is an honest attempt to make the great protective policy of the country, which this Government is going to maintain, equal, and by making it equal, or as nearly as possible equal, to maintain it free from any assault, and safe from jeopardy. No policy can remain on the statute-book of a country which denies to one class, worthy of benefit, something which is granted to another class no more worthy."

What does the proposed Tariff do? In almost every line distinct advantage is given to one class of the community at the expense of all the rest. It is as clear as the noonday sun that one of the great desires of the framers of the Tariff is to protect the manufacturing industries of Victoria. I have none of that feeling against Victoria which some honorable members on the Government side seem to think we of the Opposition entertain towards that State. I have always held Victoria and the other States almost as dear to me as my own native State of New South Wales; and it has always been with feelings of regret that I have felt compelled to refer to Victoria in connexion with the question we are now discussing. But in every line of the Tariff we find duties which clearly give a benefit to one class of the community who are no more worthy than the other classes. Are not our dairy farmers, agriculturalists, pastoralists, miners, and others, just as much entitled to consideration as the manufacturers of Victoria, or, for the matter of that, the manufacturers of New South Wales? Are all the men who work in the coal mines to be considered as social outcasts in this home of protection which it is proposed to establish in Australia? Are they

not to receive the same consideration as those engaged in manufactures in great cities? I have not before me the exact words of the motion which has been submitted by the leader of the Opposition, but I thoroughly agree with that portion which disagrees with the Tariff because it does not deal equally with the mining, farming, and other industries of Australia. There is another remarkable statement in the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi—

The farmer demanded and obtained an increase of the stock tax as a measure of redress for the then existing inequalities; and now we are asked to do on behalf of the farmers—what? To pay 25s. for a sovereign. Well, I, as a representative of a country constituency, object to that.

Mr. TRENWITH.—How are the farmers asked to pay 25s. for a sovereign?

Mr. ISAACS.—Through the long list of duties now imposed.

I ask any representative of the farming community on the Government side whether it is not a fact that under this Tariff the farmer will have to pay at least 25s. for a sovereign? No reasonable man can have any doubt that under this Tariff, which gives high protection to the manufacturers, the farmers will have to pay through the nose for all their necessities of life, and everything they use on their farms. One more quotation which I should like to give from the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi is as follows:—

I believe I speak not only for myself, but for many honorable members around me, when I say that if the Government will only raise aloft the standard of justice and equity to town and country alike, and write in indelible letters on that standard—"Let the burden rest on them who are best able to bear it," they will have no more fervent, enthusiastic, or devoted followers than honorable members who sit in this part of the House.

It appears to me that the honorable and learned member has departed very much from the political faith which he professed in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in 1893. What is the object of honorable members on the Opposition side of the House but to try and lighten the burden of taxation so as to put it on the backs of those best able to bear it? That is the sole object with which we have come into the House, and that is what the party to which I have the honour to

belong fought for and established in New South Wales. We are here now to fight against the system which is advocated by the present Government, because we honestly believe—and we give honorable members on the other side just as much credit for honesty of purpose as we claim at their hands—that under this Tariff the burden of taxation will be put on the backs of the poor. We believe that the necessities of life, such as tools of trade and clothing, will be taxed higher than is absolutely necessary for the purpose of carrying on the government of the country. We know that under the Constitution a certain amount of money has to be raised for the expenses of government, and that, in order to maintain their solvency, a return has to be made to the different States who have joined the union; but we take up the position that all the money which comes to the customs ought to go into the Treasury to be treated as public money and spent for the benefit of the people, and that none should be allowed to drift into the pockets of private individuals. I stated that one of the reasons why I object strongly to the Tariff is that the great pioneer industries do not receive fair treatment. We have heard a great deal from honorable members on the Government side of comparisons between the industries of Victoria and New South Wales; and the honorable member for Moira yesterday afternoon addressed us as a representative of dairy farming, and the farming industry generally, in Victoria. No one has a higher esteem than myself for a representative farmer. I was born and bred in a farming district, and I believe that the family to which I belong contains more dairy farmers than any other family in Australia. I have been amongst farming people all my life, and I have the honour to represent them at the present time; and I take this opportunity of pointing out that the honorable member for Moira, when he spoke of the dairying industry, was absolutely at sea in the figures he quoted. It is claimed that the success of the dairying industry in Victoria is due to the protective duty which has been in existence here for some years past. But, I should like honorable members to know that in New South Wales we had formerly a duty of 2d. per lb. on imported butter, and that, while that duty was in existence, the dairy industry went down to such a

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low ebb that nearly all our farmers got into a state of insolvency.

Mr. MANIFOLD.—In what year?

Mr. FULLER.—About sixteen years ago.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the honorable and learned member suggest that the industry diminished on account of the duty?

Mr. FULLER.—I do not say that, but the fact remains that while the protective duty was in existence the dairying industry declined to such a low ebb that nearly all our farmers were in a state of insolvency. Then it happened that a representative from the south coast district paid a visit to the old country. He went across to Denmark, saw the most recent improvements in dairying, and, as a result, the De Laval cream separator was introduced into New South Wales, and the industry commenced upon a different footing. Dairying in that State owes nothing in any shape or form to any Tariff which was ever devised for its benefit or otherwise. What happened in Victoria? When this State got into a condition of collapse, her people commenced to look around to see if they could not introduce some new industry to save the country from going from bad to worse. As the honorable member for Moira properly pointed out yesterday, a number of representative men from Victoria came over to New South Wales, visited the Illawarra district, and saw our factory system of butter production in progress. They came back to Victoria and went one better than we had done. They saw that if the dairying industry was to be developed in a proper manner, instead of going in for the factory system which we had in New South Wales, the proper thing to do was to establish creameries, and have one central factory for a district. I admire the Victorians for their foresight in this respect, and I congratulate this State on the great strides she has made in the dairying industry. We in New South Wales have been the dumping ground for the products of Victoria. The large consumption of Victorian butter in New South Wales has helped to an enormous extent to keep the dairy-farmers of Victoria going. What made protectionists of some of our dairy farmers in New South Wales was the fact that the Victorian dairy farmer, under our free-trade policy, had the opportunity for making New South Wales a dumping ground for the surplus products of this State. He found

that he could get a better price for his butter in New South Wales than in the home market in Melbourne. But now we are under federation, and this advantage is no longer conferred upon the Victorian farmer, I venture to say that honorable members will have the greatest difficulty in finding a single protectionist farmer in the Illawarra district of New South Wales. The farmer knows very well that he is not dependent for the price he receives for his commodities upon the price in the home market, but upon the price obtained in London and other great markets of the world. It is a very significant circumstance that the other day the honorable member for Gippsland, who is also a gentleman well versed in agricultural matters, stated distinctly that, as far as the wheat farmers of Victoria are concerned, they have arrived at the stage of being big exporters to European markets, and are absolutely dependent upon the price their wheat will bring in Mark-lane, London. So it is with our butter producers. They are absolutely dependent upon the price their produce brings in London and the other markets of the world. In 1899, leaving New Zealand out of the calculation, Australasia exported over 53,000,000 lbs. of butter. Talk about establishing factories here to give encouragement to our producers! How are we going to establish factories which will employ hands to eat 53,000,000 lbs. of butter? Let me remind honorable members that this industry has become one of the great national industries of Australia. In New South Wales within the last two years dairying has extended beyond the Illawarra and West Camden districts into the Richmond, Clarence, and other districts of that State; and we have only touched the fringe of it as yet. Our dairy farmers being large exporters to the extent of 53,000,000 lbs. per annum, of what earthly use to them is a duty of 3d. per lb. on imported butter? It is of no use whatever. Where is the foreign butter to come from, to compete with the butter produced in New South Wales and Victoria? There is no country in the world that can send butter here to compete with us in any shape or form. Therefore the duty put upon dairy produce by means of this Tariff is simply a sham, a delusion, and a snare. There is not a dairy farmer in the country who, when he realizes

the position in which his industry will stand under federation, will have a protective principle left in him. Recognising that we are dependent upon London and other markets, what is the duty of any Government that comes into power in this country? This remark applies not only to dairying, but to our agricultural, pastoral, and coal-mining industries, all of which are to some extent dependent upon foreign markets. It is not the duty of the Government, if it desires to assist those industries, to endeavour to stop importations from coming here. If we do that, the effect of the prohibition will be to lessen the export trade, and to do an injustice to the primary producers of the country. By so much as the Government stop large ocean-going vessels from coming to these shores, and by so much as our fiscal policy compels vessels to come here with empty bottoms, and without cargo, surely it follows, as a natural corollary, that we shall have to pay higher rates for freight. It must be remembered that we are in an isolated position, living at one end of the world. We have to compete with the producers of butter in Denmark, Ireland, and other countries, and they, being within a few days' sail of the great markets, have an advantage over us in that respect. We are handicapped already by having to send our produce over 16,000 miles of ocean, and yet the Government wish to impose a heavier handicap by causing freight rates to be raised. This Tariff appears to me to have been devised by the Government in order to tax the farmers. I should like every farmer throughout Australia to remember that a Tariff is only a system of taxation, and that the imposts levied under the proposals of the Government will simply be at their expense. The honorable member for Moira said, in connexion with the dairying industry, in Victoria it is growing more rapidly than in New South Wales. On that subject I have the latest figures of Mr. Coghlan, who has been quoted acceptably during this debate. The following is the true state of affairs:— In 1899 the number of dairy cows in New South Wales was 399,327; in Victoria in the same year there were 464,469 dairy cows. The butter produced in New South Wales in 1899 amounted to 33,034,000 lbs.; in Victoria the quantity produced was 53,327,000 lbs. The number of cows in New South Wales had increased

in 1900 from 399,327 to 420,148. while in Victoria the increase was from 464,469 to 465,000; so that during 1899 and 1900 we had an increase of dairy cattle in New South Wales amounting to 20,821, while in Victoria there was an increase of only 1,000. These are the latest figures, and they are a direct contradiction of the statement made yesterday by the honorable member for Moira. I have also some statistics relating to the butter production of the two States. In 1899 New South Wales produced 33,034,000 lbs., while in 1900 her output was 41,479,794 lbs. In Victoria, the output of butter in 1899 was 53,327,000 lbs.; while in 1900 it was 55,604,118 lbs. Thus, during that period, the butter production of New South Wales showed an increase of 8,445,794 lbs., and in Victoria there was only an increase of 2,277,118 lbs.

Mr. CONROY.—And there was no duty in New South Wales.

Mr. FULLER.—That is so. There are two items in the Tariff, that affect this great industry, to which I desire to draw attention. We are very large exporters of butter, and it is absolutely necessary that we should pack it in boxes most suitable for the purpose. Every one knows that there is no article more susceptible to outside influences than the product of the dairy farmer. Hitherto New Zealand pine has been wholly employed in the manufacture of these boxes, but under the Tariff a duty is to be put on that timber. A statement has been published in the *Argus* that as the result of this duty the price of these boxes will be increased to the extent of 2½d. each. That increased price on 600,000 boxes—which represents the number sent out of Victoria last year—amounts to a substantial sum. It really means the imposition of a tax upon the men who produce butter for export. Is that the way in which they should be treated? Having a surplus of butter, the farmers export it not only for their own benefit, but for the benefit of the whole country. As was pointed out very properly yesterday by the honorable member for Flinders, these exports bring back more than their worth of imports. Therefore, the producers are exporting not only for their own benefit, but to the advantage of the Commonwealth as a whole. Surely the Ministry, who talk of encouraging the farmer, should see that everything connected

with the industry comes in free as nearly as possible, instead of proposing what is equivalent to an export duty. Salt, which is largely employed in the manufacture of butter, is another item which is taxed under this Tariff. Tons and tons of salt are used every year at the various butter factories in the different States. I have been informed by a gentleman who is in the business, that six months ago, in anticipation of the duty of £1 per ton now proposed by the Government, the salt merchants of Victoria and South Australia, true to the characteristics of the protectionists, raised the price by 5s. per ton. Since the publication of the Tariff they have raised it 12s. per ton. That is to say, they pocket 17s., and make a concession of 3s. per ton to the general consumer. Thus the Government propose to tax as high as possible two things largely used in the dairying industry.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Has not the honorable and learned member observed anything in the free list in regard to New Zealand pine logs?

Mr. FULLER.—I will show the House presently how that item in the free list will affect the trade.

Sir WILLIAM McMILLAN.—The logs are of the wrong size to be of any use to the industry.

Mr. FULLER.—I will deal with that matter presently. The duty on salt will affect not only those engaged in the butter industry, but every small farmer, butcher, and homestead lessee; in fact, it will be felt by every one because salt is used in every household. I have taken the trouble to pick out of the Tariff the proposed duties relating to agricultural industries, and such products as butter, cheese, eggs and wheat. I find that out of £1,141,863, which the Government propose to raise from duties on agricultural products and groceries, for the benefit of the farmers, all that those engaged in these great industries will actually receive is £9,765. Does the Minister for Trade and Customs think the farmers are fools; that they cannot see through this little device to bring them round to protection? Does he think they do not understand the position of their own industries, including that of wheat-growing? Last year we exported over 11,000,000 bushels of wheat, and there was not a single bushel imported

into the Commonwealth, so that the wheat industry stands in the same position as the rest. Do the Government think that the farmers cannot see through these shallow devices which are put forward as a pretence to help their industries? I have received dozens of letters from different parts of Australia, and not merely from my own constituents, dealing with the Tariff proposals.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Who told the honorable and learned member that not a bushel of wheat was imported last year?

Mr. FULLER.—If the Minister refers to the statistics he will find that my statement is correct. My figures are taken from *Coghlan*, and if the Minister refers to that authority he will find that there were over 11,000,000 bushels exported last year, and not a single bushel imported.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable and learned member is absolutely wrong.

Mr. FULLER.—I take these figures as presented by the highest statistical authority. What I have said in connexion with the farming industry, applies equally to the great coal mining industry of Australia. When honorable members talk about putting on protection, I ask them how they can put on any protection to benefit the men engaged in the great coal mining industry of New South Wales, and of other parts of Australia?

Mr. MAUGER.—Our protection has helped them immensely. Where would they have been but for our custom?

Mr. FULLER.—I wish that the Victorians had hundreds or thousands more of the protected factories they are so proud of. I should like to see the industries of Victoria thriving and flourishing; but I can assure the honorable member for Melbourne Ports that as to the factories of Victoria being of any use to our great coal mining industry in New South Wales, there is one single coal mine there which could supply the whole of the factories in this State.

Mr. MAUGER.—We were not the best customers of New South Wales for years?

Mr. FULLER.—There are 88 mines open in New South Wales, and there is one mine that could supply the whole of the factories of Victoria for years.

Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 4.3 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 29 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have to inform the House that I have received the following letter from His Excellency the Governor-General:—

Melbourne, 25th October, 1901.

Sir, Adverting to previous correspondence respecting the message from the House of Representatives relative to the attempted assassination of the late President McKinley, I have the honour to state that I have received a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, intimating that the United States ambassador has requested that the thanks of the President and people of the United States might be conveyed to yourself and members of the House of Representatives for the earnest and fraternal sympathy expressed in your message of the 10th of September ultimo.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

HOPETOUN,
Governor-General.

LIGHT-HOUSE—WEST POINT.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I wish to ask the Prime Minister if by this time he has changed his mind, and will put up a light-house at West Point, in Tasmania?

Mr. BARTON.—My honorable friend is well aware that questions on grave matters of policy cannot be answered when the Government is in jeopardy.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 25th October), on motion by **Mr. REID**—

(1) That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. FULLER (Illawarra).—I desire to thank the House for giving me an opportunity to continue my remarks to-day. When the debate was adjourned on Friday afternoon I was speaking of the exportation of dairy produce from Australia, and endeavouring to point out that in order to have this magnificent industry properly carried out and developed, it was necessary for the Government and Parliament to adopt such a Tariff as would offer the least possible obstruction in that respect. To show that we are dependent on exportation for the development of this great industry, and that the price here is really ruled by the price in the markets of the world, I shall quote some remarks which were made by the honorable member for Gippsland on the 13th July, 1899, when he was introducing a deputation to the Premier of Victoria in connexion with a reduction of railways freights on grain—

Grain values here, as well as in New South Wales, were regulated by the prices ruling in the London market, and it did not matter what expenses were piled on, all that the farmers could get was the value of the wheat in Mark-lane. They could not get a better price here than could be got by the New South Wales farmers.

I shall next make a quotation from the *Age* of 3rd October, 1899—

As we have said, the Australian farmer has to sell his produce in times when he has a great surplus to home consumers at London prices. This is because the export price rules the domestic market.

In this industry, the same as in others in Australia, we are in the position of having a very large surplus, so that it is of no use to talk to the farmers and other producers about the home market. We have got beyond that stage, because, as has been pointed out by the honorable member for Gippsland, and others, very clearly, the price of our produce depends not on our home market, but on the price ruling in the markets of the world. Speaking on this matter, the honorable member for Mernda said—

It is clearly our duty and our interest to see that these sources of the supply of our exportable surplus are placed in the best position to produce

effectively and satisfactorily for themselves, because, if the woollen manufacturer feels aggrieved when he cannot make a profit, if the boot and shoe maker comes up to Parliament and whines because trade is not in a paying condition, and wants an extra percentage of protection, what must we think of the position of the farmer, the miner, and the grazier, who, from the nature of their callings, have got to produce the exportable surplus to which I have referred, and the prices of whose surplus products are not ruled by the prices in the colony, but by the prices obtained throughout the world? If those who engage in these great producing industries are not placed in a fair position to obtain ease and comfort of life, which they have as much right to enjoy as those who are engaged in the protected manufacturing industries of the colony, how can we expect them to produce that exportable surplus in sufficient abundance to meet our obligations, and provide for all our requirements?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Do they call it whining?

Mr. FULLER.—Whines is the word used. I have a number of quotations here from the speeches of different honorable members, particularly those representing Victoria, but I shall not weary the House by reading them, because those I have quoted are quite sufficient to show the position which at one time they took up. The honorable member for Echuca, who is one of the farmers' representatives in the House, said during the debate on the Tariff in Victoria, on 29th September, 1892—

Protection had succeeded, not so much by its inherent merits as by the fact that the ports of Australia were open to us, and that our surplus produce could be sent to the other colonies, and sold for less than it was sold for in Melbourne.

The honorable member pointed out that by virtue of the imposition of the duties, agricultural implements would be made in the colony, and sold at a lesser price to the farmers of Victoria and other parts of Australia than those imported from other parts of the world. That is a remarkable change of front from what he said during the debate on the Tariff on the 28th June, 1895.

Mr. MCCOLL.—Does the honorable member know what the Victorian duties were then?

Mr. FULLER.—I do not know exactly; but perhaps the honorable member can tell me.

Mr. MCCOLL.—From 20 to 30 per cent. higher than they are now.

Mr. FULLER.—That does not affect the argument at all. What the honorable member said in 1895 was this—

In 1889 Parliament increased the duty on agricultural implements, and the increase was not on

more than eight weeks before there was a combination of implement manufacturers, and circulars were sent round the whole country notifying that the prices of agricultural implements and machinery had been increased 10 per cent.

Clearly showing that by reason of the increase of the protective duties on agricultural implements the manufacturers had combined together and robbed the farmers to the extent he stated. The honorable member went on to say—

The other colonies, with lighter duties on machinery and manufactured goods, are far more thriving than we are with heavy duties of customs.

Mr. McCOLL.—I do not think that is fair.

Mr. FULLER.—This is taken from the *Hansard* report of the honorable member's speech on the 25th June, 1895.

Mr. McCOLL.—It is all very well to pick out isolated passages.

Mr. FULLER.—I do not wish to make further reference to the dairying industry. The position I take up, as I stated at the beginning of my speech on Friday, is that this Tariff affects the whole of the primary producers of the country. The next industry I shall refer to is the coal-mining industry, which is of very great importance, particularly in New South Wales. We have the coal-mining industry in Newcastle to the north of Sydney, in the Illawarra district to the south, and up at Lithgow and other places in the west. We have 88 mines open, and there are employed in connexion with them 10,329 persons, comprising 8,217 who are engaged underground, and 2,112 above ground. From New South Wales in 1899 we exported 2,798,523 tons of coal, valued at £1,005,794, while the total amount of coal raised in the whole of the Commonwealth was 5,450,866 tons. Now this great industry in New South Wales is dependent to a very large extent upon the export trade. We have been exporting coal from New South Wales to Victoria, to San Francisco, and various other parts of the world; and if we have a high protective Tariff which will stop steamers and other vessels from coming here with imports, we shall strike an immediate and direct blow at the coal mining industry. Now, what are the miners to get in return for what they will have to pay under these protective duties? It is not necessary for me to say anything to show clearly that the miner will have to pay for all the necessities of

life; his boots and shoes and all the other things which have been so often enumerated by honorable members, will be subject to heavy duties, whereas no proposition has been made in any shape or form under this Tariff to confer any benefit on the miner.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Dibbs Tariff paralyzed the coal industry before.

Mr. FULLER.—That is very true. Are the men who are engaged in this very dangerous industry—because it is not very many years ago since we had the great Bulli disaster, through which a great many miners were entombed, and which rendered it necessary to support by charity a large number of wives and orphans—to be looked upon as outlaws? On their behalf I raise a protest against the Tariff, because I believe it will be inimical to the coal mining industry. Then we have another industry, which it appears to me cannot be helped by any protection. There are very large smelting establishments at Cockle Creek, Newcastle, and also at Lake Irrawarra, in New South Wales; and the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse, has reminded us that they have large smelting works in Tasmania also. In the smelting works that I have mentioned, in New South Wales, there are 3,339 hands employed at these works. I do not know how many men are employed in Tasmania, or how many are engaged in smelting operations in South Australia, but I understand that a good many men are employed in South Australia in connexion with this industry. I should like to know how any system of protection could possibly benefit these men? It appears to me that the only effect of this Tariff will be to make these men pay in just the same way as will the coal miners and the other classes of miners on whose behalf the honorable and learned member for Indi made an appeal some time ago, because it was proposed to tax them on everything they used—on their tools of industry, and even to the knives and forks on the tables in their homes. What I have said regarding the coal mining industry and those employed at the smelting works applies with equal force to those engaged in wheat growing, in pastoral occupations, and in all the other great primary industries. The Treasurer, when he was making his speech in connexion with the Tariff, stated that it was a moot point as to who paid the duty

under a protectionist Tariff, and he suggested that it might be the foreigner who had to pay the duty on imports. I think, however, that the time has gone by when people are to be gulled into entertaining any such idea. Even the protectionist organ in Melbourne—the *Age*—in 1892 said that—

The system of indirect taxation throws the burden of taxation on the working classes.

How can that be, unless it is that the working classes—who are the largest consumers—pay the duties that are levied through Customs? That was stated by the *Age* on 17th February, 1892.

Mr. CONROY.—That was during an honest spasm.

Mr. FULLER.—On 9th November, 1894, the *Age* also said—

To double the customs duties would be to tax the wealthy only in a slight degree, and would place the public burdens chiefly on the shoulders of labour. The farmers can hardly be expected to favour this method of squaring the finances.

Mr. McCAY.—That referred to a revenue Tariff, pure and simple.

Mr. FULLER.—But it was intended to double the protectionist duties that were then in force, and we all know what the duties were at that time. If it is the foreigner who pays the duties, I should like to know why, in the Federal Customs Bill which was introduced by the Minister for Trade and Customs, clause 142 was included, enacting—

That all contracts between private persons for the delivery of foreign goods, duty paid, shall be interpreted as giving the seller the right to increase the price by any amount of duty which shall be imposed on such goods subsequent to the date of contract; and giving the buyer the right to reduce the price by any amount of duty which shall be removed subsequent to date of contract. Provided that such alteration of duty takes place previous to the passage of the goods through the Custom-house.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is not the clause.

Mr. FULLER.—No, that is my summary of it. It appears to me that that is a direct admission that the duty forms a part of the selling price—a part of the price under the contract between the two parties. It is therefore clear that the seller of the goods adds the duty to the price at which they are quoted in the outside world, and that it is the consumer who has to pay the increased price. Furthermore, how is it that in all protected countries there are drawback regulations under which the duty is returned if the goods are re-exported?

That drawback does not go to the foreigner, but into the pocket of the merchant who pays the duty in the first instance, and who, in the ordinary course, passes it on to the consumer. It seems to me that import duties are not paid by the foreigner, but by the great consumers of the countries into which the imports come. Much has been said with regard to the wages paid in the different States. I do not wish to go into the great number of instances which I have here, but I will take one example of the wages paid in Victoria in connexion with an industry and compare them with the wages paid in a similar industry under similar circumstances in New South Wales. The industry to which I propose to refer is that of glass bottle manufacture. The managing director of the Melbourne Glass Bottle Works, who was a witness before the Turner Tariff Commission, made a statement that if the duties then existing—which were a trifle over 100 per cent.—were reduced, the industry would be ruined.

Mr. MAUGER.—When was that?

Mr. FULLER.—1897. He was asked why he sold bottles to his Sydney customers at lower prices than he charged to his Melbourne customers, and he gave this answer—

We sell our bottles (soda special) for 20s. in Sydney, and 25s. in Melbourne, per gross, because we have no sale locally for all we make. Our establishment is built on rather a large scale, and in order to keep it up to a fair output, we take orders from other colonies at cost prices. We only take these export orders during winter, when we are slack, so as to keep our hands together. If the duties were lowered, we could not compete against the cheap bottles of Germany—

Germany is the country to which so much reference has been made by my friends on the other side of the House—

because these are put into the ships as a sort of dunnage, and a free port like Sydney would be called the dumping ground of such an article. A reduction of duty would not lower the price of the article.

Now I will quote the prices in Sydney and Melbourne of the various classes of goods turned out at the factory:—Mason jars, pints, are sold at 28s. in Sydney, and at 36s. in Melbourne; and quarts, at 38s. in Sydney and 45s. in Melbourne; and half-gallons at 48s. in Sydney, and 57s. in Melbourne. Right through the list the price is considerably lower in Sydney than in Melbourne. The managing director of the

Melbourne Glass Co. removed his operations to Sydney, where there was no duty of 100 per cent., and was able to carry on the industry there. From the annual report of the Amalgamated Glass Bottle-Workers' Union, we gather what are the wages paid in Sydney and Melbourne respectively. I will not read the full list, but will take one or two cases as examples. By weight, per gross, for bottles, from 26 ozs. and 32 ozs., 2s. 4d. is paid to finishers and blowers in Sydney, and 1s. 9½d. in Melbourne. In another case 3s. 9d. is paid in Sydney, and 2s. 11d. in Melbourne, and in another example 4s. 6d. is paid in Sydney, and 3s. 3d. in Melbourne. In every case we find higher wages paid in Sydney, where there was not the high protective duty which prevailed in Melbourne. We heard from the Minister of Customs when he was introducing the Tariff that the protection proposed would break down rings of importers. I am not quoting the exact words of the right honorable gentleman, but merely giving the effect of his statement. We have heard a great deal about reapers and binders, and so far as the establishment of rings of importers is concerned it appears to me from all I have read and studied that it is the protective system which really affords those engaged in industries the opportunity of forming rings, trusts, and monopolies. I have not to go further than the well-known newspaper, which has been so much quoted, in order to show that the observations of protectionists agree with my own. In August, 1896, the *Melbourne Age* contained the following:—

Even the old-established and legitimate merchants of Sydney are now regretting that Mr. Reid went so far with his fiscal proposals. They were doing well enough under the semi-protective tariff of the Dibbs administration; but Mr. Reid's extreme free-trade Tariff has led to an influx of foreign agents and representatives, who employ little or no clerical labour, and occupy no warehouse, but are cutting into the trade of old merchants with indent orders.

In 1890 we read in the same organ—

With free-trade, the importers, it is declared, would be in competition with one another, with the result that the farmer and grazier and the run holder would get their barbed wire at the level of the world's market, whatever that may mean. That statement is one of the deceptions of free-trade advocates. We hear very little about associations of importers for the express purpose of keeping up prices. The subject was not alluded to by Mr. Reid in his address at the Town Hall, nor is it even mentioned by the local free-traders. But these associations for this special purpose exist,

and there are some specimens of such organizations in Melbourne.

That bears out exactly what I have said, namely, that it is under the protective system that opportunity is given for establishing trusts and monopolies, with results familiar to the consumer.

Mr. WATSON.—That quotation speaks of rings of importers.

Mr. FULLER.—Another subject touched on by the Minister for Trade and Customs, was that of bonuses, which it is proposed to give in connexion with the establishment of certain industries. The right honorable gentleman at page 5715 of *Hansard* is reported—

When the people want the manufactured goods that would be produced as the result of the local carrying on of a certain industry, it is a fair thing to provide for a bonus to encourage the establishment of that industry, and, as soon as the industry is established, to call certain duties into existence for the purpose of securing the maintenance of the industry.

I am not going to say that a bonus might not be a good thing, but I do object to the further statement by the right honorable gentleman—

We say to all the world, and we ask this House to say—"Come and establish your industries here. Turn out a certain number of machines. We will give you a certain bonus on every one you produce up to a certain number. When you produce that number, protection shall be given to your manufactures which will sustain you against outside competition."

Whatever good there may be in bonuses in connexion with the establishment of industries, it appears to me, from these remarks, that we are going to have the same old story over again. Bonuses are to be given for the establishment of industries, and when those industries are established, then, according to the Minister, they are to be placed in the same position as protected industries in Victoria and other places. Outside competition is not to be allowed; men who use agricultural implements, which they will have to purchase from manufactories established under the bonus system and placed beyond the reach of outside competition, will have to pay through the nose, and the proceeds, instead of going into the public Treasury to be treated as revenue and spent for the benefit of the people, will go into the pockets of private individuals, who will thus be enabled to enrich themselves at the expense of the community. I, amongst other honorable members, have been afforded an

opportunity to inspect many of the industries which are carried on in Melbourne, and I take this opportunity of thanking the gentlemen who arranged these expeditions. It is remarkable that no free-traders were ever given an opportunity to return thanks at any of the social functions in connexion with these visits to protected manufactories, that duty always being deputed to gentlemen on the other side.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I think I heard the honorable member on one occasion.

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member may have heard me interrupting, but he did not hear me replying to what had been said. However, I now take the opportunity of thanking the gentlemen who organized those trips, and afforded us an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the industries of Melbourne. I was very much impressed with the way in which gentlemen engaged in these manufactures pointed with pride and pleasure to their magnificent industries. But I thought to myself, that if these were such magnificent industries, after thirty years of protection, when we were throwing down the barriers throughout Australia, and opening a market from one end of the continent to the other, surely the time had come when protection could be dispensed with, and when the industries could bear competition with the outside world. If, after thirty years of protection, these industries are not able to face outside competition, then, much as I should regret the destruction of the industries, I believe it would be in the interests of the community to abolish the whole of the protective duties, so that consumers may be afforded an opportunity to buy in the cheapest market, as we revenue tariffists believe in doing. I should like to take into consideration for a few moments the important subject of wages. I concede, for the sake of argument, that a protective Tariff does increase the wages of those employed in factories. But how about all those who are employed outside factories, such as bricklayers, quarrymen, and men in similar occupations? How does protection increase their wages in any shape or form? It may be true—although I do not agree with the argument, and only concede it for a moment—that protection does increase the rate of wages in factories; but, if it does, why has it been found necessary to establish factory boards and wages boards in Victoria? The very fact

that these boards have been called into existence, shows clearly that protection does not increase wages.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The ever-present sweater is to blame.

Mr. FULLER.—I know perfectly well that in every industrial centre of the world we find sweated labour. We find it, unfortunately, in England, in America, and in Germany, and we also find it in the State of Victoria. Not very long ago an anti-sweating league was established in Victoria, for the purpose of inquiring into this question. And amongst the members of that league were the Attorney-General as honorary treasurer, the honorable member for Melbourne Ports as honorary secretary, and Mr. W. A. Trenwith, a well-known labour representative, as a member of the council. I should like to make a few quotations from the report of that league, as vouched for by the three gentlemen I have named. We will deal with the butchering trade first.

Mr. MAUGER.—We have changed all that now.

Mr. FULLER.—

Many are working as long as 90 hours per week, married men being paid as low as 7s. 6d. per week. The complaints from this trade are numerous and bitter.

Now we will take tanners and curriers. They are said to be as badly affected by the sweating scourge, as are men in other trades—

Full grown men—a great many, too—are getting as low as 18s. per week; and there are other practices in sweating; getting boys, say seventeen or eighteen years of age, at perhaps 5s. to 10s. a week, not to be taught the trade, but to do the work cheap. As soon as they want more wages they are discharged to make room for more of the same sort. Sunday work is increasing.

Now, take the case of painters—

Skilled journeymen working for as low as 3s. 6d. and 4s. per day.

There are numerous other examples given by this board, but these quotations are sufficient to show the sweating going on in Victoria at that time.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What is the date of that?

Mr. FULLER.—1899.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is a recent statement of old facts. All that has been altered.

Mr. FULLER.—I should like now to refer to the wages paid to the workers in factories in both States. I will take the facts furnished by the New South Wales

Government statistician, who gives particulars of wages paid in Victoria in the trades under wages boards. He only gives a partial statement of the wages paid in the other trades because the figures as to those trades were not furnished by the Victorian authorities. But if we take the case of the trades in Victoria not dealt with by the wages boards, for which particulars are available, and compare them with the wages paid in the same trades in New South Wales, we shall be able to come pretty near the mark. Mr. Coghlan makes a comparison of the wages paid in the trades under wages boards in Victoria and those paid in similar trades in New South Wales per 100 of the operatives. In Victoria the number of male operatives per 100 is 65, and the number of females is 35.

Mr. MAUGER.—How many trades are included?

Mr. FULLER.—I do not know the total number. I am giving the average, which, as I said, amounts to 65 males and 35 females per 100, whilst the average wage is £136 12s. 11d. In New South Wales in the same trades there are 75 male operatives and 25 females, and the average wage is £139 13s. 11d. In regard to the other trades the number of males per 100 operatives in Victoria is 61, and the number of females 39. In New South Wales in the same trades, the number of males is 74, and the number of females is 26. The wages paid in the Victorian trades average £126 5s. 6d., and in the New South Wales trades the average is £146 6s. 6d. So that, adding the figures together, we find that £20 more per 100 employés is paid in New South Wales than in Victoria, or 4s. per head to every man, woman, and child. In regard to employment and wages in the year 1900, I find—also taking the facts from *Coghlan*—that the number of males employed in Victoria in the trades under wages boards was 17,286, and the amount of wages paid was £29,242. In New South Wales in those trades the number employed was 13,297 and the amount of wages paid to them was £22,273. In the other trades in Victoria the number of males employed was 27,255, whereas in New South Wales the number was 36,959. The amount of wages paid in Victoria was £45,311, against £65,294 in New South Wales. Now, I will take the females employed under similar circumstances. In the wages

boards trades in Victoria the number of females employed was 9,274; in New South Wales, 4,455. The amount of wages paid was in Victoria, £7,071; in New South Wales, £3,043. In the other trades the number of females employed in Victoria was 9,141; in New South Wales 5,943. The wages paid to these operatives in Victoria was £5,827; in New South Wales, £3,788. If we take the totals, we find this result—that the total number employed in Victoria was 62,958, and the amount of wages paid to them was £87,451. In New South Wales the number employed was 60,663, and the amount of wages paid to them was £94,398. So that, although there were 2,295 fewer people employed in New South Wales than in Victoria, the excess of wages paid over the amount paid in Victoria was £6,947. The classification of the operatives per 100 works out in the following manner:—Taking first Victoria, the number of males of the age of nineteen and over was 49 per 100; in New South Wales the number was 60. The number of males under nineteen in Victoria was 14 per 100, in New South Wales 15. In regard to the females the number of those employed in Victoria of the age of nineteen and over was 25 per 100, in New South Wales 15. As to females under nineteen, there were 12 per 100 in Victoria, and 10 in New South Wales. Those figures show clearly to my mind that as regards the kindred industries of these two States the amount of female labour employed in Victoria is out of all proportion to the amount of male labour employed. I will now turn for a moment to Great Britain. We have been told by the honorable member for Gippsland, and others, that Great Britain was in a happy and prosperous condition under protection, and has been brought to a condition of distress under free-trade. Let me take the conditions of the woman and child labour in England under the system of protection. I quote from *The Industrial History of England*, by Mr. H. de B. Gibbins, referring to the apprentice system by which gangs of work-house children were practically sold in slavery to manufacturers at the end of the eighteenth century—

The manufacturers wanted labour by some means or other, and they got it. They got it from the work-houses. They sent for parish apprentices from all parts of England, and

pretended to apprentice them to the new employments just introduced. The mill-owners systematically communicated with the overseers of the poor, who arranged a day for the inspection of pauper children. Those chosen by the manufacturers were then conveyed by waggons or canal boats to their destination, and from that moment were doomed to slavery. Sometimes regular traffickers would transfer a number of children to a factory district, and there keep them, generally in a dark cellar, till they could hand them over to a mill-owner who wanted hands, who would come and examine their height, strength, and bodily capacity as exactly as did the slave-dealers in American markets. After that the children were simply at the mercy of their owners, nominally as apprentices, but, in reality, as mere slaves, who got no wages, and whom it was not worth while even to feed or clothe properly, because they were so cheap, and their places could be so easily supplied. Their treatment was most inhuman. The hours of their labour was only limited by exhaustion, after many modes of torture had been unavailingly applied to force continued work. Children were often worked sixteen hours a day, by day and night; even Sunday was used as a convenient time to clean machinery. They were fed upon the coarsest and cheapest food, often with the same as that fed to the pigs of the master. They slept by turns and in relays, in filthy beds which were never cool, for one set of children were sent to sleep in them as soon as the others had gone off to their daily or nightly toil. There was often no discrimination of sexes, and disease, misery, and vice grew as in a hot-bed of contagion. Some of these miserable beings tried to run away. To prevent their doing so, those suspected of this tendency had irons rivetted on their ankles, with long links reaching up to the hips, and were compelled to work and sleep in these chains, young women and girls, as well as boys, suffering this brutal treatment. Many died and were buried secretly at night in some desolate spot, lest people should notice the number of the graves, and many committed suicide.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Where did this take place?

Mr. FULLER.—In England.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And Cobden and Bright would not alter the law.

Mr. FULLER.—Under free-trade this condition of affairs has been done away with to a very large extent. The labour leaders, John Burns, Keir Hardie, and others, tell us without hesitation that the condition of the workers in England to-day compares more than favorably with that of the workers in the protected countries of Europe and in America.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Did Cobden and Bright favour legislation to prevent this condition of affairs?

Mr. FULLER.—Under the system of free-trade established by them the condition of the workers in England has been

ameliorated to a very large extent. The same writer continues—

The result was that other children came to work in the mills and were treated almost as brutally. During the whole period of 1800 to 1820, and even to 1840, the results of their suffering were seen in the early deaths of the majority of the children, and in the crippled and disordered forms of the majority of those who survived. On the women and grown up girls the effects of long hours and wearisome work were equally disastrous. A curious inversion of the proper order of things was seen in the domestic economy of the victims of this cheap labour system, for women and girls were superseding men in manufacturing labour, and, in consequence, their husbands had often to attend in a shiftless, slovenly fashion to those household duties which mothers and daughters, hard at work in the factories, were unable to fulfil. From official documents we hear of children and young people in factories overworked and beaten as if they were slaves; of diseases and distortions only found in manufacturing districts; of filthy, wretched homes, where people huddle together like wild beasts; we hear of girls and women working underground, in the dark recesses of the coal mines, dragging loads of coal in cars, in places where no horses could go, and harnessed and crawling along the subterranean pathways, like beasts of burden.

That is a picture of the condition of England under protection—a system which it is proposed to establish here. Let us now take the condition of affairs in America, where protection has been in force for a great number of years. I would ask honorable members to bear with me while I read an extract showing the opinion expressed by Mr. John Burns, M.P., on the condition of affairs in America. I quote from the *Age* of 2nd March, 1895—

Mr. John Burns, M.P., made some very damaging remarks upon the social life and institutions of the United States, whence he had just returned. Having stated that the average wages were lower than in Britain—

And I think Burns is a labour leader whose words we are entitled to respect in this matter—

he pointed out that the great wealth of America was in a very small number of hands. He did not find labour as well off as he had expected, and the standard of comfort was gradually diminishing. As regards sweating, he could tell them that at Pittsburg he had seen Jews working 70 or 80 hours a week for from 12s. to 21s. Skilled labour received higher wages, but they were relatively worse off than their English brothers. Miners were paid less than in England, and many of them received less than a dollar a day. Street labour was paid less than in any London parish; and, as for the clerk, he was sinking more and more into the position of an unskilled labourer. He seems to consider that the United States should be severely left alone

by any working man desirous of bettering his position.

Owing to the splendid statistics which have been kept in connexion with the mining industry in Australia, we can compare it very well with the same industry in Great Britain and America, and also glance at its relative position in New South Wales and Victoria. In America there is a duty on various articles used in mining, and I should like to quote extracts from a report rendered by a committee of congress appointed to investigate the relations of capital and labour on the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania, and reprinted in Hobson — *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*—

Congress has found that the coal companies keep thousands of surplus labourers in hand to underbid each other for employment, and for submission to all exactions; hold them purposely ignorant when the mines are to be worked and when closed, so that they cannot seek employment elsewhere . . . "pluck" them at the companies' stores, so that when pay-day comes round the company owe the men nothing, there being authentic cases where sober, hard-working miners toiled for years, or even a life-time, without having been able to draw a single dollar, or but few dollars, in actual cash, in debt until the day they died; refuse to fix wages in advance, but pay them on some hocus-pocus sliding scale, varying with the selling price in New York, which the railway (which owns the mines) slides to suit itself, and, most extraordinary of all, refuse to let the miners know the prices on which their living slides—a fraud on its face. The companies dock the miners' output arbitrarily for slate and other impurities, and so can take from their men five to fifty tons more in every hundred than they pay for. . . . Labour organizations are forbidden, and the men intentionally provoked to strike to affect the coal market. The labouring population, finally, is kept "down" by special policemen, enrolled under special laws—and often in violation of the law by the railroads and coal and iron companies, practically—when and in what number they choose, who are practically without responsibility to any one but their employers, armed, as the company sees fit, with army revolvers or Winchester rifles, or both; made detectives by statute, and not required to wear their badges, provoking the public to riot, and then shooting them legally. . . . By the percentage of wages, by false measurements, by rents, stores, and other methods, the workman is virtually a chattel of the operator.

I will now show the position of the mining industry in Germany under protection.

Mr. SAWERS.—In what year?

Mr. FULLER.—14th October, 1896.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is my honorable and learned friend quoting from?

Mr. FULLER.—I am quoting from the Prussian Government reports on the

employment of women and children in the Prussian mines in 1895. According to those reports, the total number of young persons under 16 years of age employed in the industry was 10,591, while there were also 8,434 women working in connexion with it. In the collieries of Upper Silesia the average wages paid per shift were 10d. to the young persons, 10d. and 10½d. to the women. In no case did the wages exceed 1s. 11½d. per shift for the young persons and 1s. 5d. for the women. I find that, according to *The Times* of 11th June, 1897—

At the Miners' International Congress, London, M. Marville, member of the Belgium Parliament, gave the wages of Belgium miners, according to official statistics, as averaging 3·8 francs (2s. 6¾d.) in 1893; 3·12 francs (2s. 7½d.) in 1894, and 3·17 francs (2s. 7¾d.) per day in 1895.

I will turn now to the condition of the coal mining industry under free-trade in that impoverished country—England. M. Lamendin, the French delegate to the Miners' Congress, in Berlin, in 1894, said on his return—

The English miners were absolutely different to the miseries of the miners on the Continent, because they did not experience them themselves. The economic conditions in England were infinitely better than those affecting the Belgians, the Germans, and the French. In truth, the English could afford to scorn the discussion of the minimum wage question, because they literally dictated their pay themselves.

The Times in April of the present year, speaking of the condition of the miners in England, said—

The miners of South Wales and Monmouthshire are receiving higher wages than at any time in the history of the coal-field. Colliers and their leaders generally display a peculiar desire to minimize their earnings, but in recent actions under the Workman's Compensation Act colliers have been declared to have earned on an average £3 and over per week. Pay-sheets of colliers show that at the end of March men engaged in coal-getting have received as much as 18s. to 20s. per day, and that some men have taken as much as £10 to £12 at the fortnightly "pays." The average of the colliers' earnings in the pits may be set down as between £2 2s. and £3 3s. per week. Colliery proprietors readily admit that their profits have been large, and their chief complaint is that the men will not produce as much coal as they might if they worked regularly; in fact, that while the wages bill has doubled since the strike of 1898, when men were paid from 4s. to 9s. per day, the output of coal per man at present is less than it was three years ago.

Mr. MAUGER.—How much has the war had to do with that?

Mr. FULLER.—I know perfectly well that the English coal mines depend to a

large extent—as do those of New South Wales—on what they export to foreign countries. I have no statistical information as to how much the war has had to do with this condition of things. But in this connexion I should like to institute a comparison between New South Wales and Victoria. In the coal mines of those States the conditions vary a good deal. The actual average earnings of the Victorian coal-miners are not more, but are probably less than 30s. a week, whilst the wages in New South Wales are fairly well maintained—and I speak as one who comes from a coal mining district—at 45s. a week. I should further like to point out, that in France the coal miners work eleven hours a day for a wage of 21s. per week. In protected Germany of which we have heard so much, and which according to some honorable members is going to drive old England out of the markets of the world, they work eleven hours per day for 21s. per week. In Austria they work twelve hours per day for 16s. per week. In the United States of America—another highly protected country—the coal miners work ten hours per day for 26s. 6d. per week; in Victoria eight hours per day for 50s. per week. In New South Wales they work eight hours per day for 54s. per week, and in Great Britain from seven to nine hours per day for 52s. 6d. per week. When, therefore, we institute a comparison between the hours of labour and the wages paid in this great industry we find that in free-trade Great Britain and in the free-trade State of New South Wales wages are higher than those which obtain in all these protected countries, whilst the hours of labour are very much shorter. In conclusion, I oppose this Tariff, not from any factious motives, because I thoroughly recognise that the revenue of the Commonwealth must to a large extent be raised through the Customs. But revenue tariffists from New South Wales—and I believe the same remark is applicable to those who represent other parts of Australia—entered this House with a fixed determination to keep the taxation of the Commonwealth down to the lowest possible point consistent with the raising of a sufficient amount of revenue to carry on the Government of the country. We believe that all the revenue thus raised should go into the public Treasury to be

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spent for the benefit of the whole people, and we are here to prevent any of that money filtering into the pockets of private individuals at the expense of the community. Believing that this Tariff will press harshly upon the great primary industries of the Commonwealth—the mining, farming, dairying, and pastoral industries—I have no hesitation in supporting as strongly as I possibly can with my voice, and certainly with my vote, the motion of censure moved by the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella).—I do not think that any honorable member of this House can complain that we have not been provided with sufficient material for discussion in the Budget statement of the Treasurer, and in the Tariff submitted by the Minister for Trade and Customs. Neither do I think that any one who has listened during the past fortnight to all that has been said—chiefly, I must confess, by honorable members on the other side of the House—will deny that full advantage has been taken of the variety of subjects offered to us. I must also do those honorable members on the other side of the House the justice of saying that they have not confined themselves to the wide range of subjects offered for discussion, but have expatiated freely upon everything connected with what has come before us. In this debate we have seen a literal fulfilment of the poet's injunction—

Let observation with expansive view,
Survey mankind from China to Peru.

Certainly every authority which treats of the conditions and resources of the various peoples of the world, from China to Peru, has been ransacked in order to provide material either in support of, or in contradiction to, the statements which have been put forward from time to time during the debate.

Mr. FISHER.—It has been very mild over here.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not regard the corner which the honorable member occupies as the “opposite” side of the House in the technical sense of the term. Honorable members who sit there do so merely for convenience, and not because their convictions are at variance with those of the gentlemen who occupy seats upon the Treasury benches. Of the subjects which are offered to us I do not propose, on this occasion, to speak completely. I shall be

compelled to limit my remarks to one or two points which I conceive to be more directly at issue, in order to prevent my speech extending to an inordinate length. I have never succeeded in speaking for four hours. I trust that I shall never attain to that ideal. The ideal is always a thing for which we strive, but which we never attain and I regard a four hours' speech as distinctly an ideal thing. During this debate the question of our loan policy has been raised, and incidentally discussed, but as we shall have an opportunity of dealing with that matter at a later stage, I do not propose to say anything in reference to it just now. In connexion with the main subject, namely, the Tariff policy of Australia, combined with the particular Tariff proposed by the Government, I should like to observe that apparently in order that they might not become too monotonous the floods of eloquence which we have heard in denunciation alike of the policy and the Tariff, have been from time to time flavoured with a certain spice of abuse, as well as charges of deceit, and of wilful misleading which have been levelled chiefly against the leader of the Government. In fact, so far has it gone that the other afternoon we heard one honorable gentleman who declaimed against the Government declaring that the Prime Minister had misled the farmers of Victoria into believing that they were to get a free-trade policy, or something like it, and had thereby deluded them into voting for federation by that wicked announcement in the Maitland speech. It was the first time I had heard that the Maitland speech preceded the federation of Australia; but there was an honorable member who said it. I interjected at the time, and asked the honorable member whether he really meant that. He said he did, and so, I presume, he did mean it.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—What is the honorable member's name?

MR. McCAY.—I could give the name, but the honorable gentleman does not happen to be in the chamber at the present moment, or I should say more on the subject. It only shows the length to which one's excited eagerness can carry one in attempting to justify anything that appears like a sudden change of position, for example. I do not grudge the glorification of free-trade that has taken place in the House; I do not grudge either the exultant cry of the

right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir E. Braddon, that in this Parliament, or if not in this Parliament, then in the next, this country would see the triumph of the free-trade party. It strikes me, however, that it is rather a Pyrrhic victory, in which the cries of triumph are simultaneous with the admission that free-trade cannot possibly be introduced; that while the principle of the party is triumphant, the practice of the party has to fall away wholly from everything that could previously have been conceived to be its practice. I do not grudge the cry, nor do I grudge the length of the orations in favour of free-trade, because we all know that when one's friends die, one is at liberty to indulge in lengthy panegyrics of their virtues. The free-trade party are triumphing over, and at the same time mourning, the death of their cause—and I venture to think their cause is dead, because they have themselves admitted it. I say that we are allowed to utter panegyrics over the dead, and the free-trade party has admitted that Australia cannot have free-trade; that the circumstances of the continent are such that we must raise a very large revenue through the Customs. They say it is the force of circumstances. Of course it is the force of circumstances, but the force of circumstances all the same has produced the abandonment of the primary platform of the party, and compelled them to seek refuge in that composite, that hybrid thing known as a purely revenue Tariff. I have been convinced, too, that the party recognise that it is in a parlous way, by the excessive joy with which any expected or unexpected accession of strength to its ranks has been received. We all recollect the scene of almost wild excitement we witnessed on Thursday afternoon and evening when first the honorable member for Flinders, and then the honorable member for the Grampians, announced their intention of crossing the floor and sitting in opposition. The honorable member for the Grampians said he did so reluctantly, and I have no reason whatever to doubt what he said. The honorable member for Flinders, I must say, did not display any great reluctance, for he went over to the enemy, horse, foot, and artillery; and, with the zeal of a new convert, went at any rate quite as far as the seasoned hands of the party would have done. I recollect the enthusiasm which prevailed, the cheers with which the first

honorable member was greeted when he rose, and the increasing excitement as he made his position plainer and clearer. I must say that I think honorable members opposite, while expecting the honorable member's vote, did not expect his voice in as emphatic and decided a manner as they got it, because I did not hear any enthusiastic cheers when the honorable member said at the conclusion of his speech that he went over as a moderate protectionist. I am still at a loss to understand how the honorable member will reconcile moderate protection, or protection of any kind, moderate or otherwise, with the free-trade principles he will find over there, which I shall do honorable gentlemen opposite the justice to say can only be characterised as immoderate. We recollect the reception also of the honorable member for the Grampians, who announced that he went across as a moderate free-trader. The Opposition have enjoyed the accession of these two honorable members, who have proclaimed themselves believers in moderation, and I may say it is a quality which the Opposition will find itself not unnecessarily supplied with. I was reminded of the well-known scene in Dickens, when the Honorable Samuel Slumkey went forth to join in the procession through the borough of Eatanswill at the time of the keenly contested election between the two old parties, the "blues" and the "buffs." We all recollect that his election manager, Mr. Perker, was in one of the carriages at the back of the procession, and could not see exactly what was going on. But when the noise had grown very loud, and the cheering was enthusiastic, he said "He is kissing one of the babies." There was another roar—"He has kissed another." And when the noise became simply deafening and tumultuous, he said "He is kissing them all." I must confess that the conduct of the Opposition for the time reminded me of that scene. Over went the honorable member for Flinders—and the Opposition was kissing one of the babies. Over went the honorable member for the Grampians, and the Opposition was kissing another. Then it suddenly occurred to them, "If we kiss them all, we shall win. This will never do, because whatever happens, we do not want to win on this occasion." Honorable gentlemen sitting opposite know that perfectly well. They know that the very worst thing that could happen to them would be to have

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to come over here, because they know that they would then have to do what they have not done yet during the whole of this debate—they would have to disclose something like a consistent and harmonious policy, and would have to tell the people of the country that they, the champions of the people, who are now anxious to take off the duties, as opposed to the wicked people here who are putting them on—that they, the champions of the people, were going to put practically the same shackles upon them that we on this side are said to be putting upon them. The Opposition knew that, and they know it now. They know that the worst thing that could happen to them would be to have to come across here. I see present now the right honorable gentleman who has expressed his belief in the triumph of the free-trade party—the Pyrrhic victory as I have called it.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Hear, hear ; it is coming.

Mr. McCAY.—It is coming, like the Greek Kalends, I venture to assert, because the triumph of the free-trade party means the triumph of direct taxation, and the triumph of the land tax party. I am not going to discuss whether that is right or wrong, as the subject is too large a one to enter upon ; but we may as well let the public of Australia know that there is no reality and no sincerity in the profession we have heard from the opposite side that all these duties are to be swept away, and that all the industries of Australia are really to be left free, with the result that we shall have a magnificent revenue, and nobody paying it. There is the alternative of this Parliament passing sufficient duties and imposing heavy direct taxation on every producer, primary or secondary, and there is the alternative of placing light burdens on to the people, and passing on to the State Parliaments the unavoidable, inevitable, absolutely necessary duty of imposing direct taxation themselves in order to make up the deficiency we should be creating. That is the situation.

Mr. POYNTON. — The honorable and learned member is flogging a dead horse.

Mr. McCAY. — I shall flog the dead horse of the honorable member's Tariff before I sit down. I am going to draw the attention of the House to the Tariff which he proposes, and we shall find that it more closely resembles a dead horse than does any other that has been suggested or hinted at from

the opposite side. The honorable member waves *Hansard* at me. I believe it is a heavy weapon, but I am not afraid of it. We have been told to prove that protection is a bad thing and free-trade a good thing. We have been told that the struggle for life is keener in Victoria than it is in New South Wales, and that it can be seen in the faces of the Victorians. I ask you, sir, to look around the Chamber, and see if you can tell by the keen and anxious expressions on the faces of honorable members—who, I suppose, are fair types of the States they represent—whether they are Victorians or New South Welshmen. I venture to think that we can, on the whole, produce as comfortable-looking a set of members from Victoria as they can from New South Wales. There is one struggle, however, that is keener in New South Wales apparently than it is in Victoria. It is not the struggle for life, though; it is what is commonly known as the struggle for office, and we are perfectly willing to give the palm in that respect to our friends from across the border. Then we have had denunciation after denunciation hurled at Victorians and at Victoria. I am not going to institute any comparisons between the State to which I have the honour to belong and any of the neighbouring States, nor between England and America, nor between any two countries. I think, with Mrs. Malaprop, that comparisons are decidedly odorous, and we have had quite enough of them, for the present at any rate. We had the leader of the Opposition announcing practically that he came here to destroy the Victorian manufactories. We had the honorable member for North Sydney announcing his utter disapproval of every thing in the way of duties. We had the honorable member for West Sydney—it will be observed that it is all Sydney—pointing out the wickedness of Victoria, and denouncing Victorian workmen as scabs and black-legs, because that is practically what his remarks came to.

Mr. POYNTON.—He did not use those terms.

Mr. McCAY.—I said that is practically what his remarks came to.

Mr. POYNTON.—Quote him fairly.

Mr. McCAY.—I have not begun to quote yet; I tell the honorable member once more that he is about the only one I shall quote, and then he will be able to say whether my quotations are fair or not.

Mr. POYNTON.—I am not afraid.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member for West Sydney said that when New South Wales workmen were out on strike, Victorian workmen went over and took their places.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is quite true, too.

Mr. McCAY.—If that is not what is called a scab or blackleg, I do not understand the meaning of the term. I am not going to discuss it; I merely draw attention to the fact that these allegations are made. Then we had the honorable member for South Sydney, so to speak, after the other three, summing up the situation by—I shall not use such a strong term as “denouncing”; he was milder in his utterances—disapproving of practically everything Victorian, because of the wicked system under which it had been reared. He felt more in sorrow than in anger compelled to draw attention to it. It will be seen that Sydney—North, South, East, and West—has joined in condemnation of Victoria and things Victorian. I am surprised at it, because the right honorable member who leads the Opposition told us in his speech that, after all, whatever Tariff we might have, New South Wales would reap the harvest. If the harvest is to be reaped by New South Wales, why all this denunciation of Victoria? New South Wales undoubtedly will be one of the great centres of Australian commerce and industry. But I do not see why on that account we should have its representatives united in heaping on our unoffending heads all these offensive and unpleasant epithets. If I were inclined to retort I might ask honorable members whether such conduct would not justify one in saying that Sydney, with all her natural advantages, is, to use the words of the well-known hymn, “a place where every prospect pleases.” I leave honorable members opposite to supply the next line of the hymn if they recollect it. I prefer not to do so. I do not wonder, however, that all these speeches have been made, because I fancy that some of those honorable members recognise, as some of us do, that free-trade, after all, is not an axiomatic truth; that the fundamental policy of it, viewed, at any rate, from the axiomatic point of view, is sufficiently obvious not to require any special elaboration; that the whole of the free-trade theory is founded on the existence of what is called the economic

man ; that is to say, the labourer who has the wonderful carpet—I forget the particular hero of the *Arabian Nights* who owned it—which would transport him from one end of the world to the other at any moment. It is all founded on the theory that labour is perfectly free to flow without the least delay in any direction it chooses and at any moment it pleases, and that it is able to adapt itself to any conditions that may happen to present themselves ; that the artisan in one trade is able to turn himself to another without any training, without any instruction, or without any delay. If labour were immediately adaptable to every trade or calling, it is conceivable that then on paper free-trade might be correct ; but when we come to discuss it from the point of view of actual facts, we know that it is not so, and that the theory will not work out in daily life as honorable members would like it to do. That is the reason why they have to fall back on their second line of defence, and endeavour by the institution of comparisons to show that, in fact, whatever the theory, one country with free-trade is better than another with protection. As I said before, I am not going to institute any comparisons. But I think I can say, without being charged with an attempt to belittle the old country, that 60 years ago, or thereabouts, when Britain changed her protectionist policy for a free-trade one, she was without any rival in the world of commerce—that it was a case of Eclipse first, and the rest nowhere. To-day she has at any rate dangerous rivals ; I am not going to say that they have passed her, or that they are more successful than she is, but she has rivals to meet and fight, on something like even terms in the markets of the world, whom she had not 60 years ago, and I am rejoiced to say that her advance has been great. I should be very sorry indeed to have to prove the case for protection if there were no other way of doing it than by being able to point to the decay of free-trade England. I have sufficient belief in the sturdiness and capacity for advancement of the Anglo-Saxon people to know that, whatever policy we may adopt, they will still advance. If Australia were to become free-trade tomorrow, I am satisfied that she would still advance.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—She would begin to advance then.

Mr. McCAY.—I admire these occasional cheers from the Opposition. If an honorable member says a single thing with which they can agree, and which, if built to the height of the Tower of Babel, might ultimately produce a result in their favour, they immediately cheer it. They remind me, I must confess, of some boys who are backing the losing side at a football match. Honorable members all know that when the ball by some sudden miracle, so to speak, travels along towards the winners' goal, the small boys raise an immense cheer ; they are determined to be happy while they can. So honorable members opposite, when an occasional episode appears to favour them, must cheer.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—An occasional glimpse of reason on the part of the other side.

Mr. McCAY.—They are determined to be happy while they can. I applaud them for that habit and that action, because, as I have said, they recognise by their cheers that it is only an occasional glimpse of happiness, from their point of view, that they can possibly have. They have abandoned their own cause, and they cannot expect anyone else to support it. Therefore, I am not surprised to hear these cheers, because I quite recognise that the position of honorable members on the free-trade side is on a par with that of the small boys who become happy as they get occasional glimpses of the success of their side, which however, is steadily losing all the time. Undoubtedly Australia, if she were a free-trade country, would progress, but equally she would undoubtedly advance much more under a system of protection, and that is why I have always been a protectionist. In saying that, I wish it to be understood that I have never been what has been called a rabid protectionist or a prohibitionist. I have never had an opportunity of taking part in a fiscal debate before. Although my political lines have not always been cast in pleasant places they have been sufficiently so to enable me to avoid a fiscal debate, and consequently whatever else honorable members may do they cannot on this occasion quote my previous speeches on the fiscal question. That, perhaps, is an advantage ; although, I must confess that I do not regard as of much value the habit of quoting former speeches. It does not prove anything, except that an opponent has changed his mind—even if it

proves that. It does not go to prove that the case is good or bad, any more than a litigant's case in the court would be proved to be sound or unsound, because the lawyer who was acting for him had on some other occasion given an opinion which would be in favour of the opposing party in the case. The question is whether what honorable members now say is right or wrong—that is the only point at issue. These references to what honorable members have said before, are all very well as a part of a game, but politics in this Australian Parliament should not be regarded as a game, and we should be more concerned in ascertaining what is correct now, than in proving whether someone has done right or wrong on a previous occasion. I have never believed that protection was the be-all and end-all of existence, and I do not now believe that protection can cure everything, any more than I believe that free-trade can cure anything. I do believe, however, that with a reasonable amount of protection, as far as the circumstances of the case will permit, we may attain more easily, quickly and surely than we can under a system of free-trade to that happy condition when every one will have some reason to be satisfied. I believe that protection affords a surer, safer and better foundation upon which to build our economic legislation than free-trade can give us. I believe that it acts as a sort of shield against those storms from outside, which would almost inevitably wreck our industrial edifices, before we could get them thoroughly well constructed. I would point out that that view—whether it be right or wrong—is in harmony with the general theory that prevails nowadays, as to the extent to which State powers should be exercised. The doctrine of *laissez faire* has now been abandoned, except in a very few high and dry quarters, and we can all recognise that it is now the business of the greatest force in the State—that is, the whole community—to interfere to a greater or lesser extent in the management of the affairs of the State—that the combined people should interfere with individuals for the benefit of the others, who form the community. Protection is only one manifestation of that particular method of political and united activity, and that being so, those who advocate free-trade must, if they support any other kind of interference by the State in the affairs of the people, beyond the mere

protection of life and property, show why it is that they are prepared to make flesh of one and fowl of another—why they are prepared to act one way in regard to some things, and to act in another way with regard to others. That duty, at any rate, is cast upon the free-traders. I should like to know whether we have heard any explanation of that attitude from any of the leading free-traders during the present debate—whether we have had it explained to us why it is right for workmen to combine together in trades unions, and wrong for a nation to protect itself, or wrong for the individuals composing a nation to protect themselves. We have not had any such explanation, and I feel sure we shall not have any. I can quite understand the rejoicing there is in the free-trade ranks when labour members are found to be free-traders, because the very novelty of the situation, and the very fact that these honorable members are in an anomalous position which requires explanation, excites special interest. Now I would like to say a few words about a matter that was discussed very fully the other night; that is with regard to the effects of exportation and importation, as compared with local production. I do not think I can act more fairly than by taking as my text the illustration used by the honorable member for Flinders. The honorable member referred to what he regarded as a superstition held by the honorable member for Gippsland, that the country which imported more than it exported, was in a bad way of business, and he said—"I will give you an illustration." He said—"Take a thousand tons of butter, and suppose it is worth £75,000 in Victoria, and that it is exported to England and realizes £100,000; with that £100,000 the exporter buys goods and imports them into Victoria. The charges on those goods would amount to 10 per cent. at the very least, and would thus make them worth, landed in Victoria, £110,000. There you have £75,000 worth of butter sent away, and £110,000 worth of goods sent back to Victoria—is not that a good deal?" It would be a mighty good deal by which for £75,000 we should get £110,000, and it would be a deal worthy of all the praise that could be bestowed upon it. It is the sort of deal that I should very much like to be engaged in, and if I could satisfy myself that the honorable member's scheme was sound, I should at once engage in the

export trade, and cease to supply goods to the home market, because I know I could not get such prices there. But why is the honorable member so modest? Like Clive, he should stand astounded at his own moderation. Speaking in round figures, his exporter sent away £75,000 worth of butter, and got back what our grandfathers would have called a "plum," in the shape of £110,000 worth of goods. But why so moderate? If the charges had been 20 per cent. to bring the goods out, he would have had goods worth £120,000 instead of £110,000. If he had taken care to ship the goods in an expensive manner, and made the charges 50 per cent., he would have got back £150,000 worth of goods. If he had chartered a steamer to carry each separate bale of goods of £100 worth, at the cost of £1,100,000 for freight, he would have got £1,100,000 for his £75,000, and would have become a millionaire straight away.

Mr. FISHER.—He would have some difficulty in selling at that price.

Mr. McCAY.—But the honorable member for Flinders made up the £110,000 by adding the charges. Honorable members may say that it is nonsense to speak of making money in that way, but it is nonsense only so far as the original illustration was nonsense; and if the original illustration were correct then assuredly my elaboration is also correct.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Money is made that way every day.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member for South Sydney says that money is made every day by paying freights and charges to shipping companies.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Not at all.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member said that money is made "that way" every day, and "that way" is the way I have described.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable and learned member was distorting the facts.

Mr. McCAY.—I was confident I should be told I was distorting facts, and I am sorry the honorable member for Flinders is not here to say whether I have put the case fairly. Nobody said I was distorting when I put the case of the honorable member for Flinders; but when I show to what the argument of that honorable member leads, the accusation is at once made. I say again that the honorable member for Flinders told us that by the operation of exporting

£75,000 worth of butter he got in return goods worth £110,000, and he made up that £110,000 by adding £10,000 as freight and charges on those goods. If that £10,000 for freight and charges is made part of the £110,000, it is impossible to deny that if the freight and charges had amounted to £20,000, then he would have got in return £120,000 worth of goods. If the honorable member for South Sydney says that in putting the case in that way I am still distorting, he must be looking at the matter through spectacles that will distort anything.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Men export butter and import goods and make a profit every day.

Mr. McCAY.—Of course they make profit, because the amount they sell the butter for is less than the amount the butter cost them. It is not because they have exported the butter; it is because the prime cost of the butter is less than the market price. Men who make butter do not make profit by exporting it to Britain, but they make profit out of the sale in the market, wherever the market may be.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable and learned member fails to see the argument.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not fail to see the argument, but only fail to admit that an absurd argument is anything but absurd. I shall now turn to another point in connexion with the same matter. Honorable members opposite allege that once we have an exportable surplus of local products—a surplus, not ephemeral, but of a substantial kind—then the local price is dependent on the price in the foreign market. That is to say, the local price equals the price in the foreign market, less the charges for taking the goods from Australia to that foreign market. Does the honorable member for South Sydney admit that that is not a distorted representation of the theory?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I decline to be drawn into interruptions.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member will not even admit that I put an argument fairly when I do so. The theory, which I accept for the moment, is that the local price equals the foreign price less the charges of exporting to the foreign market.

Mr. CONROY.—If there is no local trust.

Mr. McCAY.—There are a hundred "ifs" in all these matters, but the fundamental theory is that the local price of wheat, for example, depends on the price in

Mark-lane—that the local price is less by the amount of the charges from Melbourne or Sydney to Mark-lane. I think that is a fair way of putting the theory, and in such a case, I am afraid that the honorable member for Flinders cannot be quite correct. That, I think, is what most free-trade journals or advocates will admit as a fair statement of their position, and I repeat that if that be so, the case of the honorable member for Flinders is not quite correct. I can hardly conceive that freight and charges would amount to £25,000, and it is only fair to put the freight and charges at about the same figure for taking the butter home as for bringing goods out. I will adopt the view that it cost £10,000 to take the butter home and £10,000 to bring out the goods in exchange; and this, in other words, means that the local producer could have sold his butter in the local market for £90,000. Let us see what the actual transaction was. The dairyman, in the case given by the honorable member for Flinders, had in Melbourne £90,000 worth of butter. He paid £10,000 to have that butter taken to London, and he sold it there for £100,000. Then he paid another £10,000 cash to bring goods out from London, and he had back in Melbourne goods worth £110,000. For these goods he had paid all his butter and £20,000 in cash. I am assuming that there are no duties, which are such dreadful things that, like facts, they upset free-trade theories very often. In other words, this dairyman, for £110,000, got £110,000. That is the real transaction that took place, and is the transaction that would have taken place if he had never shipped his goods to England, but had sold them in the local market for £90,000. He would have had £20,000 in his pocket, and £90,000 for the butter sold—he would have had £110,000 without exporting just as he had with exporting.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—What about interest in the meantime?

Mr. McCAY.—I shall not bother about the question of interest. We will suppose that this exporter bought 5,000 cases of boots at home. Boots are a favorite subject of free-trade philippics—the dreadful duty on boots in Victoria. If he bought 5,000 cases of boots, at £20 a case, and shipped them out, then for his £90,000 worth of butter and £20,000 in cash he would have 5,000 cases of boots. Let us see what would have happened had he bought

the boots in Victoria, still leaving out the question of duties, and dealing with the matter only as one of export and import.

Mr. CAMERON.—Will the honorable and learned member distinguish the kind of boots?

Mr. McCAY.—Boots worth £20 a case are the kind of boots I am discussing; that is to say, a case containing perhaps 80 pairs at 5s., which is £20. For £20,000 in cash, and £90,000 worth of butter, he gets 5,000 cases of boots. But suppose he bought the boots at £20 a case in Victoria, then for 90,000 he would get 4,500 cases of boots, and would not have to pay any cash for freight. He would have only 500 cases of boots less, and he would save £20,000.

Mr. CAMERON.—What is the quality of the boots?

Mr. McCAY.—Now the honorable member wants me to go into the question of the comparative quality of Australian and English goods. Will he allow me to assume, for this occasion only, such an unwarrantable thing as that the goods are of the same quality? I will admit that the man must sell his goods in order to live. Of course, he could not live on butter any more than he could live on boots. If he bought boots at the same price in Melbourne or anywhere in Australia he would get 4,500 cases. In other words, as the 5,000 cases cost him £110,000, and the 4,500 cases only cost him £90,000, he would be £10,000, or 500 cases of boots, better off by buying in the local market. But I will assume that the boots are £22 a case—that is £2 a case dearer in the local market. Then, by buying in the local market, he will get practically the same quantity of boots for his £90,000 as by sending the butter home to England and buying the boots there, although the boots are dearer in the local market. But it will be said that the producer cannot sell all his butter in the local market. I will assume that that is the case, and that he sells his produce for £100,000 in England, and obtains a draft on Victoria for the money.

Mr. CONROY.—In trade all round that is not possible.

Mr. McCAY.—Of course it is not possible all round, but there are other things that may be imported and that may be bought.

While we have to pay £12,000,000 or £14,000,000 a year in interest to the Home country it is an easy operation indeed to perform. The payment of our interest bill enables that to be done every day, for the simple reason that the man in London buying produce from Victoria and having money owing to him in Victoria, will say to his debtor, "Pay the £100,000 for me instead of sending the £100,000 home." Suppose the producer gets his money out by draft. In that case he can buy with his £100,000 as many boots at £22 a case as he could buy of English boots. In other words, the total Victorian price can be £10,000 higher than the English price and yet the man can do as well by buying in the local as in the English market. That is where the possibility of advantage comes in to those whose industries have the benefit of a protective duty. I am putting my views before the House as those of one who is at least as well informed as a good many honorable members who have already spoken in like manner. That is to say, they are not the views of a commercial man any more than the views of many honorable members opposite were those of commercial men. The case I have just mentioned is an illustration of the possible advantage, at any rate, to the local producer, of a protective duty on articles he does not make himself. Because, as I have already pointed out, if the boots are £22 a case in Victoria instead of £20 per case as at home, the butter producer is on the same footing by buying locally as he would be by buying in England. The duty on boots thus confers an advantage on the man who buys them, the man who sells them, and the man who makes them. Such operations of trade as I have instanced do actually take place. Where do we get the money from with which we buy our locally made article? Does not some of it come from elsewhere? Is not some of it the result of profits on our exports?

Mr. CONROY.—It is the result of profitable industries only.

Mr. McCAY.—That observation is like "that blessed word Mesopotamia," which really has no meaning at all. Now I want to say a few words about the Tariff itself. First of all, I should like to say something about the Opposition Tariff, though it is difficult to say what that is. I have been trying to give the Opposition Tariff something like "a local habitation and a name," but have not succeeded in doing so. As

far as I can make out, there are three Tariffs suggested by honorable members opposite. We first of all had the Tariff of the leader of the Opposition, which may be called the silk Tariff, because apparently silk was the only article which the right honorable member would tax. Everything else was to go upon the free list, but there was to be a duty of two or three million per cent. on silk, and no one except the unfortunate individuals who pay for the silk dresses which other people wear was to pay anything! Then we have the Tariff of the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton. He delivered a speech in which he devoted attention to a large number of duties, which he said would have the result of taking money out of the poor. He proposed that the bulk of the articles he mentioned should go upon the free list. If I name any article which I think the honorable member suggested should go upon the free list, and I am in error in doing so, I shall be happy to be corrected. Molasses and golden syrup were the first he mentioned. He asked what was the use of a duty on these articles. Then he mentioned arrowroot, tapioca and sago. He said that these articles should be upon the free list. I hope the honorable member will correct me at once if I say anything that is not accurate concerning his suggested Tariff.

Mr. POYNTON.—I shall have a "say" after the honorable and learned member has done.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not think that you, Mr. Speaker, will regard it as a highly disorderly interjection if the honorable member says I am erroneously attributing any statement to him. It strikes me that it would be a fair thing if the honorable member corrected me so that I may put his view of the case fairly. The next item he mentioned was candles, which he also said should be on the free list. Then he mentioned coffee, invalids' and infants' food, preserved milk, and rice. From rice, he said, the Government expected to get £142,422. As to the proposed duty on tea, the honorable member said, as reported in *Hansard*, page 6,129—

There is no champagne and no silk about this business. This money will be taken out of the pockets of the poor.

He mentioned that from this source the Government expected to raise £384,312,

and he said as to the articles I have mentioned—

These are lines that might have been put upon the free list.

Then the honorable member went on to discuss the Tariff in its bearing upon blankets, woollens, piece goods, cotton, and linen. In regard to cotton and linen piece goods we find that at page 6128 of *Hansard* he is reported to have said—

South Australia, Victoria, Queensland, and New South Wales have hitherto had these articles on the free list. . . . I was showing the lines on the free list in, at any rate, four States.

It is quite true that he did not say absolutely that these goods ought to be on the free list, but surely the honorable member does not want us to infer that he intended to convey anything but the opinion that they should be free? I take his silence to mean consent. Then he criticised the duties on blankets and rugs, and apparel, and attire—not elsewhere included—barbed wire, kerosene, cement, linseed, galvanized iron, etc. Exclusive of sugar, cocoa, and dried fruits, in regard to the duties on which there may be some doubt as to the honorable member's opinions, the items which I have enumerated are estimated to realize £2,130,961. I had the pleasure of listening to the honorable member's speech, and I do not think that any one who heard him, or any one who has read his speech, believes that he meant to convey anything else but that these articles should come in free. If he did intend to convey a different meaning he should have made it clear. That is the Tariff he would give us. I should be inclined to call it a disappearing Tariff. It illustrates the kind of Tariff which is put forward in opposition to the Government proposals. We get nothing in exchange. We are not told how we are to raise the necessary revenue if we allow these articles to come in free. As a matter of fact the Opposition does not want to win on this division, because it knows that if it did it would have the unpleasant duty of imposing a Tariff. This is merely a preliminary skirmish to damage the Ministry. I am more concerned in obtaining a Tariff that will benefit the people, and I would not make such proposals as those to which I have referred, unless I were prepared to submit some alternative scheme. Other honorable members appeared to scorn certain duties. The

honorable and learned member for Werriwa, for example, talked about the duty on eggs.

Mr. CONROY.—I have not spoken yet.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable and learned member talks a great deal without making a speech. He wanted to know whether the protectionist Tariff would make the protected hens produce more eggs.

Mr. CONROY.—I thought that a humorous man might post up a notice to that effect in his hen-yard, and as the honorable and learned member is humorous, I felt that perhaps he had done so already.

Mr. McCAY.—I have not done so, for the reason that I have not got a hen-yard, nor have I any collection of natural curiosities. I do not imagine that protection would make protected hens lay more eggs, although it might cause the free-trade roosters to crow less. It is true that this Tariff has not been received with unanimous enthusiasm by the people of Australia. It is equally true that there have been numerous criticisms and numerous faults found with it. Some have not been entirely unjustifiable. There are duties in the Tariff which I, as a protectionist, dislike, just as much as any free-trader could dislike them.

Mr. KIRWAN.—What are those duties?

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member does not expect me to go through the Tariff line by line? I have made a note of a few of the duties, and I shall mention them in due course. There are some duties to which every protectionist objects just as strongly as do the free-traders.

Mr. CONROY.—Certainly not, if the foreigner pays the duty?

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable and learned member has been corrected already in regard to that point, but he is not yet able to understand the fact that the duties which the foreigner does not pay are those which his party desire to impose—revenue duties—duties in respect of which there is no local competition to compel the foreigner to pay. In the illustration which I gave a few minutes ago, I showed that if boots locally made came down to £21 10s. a case, in order to compete with them the foreigner knew that he had to sell at under £22 a case. That is to say, in order to get a market he had to pay out of his own pocket 10s. per case off the freight and charges, which, according to honorable members of the Opposition, constitute the natural duty. If there had been a duty of 10 per cent. on

those goods, amounting in round figures to £2 a case, and if the local manufacturers had been selling them at £21 10s., the importer would have had to pay that £2 per case out of his own pocket in order to get his goods on the local market.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—What about the drawback?

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know what the practice has been in Queensland, but in Victoria there has been no drawback in respect of boots sold in the local market. When a man puts his boots on his feet he has no drawback to take into consideration, except when in the case of imported boots he finds that they have brown paper soles. The duties which the consumer must pay are those which are imposed on articles not locally produced—on articles which have to be imported in order to be obtained here. When the local article comes into the market he does not have to pay. The honorable and learned member for Werriwa should know that an article produced within a protected country does not pay any duty.

Mr. CONROY.—To the Treasury.

Mr. McCAY.—Such an article does not pay any duty. Articles made in a protected country do not pay any import duty. Surely that is correct? Surely I may have the pleasure of making one remark in the course of my speech the truth of which honorable members on the other side will admit? It is quite possible of course that a manufacturer may have a chance to put more money in his pocket than he ought to do by keeping up the price of his goods by artificial means, provided that there is no other manufacturer in the same line. If there is, then he has to come down. We never pay too much for imported goods, unless importers combine. My experience is that importers can combine much more easily than the local manufacturers are able to do. Victoria has had more or less of protection during the last 35 or 40 years, and the history of the State during that period has shown more instances of combinations amongst importers than of manufacturers' combinations. If the fact were the other way, I would not hesitate to admit it at once. I have admitted always that under protection there is a danger of a manufacturers' combination, and I want my political adversaries to admit also that there is a danger of importers' combinations otherwise. If we have our duties at such a point

that an importer has a chance of bringing in high-priced goods of a certain kind, while the lower-priced goods remain largely under the control of the local manufacturer, we arrive at a state of affairs under which the importer and the manufacturer are a check upon each other, irrespective of the check which the manufacturers themselves may be upon each other. In many cases the duty enables the local manufacturer to keep his market, while it enables imports of higher-priced articles to come in and revenue to be obtained from them. Let us take boots, for example. Practically, one cannot buy imported boots of low quality, because the duty does not let them in. Imported boots of higher quality, however, are obtainable, and the man who wants to buy them has to pay a high price. The duty goes into the Treasury, and the poor man is not called upon to suffer. The only one who suffers is the rich man. The poor man wears locally made boots. In that respect he has more sense than the rich man, and he does not suffer, because local competition keeps down the prices as low as they would be if there were no duty. The local manufacturer has, at the same time, a market. If there were no duty, what would happen? The importer or foreign manufacturer would knock off all his profits upon these cheap lines, and sell them at a price at which the local manufacturer could not sell, because it must be recollected that the former sells only his surplus stock to us, whilst the latter has to sell all that he makes. But when once the foreign manufacturer, by abandoning his profits for a time, has knocked out the local manufacturer; and when there is no longer any reason for making the importer pay the duty—as he has been doing in order to secure a market—the consumer has once more to pay the duty, because there is no local competition to protect him from it. I am not now theorising, or indulging in abstractions. I am telling honorable members what has actually happened in Victoria. I do not speak of other States, because I do not know them as I do Victoria. I am telling honorable members what has actually happened, for example, in the boot trade and in the starch trade, if I may be permitted to refer to the latter with bated breath. The duties which the consumer has to pay are those which the local manufacturer does not force off his shoulders on to the shoulders of the foreign

manufacturer. These are the duties which the consumer has to pay, and which the revenue tariffists want to impose. I wish to impose a duty which there is a chance of shifting on to some one else outside of the Commonwealth. That is why I believe in duties which are protective in their incidence besides revenue producing. I have already shown that a duty can be revenue producing and at the same time protective in its incidence.

Mr. CONROY.—As we are foreigners to other nations, we are paying all their duties, I suppose?

Mr. McCAY.—Most assuredly. If we want to get our goods into Germany, and those goods can be made there, we shall have to pay the duty. But so long as the duty imposed in Australia is not equal to more than the amount which the foreign manufacturer is prepared to forego for the sake of keeping his factory working and of getting rid of his surplus stock, the local manufacturer cannot put up prices. If the duty is more than that, the local manufacturer A, seeing B making money in his factory, will say, "I am going in for this business too." Thus prices are kept down to less than the level which we should have to pay for the imported goods if there were no local manufacturers to force some of the duty upon the outside maker. That has happened in Victoria over and over again.

Mr. CONROY.—How about paying higher wages if we get lower prices?

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know that that interjection is particularly cognate to the point which I am making. I will, however, go back to the old illustration—boots—and point out that goods which are sold at £20 per case in England, can be sold for £22 per case in Victoria, without being dearer than they would be if purchased in England, because if they were bought in the latter country the purchaser would have to pay the freight upon them. Goods might be sold in Melbourne at £21 10s. per case and be cheaper than they would be if sold in England for £20 a case, for the reason that if they were purchased in the old country the buyer would have to pay £2 for freightage. That is why wages can be higher and yet goods can be actually cheaper measured in produce to the man who buys them.

Mr. EWING.—The honorable and learned member does not expect the honorable and

learned member for Werriwa to understand him?

Mr. McCAY.—I do not expect to be believed. I expect to be told that I have been talking nonsense, or distorting facts. I always expect such remarks to be made.

Mr. POYNTON.—Hear, hear.

Mr. McCAY.—Even the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, cheers my remarks. But he will not be able to show that I am distorting facts or talking nonsense when I say that he cheerfully pretended to offer to the people of Australia a remission of £2,000,000 in duties, without attempting to show where the deficiency could be made up.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member is distorting facts, and I will show it very soon.

Mr. McCAY.—I asked the honorable member upon each item to stop me if I said that he wished to put upon the free list something which was not already there. He would not do it. I am content, therefore, to allow others to decide what is the value of any answer which he may subsequently choose to give. The Tariff contains duties which I do not like—revenue duties. It contains duties which the consumer must pay, and as the honorable member for Coolgardie has asked me to name some of them, I will mention the duty upon "kerosene" as one. That is purely a revenue duty.

Mr. POYNTON.—Do they not produce kerosene in Sydney?

Mr. McCAY.—I am not one of those who desires to protect every industry, because a man and a boy are employed in it.

Mr. POYNTON.—Is it not because there is no kerosene produced in Victoria?

Mr. HARPER.—It is not made in Sydney. It was at one time.

Mr. McCAY.—I am told that it is not made in Sydney, though it was produced there at one time.

Mr. SAWERS.—The Reid Tariff killed it.

Mr. McCAY.—That is one of the industries in which there is no local competition to force the proposed duty of 3d. per gallon back upon the man who imports it. Cotton and linen piece goods are not made in Australia, so far as I am aware, and yet a duty is imposed upon them. These are duties which are not justifiable upon any ground of principle. But there is another ground which honorable members have to consider, and which I will mention

presently. I said the other day that I would vote for the abolition of the duty on kerosene. It is one of those duties which, though it will produce a large revenue, is in its nature so unpopular that it does more harm than the money derived from it will do good to the community. I repeat that cotton and linen piece goods are not made in Australia, but notwithstanding this fact, there are duties proposed upon these goods varying from 10 to 20 per cent. A 10 per cent. duty is proposed upon flannelette. I shall vote for a reduction of that duty, but not for its abolition, not because I am sitting behind the Government, but because I am a citizen of Australia, and realize that we have to raise £8,000,000 or £9,000,000 with which to carry on the government of the Commonwealth. Because of that we cannot have a scientific protective Tariff, containing duties which are neither too high nor too low. We cannot have a free-list such as I should like to have. In Victoria two-thirds of our imports came in free of duty. Can any other State except New South Wales show a similar result? They were goods which were not locally produced. They were raw material, but in a protectionist State they ought to come in free, in accordance with the protectionist theory. Our free list has been diminished very much in this Tariff. Instead of a free list of two-thirds, it is a free list of little more than one quarter. And that is where the trouble comes in. It is these duties I do not like, and which so many honorable members opposite also do not like—these duties on the necessities of life, so to speak—these duties on goods used in large quantities. We cannot get revenue from goods used in small quantities, and that is why we have to put duties upon goods which come in in large quantities. It is because of that urgent necessity I shall be compelled to vote to restrict the free list very much. I should like to make it larger than the Government proposal, if I had my way, but in the result it will be actually smaller than the free list we have been accustomed to for some time in wicked protectionist Victoria. I am forced into one of two situations. We must either raise this money by direct taxation or by indirect taxation, and I shall be no party to compulsory direct taxation by the States, nor shall I be any party to direct taxation on the part of the Federal Parliament. I think it would lead to inexhaustible disaster and inevitable confusion if we

were to resort to direct taxation in the Federal Parliament. The Constitution does not forbid us to do so, but there is a constitutional understanding which practically prevents us from imposing direct taxation. I shall not now discuss the merits or demerits of direct taxation. I have at other times spoken in favour of various forms of direct taxation, subject to qualifications, which I then laid down, and which still exist, but I do say that we should not be true to the trust Australia reposes in us if we practically forced the State Parliaments to resort to heavy direct taxation. Let them have it by all means if they like, but let them impose it voluntarily. That is why I say I shall vote for some revenue duties against which I should otherwise vote without the slightest hesitation. But there are some I conceive to be so harsh in their incidence, and some which I believe to be so unjust, if I may use the term, that I think they would be better left out. I shall refuse to vote for them, not because I am going to leave it to chance to fill up the blank, but because I believe we can do with £500,000 or so less of revenue than is proposed to be raised by the Government Tariff. I am going to show why I think so. I want to point out where I think our duty lies, and how much I think we are bound to return to the States. I have taken a very rough and ready manner of calculating it, but still one which I think contains the essence of the truth. I have taken the receipts for the last year, and have made allowance for the exceptional circumstances of New South Wales. I have brought New South Wales up to a level of customs and excise revenue equal to something midway between that of Victoria and South Australia. I take those two States, because the other three will be very much behind in any case, and under any Tariff we may adopt. I make an addition of £600,000 to bring New South Wales up to an average of about £1 16s. 6d. per head, which is between the average per head in Victoria and South Australia. On my calculation I find that something under £8,300,000 is required to be raised in order that we may keep our bargain with the States. I do not think we need to keep to any more than our bargain. If, as I fear is the fact, the States have received during the past financial year more money than they would ordinarily receive, and having known it, as

they must have known it, have deliberately spent that money, it is not our duty to make that money up to them. That is their look out. It is our duty to make up to them an amount for a normal year.

Mr. PIESSE.—Will the honorable member do that on that Tariff?

Mr. McCAY.—As far as practicable. I do not forget the circumstances of Western Australia, Queensland, or Tasmania. If I may say so without any disrespect, Tasmania is, I think, the hardest case, but I do not forget the circumstances of Tasmania. When I differ from the Government proposals, I think it is my duty to point out what I propose to substitute for them. It is a duty which every honorable member in this House has not felt incumbent upon him, but I have felt it to be mine. I say that it seems to me to be the bargain that the Commonwealth Parliament should give back a certain amount to Australia as a whole—not a bargain with the individual States, I venture to think, expressed or implied, but a bargain to give back to Australia practically the equivalent of what she previously got. I have taken the amount necessary for the purpose at £8,300,000.

Mr. PIESSE.—Does that meet the necessities of the whole of the States?

Mr. McCAY.—To the States as a whole, because, I say, it is no part of our bargain to keep some of the States right by raising Customs revenue for them. Our bargain is to keep the States as a whole right, but not in that way. Leaving out altogether the exceptional case of New South Wales, I point out that, in the case of the other five States, even the Government Tariff, with its £9,000,000, will not satisfy each individual State.

Mr. PIESSE.—It will only raise £8,000,000 this year, remember.

Mr. McCAY.—I know that, and I am taking a normal year. I am taking the figures against myself. I say that even the Government Tariff, with a revenue of £9,000,000, as against £7,750,000 for 1899, would not be sufficient to give back to Queensland, Tasmania, or Western Australia as much as they have been getting, but would leave the five States—excluding New South Wales, whose circumstances in connexion with the taxation policy are quite different—£250,000 short. In other words, the Government admit that, in spite of their scheme, they cannot do what

they would like, and cannot give back to each State as much as that particular State was getting. They say they will go as far as they can, and then, if necessary, they will help the States requiring help. There is a point beyond which we cannot go in endeavouring to meet the States that will be in arrears, without being unfair to the States that will be ahead. For example, to satisfy every State except Western Australia would require a Tariff of £12,000,000. That is an impossible Tariff, and the Government recognise it. They say they cannot go that far, but will go as far as they can without being unduly unfair to the States which will get a surplus under their Tariff. I say they have gone too far, and that £8,300,000 is all that we should raise from customs and excise, and then if the States that will have to suffer want assistance, they must get that assistance under the section of the Constitution specifically providing for it. Because I point out that the present state of affairs will exist for only five years practically, and it is only for ten years that we have to give back three-fourths of the revenue to the States. We shall have a perfectly free hand at the end of the ten years, but in the meantime we have to legislate for these ten years. I venture to think that the Government are proposing to legislate, not merely for the ten years, but for the current year, and that is where I think they are wrong. They should legislate for the following nine normal years, and I feel we shall be doing all that is necessary with regard to customs and excise revenue if we raise £8,300,000, or thereabouts, from the Tariff in a normal year. I think that should be all that will be necessary, unless for an exceptional year. In the matter of the States getting their money back this year, it is not our fault if they have deficits, because they have spent their money deliberately and intentionally in advance. They anticipated extra duties in consequence of the Tariff. There is not a State Treasurer who did not know that he would be getting extra money, and they were relying blindly upon the Commonwealth Parliament doing all sorts of things. But it is not the duty of the Commonwealth Parliament to make federation unpopular by doing unnecessary work in the way of taxation for the States. I venture to say that it is proposed to do unnecessary work, and that

£500,000 or £600,000 might be spared from the revenue to be raised by the Tariff by the reduction of purely revenue duties, and purely revenue duties only. I believe that that will allay any dissatisfaction which is felt, because we all know that, notwithstanding all the efforts to work up popular feeling, all the attempts made to discredit the Government and the Parliament, the duties which have been so violently, vigorously, and viciously attacked are not protective duties, but revenue duties. I venture to say that if any one takes the leading articles in the first hundred newspapers—free-trade or protectionist—he picks up, out of every hundred duties that are complained of he will find that 85 per cent. are revenue duties. It is unfair for the free-trade press, or the free-trade party, to hang their diatribes on such a peg as that. I venture to think that any temporary unpopularity will disappear the more the people understand the true facts of the case; and when the Tariff leaves committee I know that it will have been altered considerably. I am going to help to alter it, and I cannot be accused of undue hostility to the Government. I am going to help to knock off the duties I have referred to, and to alter the incidence of other duties. The timber duties are wrong, I am satisfied, and want some alteration.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable and learned member will soon get a good free list of his own.

Mr. McCAY.—I said alterations. The only things I have mentioned are the duty on kerosene and the reduction of duties on cotton and linen piece goods. I am not going to vote to abolish all the duties which I would like to see abolished, but I am going to pick out £500,000 or £600,000 worth of duties which, for the reasons I have given, I think can go, and I am going to vote for letting them go. I am going to vote to abolish as many purely revenue-producing duties as I can in honesty to Australia do. But I told my constituents that I was not going to help to impose direct taxation in this Parliament, or to do it in a sneaking sort of way by pretending to be very generous and passing the task on to the State Parliaments, leaving them to do the unpleasant work. I am not going to do either. I believe we want a revenue of over £8,000,000 to keep our obligations. I believe that is all we are called upon to provide, and that much I

shall vote for. The balance I shall vote to knock off. I shall knock off the duties on the necessities of life as far as I possibly can, but if I have £1 to give away, and twenty applicants want half-a-crown each, I can give the money to only the most deserving eight. I should like to knock off £1,500,000 worth of duties, as I would if circumstances permitted, because the duties are revenue producing and not protective. I should like to see every revenue-producing duty go, but unfortunately I cannot vote in that way because Australia expects something else from this Parliament, and I am going to do my duty. At much greater length than I intended to speak, although I am still far short of the ideal of which I spoke at the beginning—I still leave my honorable friend untouched on his unapproachable pinnacle of fame—I have pointed out frankly why I think it is the duty of the Government to Australia to give us moderate protection as far as possible in the Tariff. It does not give all the protection which it ought to do. Some of the duties are too low—and I say this just as frankly as I said some of them are too high—but I recognise that there again we have to consider the situation. It is not so much a question whether free-trade is right, or whether protection is right, as a recognition of the fact that all theories have to yield in the presence of an inevitable necessity. If you have formed all your plans, according to Jomini and other masters of the art of war, and have developed a beautiful scheme for enveloping and destroying the enemy, and you suddenly find the enemy shaking his fist in your face in a spot where he ought not to be according to all your theories, you have to shake your fist back again, and let your theories go. So when Australia wants £8,000,000 raised from customs and excise duties, the revenue has to be raised, and there is an end of it. There is no use in talking of theories. Just as I am going to vote for some duties I do not like, because I have to do so, owing to the exigencies of Australia, so I am going to vote for some duties at a lower rate than I should like to see them fixed at, because again Australia tells me that the exigencies of the situation, if I have any sense at all, and if I am an honest man, compel me to recognise them, and do justice to them. I think I have said enough—as much, at any rate, as I wish to say. My desire is not so much to

prove the Ministry wrong, as to make the Tariff right. My wish is not so much to consider the comfort and the convenience of honorable members sitting in opposition, who want to sit somewhere else, as to study the comfort and convenience of the people. My desire is not so much to consider party warfare as it is to regard the national welfare, and I venture to think that I have taken a course which is best calculated to achieve that end.

Mr. POYNTON, in explanation.—I heard that the honorable and learned member for Corinella was going to make a statement in reference to myself, and I made it my business to call upon him and explain that he was making a mistake, but he would not listen to me.

Mr. McCAY.—I did not refer to a private conversation, and I do not think the honorable member should.

Mr. POYNTON. — It shows the unfairness of the attack.

Mr. McCAY. — I can give another complexion to it.

Mr. POYNTON. — It shows the unfairness of the attack. When the honorable and learned member was quoting from my speech, he might have quoted this passage—

During the campaign I heard people advocate "a free breakfast table." I was then candid enough to say that if a man contended that under the conditions of the Commonwealth, so long as certain amounts had to go back to the States, it was possible to have "a free breakfast table," he would be only playing the fool with the people. What we did expect, and what every taxpayer in the State had a right to expect, was that at any rate the extra revenue would not be raised on the lines such as those to which I am referring.

Mr. McCAY.—Exactly.

Mr. POYNTON.—I then went on to say, as honorable members are aware, that in some instances—the lines which the honorable member referred to to-day—there was a duty of £9 odd put on, as compared with £2 in the State of South Australia. I referred to coatings, vestings, trousers, flannels, and flannelettes, and I said not that they should be on the free list, but that they—

might have been more leniently treated.

The estimate of £2,500,000 to which the honorable and learned member referred, was used by me to show that, at any rate, the burden of the increased duty the

Government are raising is coming from the source which he as well as other honorable members has deplored.

Mr. McCAY.—Five lines below what the honorable member has just quoted he referred to the free list of a Federal Tariff.

Mr. GLYNN (South Australia).—However much, after the toil of I think nine days' battle, honorable members may feel inclined to ease their wearied virtue, and perhaps may be obliged to make a deeper draught on their courtesy to prevent a flagging of attention, still I think the occasion justifies in each case a trespass. It is peculiarly appropriate to a disinclination to be taxed for silence. The fiscal was the great question on which chiefly the fate of federation hung. It was the issue of the elections, and it is the one whose settlement is likely to be most far-reaching in its effects. It is, therefore, one which I think has special claims upon our time and attention. At all events, I told the electors of South Australia, when I solicited the privilege of representing them, that to me it was one of paramount importance; that federation was something more than an amalgamation, for the purposes of the collection of the Customs revenues of the States; that through its agency I looked for such a purging of the Tariff, and such a re-adjustment of its incidence, as would make the masses bless, not curse, the day that federation came. I think it is just as well that we should avoid the possibility of clouding the real issue by dwelling too much upon the totals necessary to be raised, and it is for that reason that I somewhat deplored the excessive care that was displayed by every Minister, from the Prime Minister downwards, to impress upon the House the statement, which now really amounts to a truism, that we must raise a revenue of £8,000,000 or £9,000,000. There is no denial on this side of the House that such a revenue must be raised, at least in the beginning, in order to keep our moral, rather than our constitutional obligations, to the States.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The leader of the Opposition denied it—in Sydney he said £8,000,000 would be necessary.

Mr. GLYNN.—I said between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000—we do not require to split hairs on these matters. The issue is not whether a certain large revenue has to be

raised, but how it is to be raised—as to the character of the incidence of taxation. To put it as shortly as I possibly can, the point is really this: that we should seek to provide the revenue required by imposing the fewest burdens upon the consumers so as to oppose the fewest obstacles to commerce; to remove the inequalities and apparent injustices in the present method of taxation, and to do so by the imposition of duties upon items the fewest and least burdensome upon the working classes, and the most even in their incidence amongst the States. I hold that we must consider not only the individual, but also the States as States, and the evenness of the incidence of our taxation amongst the States should be one of the determining factors in the framing of our fiscal policy. Considering the splendid opportunities the Ministry had, I think that the Government will be remembered hereafter as the Ministry of great opportunities which were sadly missed. I remember when I first read that celebrated speech of Lord Brougham on Law Reform, how well I could sympathize with the eloquence which inspired his splendid statement that—

Nobler than the boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble, would be that of the king who could say that he found law dear and left it cheap; found it a sealed book; left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich; left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence.

It seems to me that the Ministry had a splendid opportunity of framing a fiscal policy upon which they could have claimed with equal pride, and, perhaps, greater justice, that they had proved themselves the friends of the poor; that they had found taxation the fund of a class, and left it the income of a nation; that they had found it wasteful and oppressive, and left it light and productive; that they had found it a special burden upon the slender resources of the poor and placed its heaviest incidence upon the big balances of the rich. Whether they have taken advantage of that splendid opportunity we all know. That they have not done so is evidenced by the fact that the announcement of their Tariff proposals has been met by murmurs of discontent from one end of Australia to the other. Why is it that I say we should raise the necessary revenue by the imposition of taxation upon the fewest items,

and those which are least burdensome upon the poor? We know that taxation through the Customs is the most onerous upon those who have the least resources. The Estimates given by the Government show that this Tariff will bring to the revenue—as distinct from what it will raise from the consumer, because revenue receipts do not represent the same total as the consumer pays—£2 7s. 6d. per head of the population. If we take a family as representing five, and the income of the head of the family as representing £100—and God knows that in these days even in protectionist Victoria a working man considers himself blessed if he has a certain wage of £100 a year to support his family—the incidence of the customs duties is something like 12 per cent. upon that income. If we take an income of £1,200 the proportion is 1 per cent., and so on along the ascending grades of income, the incidence diminishing as the income increases, until we come to receipts of five or six figures, when the incidence of the customs duty is practically imperceptible. For that reason, I say that we ought to raise the revenue by such a method that it may press lightly upon the poorer classes, and so that not a single penny may be taken from the consumer beyond what is required for the purposes of Government. It is considerations of this sort that induced the greatest statesmen from Peel to Pitt to reform by purging the Tariff of useless items, and of those which were the most burdensome. The honorable and learned member for Indi quoted Professor Davidson to support the view which he took in the speech which he delivered the other evening, and which from an artistic point of view I could not but admire, especially as it appealed to my instincts as a lawyer. It was an exceedingly clever speech, and if I were driven by some delirium, brought on through listening to protectionist speeches, into committing a breach of the law, I should look to the honorable member's forensic cleverness to prove my innocence. Professor Davidson, upon whom the honorable member relied to a very large extent to support arguments which I hope to be able to refute, states that all authorities are agreed that the incidence of the Customs revenue is at least double the amount received by the State. I say that all great reformers from Peel to Pitt, animated by the consciousness of this unjust pressure of the customs

duties have sought to raise the amount required from the fewest items. Pitt says—

To levy a direct tax of 7 per cent. in a free country is a dangerous experiment, and may excite revolt, but there is a way by which you can tax the last rag from the back and the last bite from the mouth, without causing a murmur about high taxes, and that is to tax a great many articles of daily use and necessity so indirectly that the people will pay and not know it. Their grumbling will then be of bad times, but they will not know that the hard times are caused by taxation.

Again, when Peel, in 1843, began his great work of reform, what was the condition in which he found England? The honorable and learned member for Indi referred to the condition—which he seemed to consider somewhat ideal—of England prior to the time when Peel began his work in 1843. I am not going to dwell upon certain statements of the honorable and learned member, but I would remind him of some facts regarding wages. The honorable and learned member quoted from the report in 1894 of, I think, a Royal commission that sat upon labour in England, and gave an extract from the evidence of Sir Robert Giffen, which was against the spirit of the honorable and learned member's remarks. What was quoted was only a portion of what Sir Robert Giffen said in his evidence, which is embodied in the principal report of the commission.

Mr. ISAACS.—I quoted from the report.

Mr. GLYNN.—I know; and the honorable and learned member could not be expected to quote more than a part. But I would remind the honorable and learned member that there is a portion of Sir Robert Giffen's statement which he did not quote, and which exactly controverts the conclusions which the honorable and learned member desires to reach. I shall be able to give those quotations afterwards. The honorable and learned member for Indi pointed out, in comparing the present state of affairs with the state of affairs prior to 1840 or 1843, that Sir Robert Giffen showed, in his statement to the Royal commission, that wages in England for manual labourers—not manufacturing labourers, but manual labourers—ran from 10s. to 40s. a week. Supposing that be so, what was the condition in 1843, when Peel began his work of Tariff reform? To give three instances only, we find that in 1841 there were 21,000 people in Leeds, whose average earnings were less than 1s. a week; that

in Nottingham, one-fifth of the total population depended on parochial relief; and that in Spitalfields, so far from there being any manufacturing activity, there were 8,000 looms idle, and 24,000 persons dependent on the bread of public charity. When Peel had accomplished his work, and when he was attacked by the vested interests of England—when he was attacked by the landlords of England, whose power to levy toll on wages he had, to some extent, checked—it was his pride that, with a splendid sense of duty done, he could say—

I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread with the sweat of their brow where they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with the sense of injustice.

What did Peel do? Two suggestions are alone sufficient to indicate the splendid work achieved by him, and subsequently carried on by his successor, Mr. Gladstone. In 1854, the total import and export trade of England was £268,000,000; whereas in 1900 it was £815,000,000. Take the export of natural home produce, of which protectionists want us to be exporters. Between 1854 and last year, the exports of British manufactures and produce ran from £97,000,000 to £240,000,000. I am not quite sure that the sum last year was not £290,000,000, but I take the figures of the year before, because I can rely on them as correct. If I am not mistaken, however, the export of British manufactures and produce last year was pretty close on £300,000,000 sterling. Look at the position before 1843. Exports between 1805 and 1843 fluctuated from about £33,000,000 to £52,000,000; but from 1843 onwards we have a regular increase. In 1853 the figure was £100,000,000, and in 1863, it was £146,000,000; I have already given the figures for last year. These are facts and comparative statistics which demonstrate the efficiency of free-trade to stimulate local production; because we cannot export local produce or manufactures if we do not create them. Is it true that at the present time in England there is a retrograde tendency? Is it true, as suggested by the honorable and learned member for Indi—I do not remember the honorable and learned member's exact words, but I think I am representing him accurately—that there is a growing feeling in

England in favour of protection? I followed the honorable and learned member's footsteps pretty closely, and after he had finished his speech I examined his authorities. Professor Davidson, whom the honorable and learned member quoted, says—

It is idle to point to the weakening of the free-trade sentiment in the United Kingdom.

Professor Davidson expresses himself as dead against protection, in the very book from which the honorable and learned member for Indi quoted.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Professor Davidson admits that there is a weakening.

Mr. GLYNN.—No; Professor Davidson says that it is idle to point to the weakening of free-trade sentiments in the United Kingdom.

Mr. ISAACS.—I did not quote Professor Davidson on that point; I quoted him from page 84.

Mr. GLYNN.—But the honorable and learned member quoted Professor Davidson, and he will pardon me for controverting him out of the mouth of one of his own authorities.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is the same Davidson, I suppose?

Mr. GLYNN.—It is the same Davidson, and the same book.

Mr. ISAACS.—I said distinctly that Professor Davidson was a free-trader.

Mr. GLYNN.—No doubt; but as the honorable and learned member quoted this authority, he will pardon me for adopting what I consider proper tactics, and putting beyond cavil the weight of my authorities by adopting his own. The honorable and learned member cannot challenge, as authorities, the authorities he quoted; and I am entitled to point to their conclusions. Considering these facts, I cannot understand the position taken up by a political philosopher like the honorable member for Darling, who, while lamenting the inequalities of present social adjustments, declines to ameliorate because he cannot altogether cure—who will do nothing because he cannot do everything—helps to perpetuate the admitted evils of protection, because he fails to find a panacea in free-trade—who prefers to sit still and await the millenium, rather than, in the interval, try to lighten the load of human misery. I cannot understand why men like him, who wish for generations to come to smoke the pipe of self-complacency in peace, do not stick to the study, which is the proper place for

philosophers, rather than seek the representation of men in Parliament, which is the arena of action. I can quite as well understand as the honorable member, that free-trade is not the last step in social progress.

Mr. MAUGER.—Is it the first?

Mr. GLYNN.—It is undoubtedly a step on the way. While we are waiting the coming of that time which we all wish for—when, as our poet tells us—

Distribution will undo excess, and each man have enough,

—it is our duty as legislators, by removing obstacles to progress, to endeavour to better the conditions of the present, and help to realize the promise of the future. For that reason it positively staggers me that an honorable member, whose aspirations are so democratic, can, by shifting his seat to the Government side of the House, perpetuate a system which his whole argument went to condemn. As regards the Tariff, I shall make a few categorical statements, and endeavour to sustain them by argument. In the first place, this Tariff, as are most Tariffs, is particularly oppressive to the poor. I do not want to dilate too much on arguments which perhaps appeal to our pity, but I shall submit one illustration. Take the case of the washerwoman, who has been referred to. In the first place, the blue she uses is taxed 2d. per lb., and then her soap is taxed 1d. to 4d., her starch 2d., the kerosene, which lights her nightly labour, 3d. per gallon, and candles 1½d. per lb. Then oatmeal, which perhaps forms the staple food of her family, is taxed 1d. per lb., her butter is raised to the maximum which formerly prevailed only in Queensland, of 3d. per lb.; potatoes are subjected though at prohibited prices to a duty of 1s. a cwt.; sago, rice, salt, mustard, clothes, blankets, the food of the infant and of the invalid, are all taxed to relieve the rich of their legitimate obligations, and to help to bolster up some existing industries. I also say that the method of this Tariff is unjust in its incidence among the States. Take a few items. The total estimate for milk, in the case of Tasmania, is £625. The estimate for Western Australia is £6,250. In the case of kerosene the estimate is £4,375 for Tasmania, and for Western Australia £15,625. Then take the case of timber. By the way, I may mention here

that Mr. Gladstone, in abolishing the tax on timber—I think it was in the year 1863—described this imposition as “the very essence and quintessence of national folly.” But we are now about to impose a tax on timber which, in the case of New South Wales, is estimated to realize £51,916, whilst from Queensland it will realize £466, and from South Australia £15,755. Let me take another item. Fresh fruits and vegetables will from New South Wales realize £4,000, from Queensland £250. I do say that a Tariff that works so unequally in its incidence amongst the States—apart from the inequality of its incidence on classes—is one that deserves to be condemned as not the Tariff of a statesman. I allege that this Tariff is harassing out of proportion to its productivity. It is the reversal of the Imperial Tariff, which is framed upon the true revenue producing system. We are not now dealing with abstract free-trade; we are not dealing with absolute free-trade. Honorable members know that perfectly well.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is the worst part of it.

Mr. GLYNN.—Will not the honorable member do anything to lead to a better condition, because we are not dealing with a perfect one? The honorable member will jump, but he will never take a step, apparently. Look at the position in England. Let me say a few words about the course of reform in England. In 1801 there were in Great Britain 1,500 different rates of duties. The Irish rates under the Act of the Union—there was, I think, a slight difference in the method of imposition—were 2,900. There were, therefore, altogether 4,400 different rates for Great Britain and Ireland. When Peel began his work in 1843, six-sevenths, or £18,500,000 out of £22,000,000 were derived from nine articles alone, whilst on the other hand, 531 articles produced only £80,000 a year, and on 147 items there was an actual loss in connexion with the working of the drawbacks. So that there was there a splendid field for reform—for purging the Tariff of harassing and unproductive items. In 1860 there were only 26 generic items upon the Tariff; in 1897 there were only nine. In 1896-7, tobacco, foreign spirits, tea, and wine produced in round numbers £20,000,000 out of £21,000,000 of Customs—not Customs and Excise, but Customs revenue only.

Mr. ISAACS.—What of the direct taxation?

Mr. GLYNN.—That does not affect my argument. I am dealing with the Customs revenue. In England, 50 per cent. of the taxation—I think that is about the figure—is direct taxation, no doubt. What I am showing is that England is under a purely revenue system, and that she has direct taxation does not affect the question one iota. Before giving the figures of the present revenue in England may I point out to honorable members that there is a splendid field for reform here. I will take one case—the one with which I am most familiar—the South Australian Tariff, before the Federal Tariff was introduced. Last year there were four lines of the South Australian Tariff producing £227,000, and there were 118 lines of harassing items—and they are only some of the protectionist lines—producing only £9,000.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What were the four items?

Mr. GLYNN.—I think they were sugar, spirits, tea, and tobacco. I am speaking from memory, and have not the details before me, but I know that these totals are correct. I have not looked up the items, but they are quoted in the last Budget speech delivered by you, Mr. Speaker, as Treasurer of South Australia. Now, take this Federal Tariff: I find that there are fourteen items, realizing on the estimate under £1,000 each; they bring in a total of £8,376, or an average of £598 a year each. There are fourteen other items, realizing on the estimate between £1,000 and £2,000; they bring in a total of £20,522, or an average of £1,466. In other words there are 28 items, bringing in £29,000 a year; so that in this Federal Tariff there are about double the number of items that there were in the New South Wales Tariff, but only bringing in one-sixtieth of the revenue of the New South Wales Tariff. If honorable members consider that that is a proper way of adjusting the incidence of indirect taxation, all I can say is that I differ from them. I have up to this point endeavoured to show that the Tariff is oppressive to the poor, unequal in its incidence in the States, and harassing completely out of proportion to its productivity. I further allege that it is wasteful of revenue, and unnecessary as a stimulus to manufactures. The true principle I hold is this: to tax moderately

a few productive items, or such as involve no loss—or at least the smallest possible loss—of the duties paid by the consumers. Let us consider this question of waste.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is the honorable and learned member going to indicate the items?

Mr. GLYNN.—I will deal generally with them. I do not want to go into details, because I do not desire to occupy more time than would be justifiable. I am dealing simply with the principle, and I will give figures to prove my contention that the Tariff is wasteful. The estimated revenue is £9,000,000. I have said already that Professor Davidson alleges that the duties are in price generally paid doubly as against the revenue actually received by the Treasurer—that is, the individual concerned pays double the duty. *Mulhall* gives an estimate for America of £70,000,000 of customs duties received by the State, in addition to £488,000,000 paid by the consumers or the total consumption. In other words, the State receives about one-seventh or one-eighth of the total which the consumer pays. If, instead of making the total burden upon the consumer seven times as much as the proposed £9,000,000, we take the estimate given by some honorable members and say that it will be double that amount, then it will be seen that to raise a revenue of £9,000,000 the Government propose to tax to the tune of £18,000,000. Are prices increased to the consumer? Let me give two items. I find from the *Australian Ironmonger*—a newspaper which seems to be authoritative on the point of prices—that in August and September last cement was quoted in Sydney at from 11s. 3d. to 12s. a cask.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Imported cement.

Mr. GLYNN.—I do not care what cement it was. It was cement sold to the consumer, and the duties operate in price on both alike. Of course we are not going to get an importer to sell at a price different from the local price when he is inside the ring of protection with the ordinary manufacturer. In Melbourne, where the duty was 3s. 4½d. a cask, the price of the same cement ranged from 14s. 3d. to 14s. 6d.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That was the price for imported cement known as the "Anchor" brand.

Mr. GLYNN.—I do not know what cement it was, but in the newspaper from which I quote the two items are placed side

by side with the comparative prices. I presume the editor knew what he was about.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Would the public buy imported cement when they could get local cement at lower rates?

Mr. GLYNN.—I will give the honorable member a sample of the prices paid for the Victorian article. In June, 1901, 5,000 casks of Fyansford cement required by the Metropolitan Board of Works were contracted for at 13s. 2d. per cask. That, for large quantities, is practically the same as the quotation of 14s. 3d. per cask for ordinary commercial quantities. Honorable members should look at the protection afforded this article. From the *Argus*—which I am happy to say I have watched keenly during the past twelve months doing splendid work for the cause of free-trade, and which has helped my arguments by the materials which it has published from day to day—I have copied a letter by Messrs. Cohen, Nelson and Co., dealing with this subject. The letter was published in the issue of 14th September last. I am not going to give all the figures, but it was shown by Messrs. Cohen, Nelson and Co., that in London cement was quoted at 6s. 4d. a cask; that the importation into Australia, before the article comes to be distributed, involved a natural protection of 66 per cent., and that on the prices quoted with the Tariff at 3s. 4½d. a cask, the natural protection had an additional protection of 53 per cent. Thus this cement had a protection of 119 per cent. under the Tariff in force prior to the Federal Tariff.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—And the two profits go on to that duty.

Mr. GLYNN.—Yes. I come now to nails. For wire and other nails, No. 0 to No. 7 standard, the quotation in Sydney in August last was 10s. 6d.; in Melbourne it was 21s. 6d. less 10 per cent. The quotations for September were 10s. 6d. and 19s. 4½d. respectively. On 8th October, however, when the Victorian duty on wire and other nails was by the Federal Tariff reduced from 7s. 6d. to 3s., the quotation did not run from 19s. 4½d. to 21s. 6d., but was the same both in Sydney and Melbourne, namely, 14s. 6d. May I say a few words as to what are my ideas of a true revenue Tariff? The lighter duties, with certain limitations, are most productive of revenue. On 10th February, 1860, Mr.

Gladstone delivered one of the most important of his great Budget speeches. Summing up the work of reform done by his predecessor, Sir Robert Peel, and taking two periods, namely, from 1832 to 1841 and from 1842 to 1853, he pointed out, as an inducement to further Tariff reform, that while in the first period there was a balance of remissions—striking a balance between duties imposed and duties remitted—of £1,317,000; in the second period there was a balance of £12,209,000. The remissions in the first period were at the rate of £131,000 a year, while in the second they were at the rate of £1,017,000 a year.

Mr. HARPER.—A great many public men in England have since bitterly regretted the fact that the list of reductions was so large.

Mr. GLYNN.—You may find one or two, such as Mr. Elder, the great political economist, who support protection. I acknowledge that Lord Salisbury and his party, who are—I will not say unfortunately, but who in the opinion of some people are unfortunately—ruling the destinies of England, sometimes play with the question of protection in order to deflect attention from the necessity of local reform. In or about 1873 Lord Salisbury made a speech in which he threw out certain remarks indicating a toleration of the protective idea.

Mr. ISAACS.—In 1895 he made some further remarks.

Mr. GLYNN.—Which have never been acted upon. Is there a public body in England at the present time which supports protection? Is there a newspaper outside of the *Saturday Review*—which publishes occasionally an article pointing out that there may have been something in it—that ever tolerates the protectionist idea?

Mr. ISAACS.—The *Morning Post* is giving some strong indications of a leaning in that direction.

Mr. GLYNN.—I am not going to be led aside by these interruptions. What was the result of the great remission of duties between 1842 and 1853? Between 1832 and 1841 the increase of customs returns was at the rate of £170,000 a year. During the second period it was at the rate of £221,000. The sum total of the increase for the first decennial period was £1,707,000, while during the second decennial period it was £2,656,000. How was trade

affected? I deal only with the trade that always fetches the protectionists—the export trade—for their idea is to increase exportation. What was the effect of these remissions of duties upon exportation? Importation was increased; was exportation likewise affected? In the first period the export trade increased at the rate of £1,515,000 a year, while in the second period it increased at the rate of £4,304,000 a year. After 1863, in consequence of the further reforms of Mr. Gladstone, he tells us in one of his subsequent speeches that the revenue increased by leaps and bounds. At the present time in England, 94 per cent. of the imports are free of duty. There is a revenue from Customs and Excise of £55,000,000, of which amount £50,000,000 is raised from stimulants and narcotics, and the consumption per head, if we take the two items, is not greater than it is in Australia. I think that spirits show a greater consumption per head in England, and tobacco a greater consumption per head in Australia. Setting off one item against another, the conditions are fairly similar as regards consumption. Let us take the results per head in the United Kingdom. The percentage of her customs revenue upon imports is 4·7, or £1 6s. per head of the population, according to the figures of 1899. In the United States, where the incidence is 30·3 per cent., the results are £1 2s. 6d. per head of the population. The Victorian Tariff yielded only £1 13s. 4d. per head, against an average of the other States of £2 9s. 6d. per head. That was before the introduction of the present proposals, and we know the great difference in point of extent between the protection afforded in Victoria and the average amount of protection afforded in the other States. The free list has been referred to. But I would point out that the free list is not the test of protection. In America they have a large free list, just as they had in Victoria, the idea being to allow the raw materials to come in free, so as to double-bank the protection. Let me say a few words in regard to the Canadian Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the honorable and learned member favour the free admission of raw material?

Mr. GLYNN.—Certainly not, so long as there are highly protective duties which to some extent justify countervailing duties on

the raw material. Otherwise we are really doubling the protection to the manufacturer. When the Prime Minister was speaking, he referred to the Canadian Tariff, and I think that he unconsciously misled the House. I do not know who is responsible for the appendices of the Minister for Trade and Customs. I do not think that they are correct. I believe that the comparative statement of the duties payable in the various States and under the Canadian Tariff is wrong. I know that the South Australian duties are wrong in some respects, and if I am to trust to a newspaper account of the Canadian Tariff, that Tariff, as quoted in the appendix mentioned, is utterly wrong. When the Prime Minister referred to this matter to show the comparative enormity of the Canadian Tariff, he was quoting duties which are not in force at the present day. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier began he did not stop his course of reform. The Prime Minister led honorable members to understand that Sir Wilfrid Laurier adopted as a free-trade Tariff the items which he specified. As a matter of fact he did nothing of the sort. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier began his course of reform, blankets were taxed, expressing all duties *ad valorem*, and allowing for the rebate on English goods 55 per cent. We are told by this appendix that they are now taxed 35 per cent., whereas the present duty, according to the *Toronto Globe*, is 23 per cent.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That will be 35 per cent. when the third is deducted.

Mr. GLYNN.—I will quote other figures to show that the Minister's appendix is utterly wrong. After making allowance for the 33 per cent. discount—

Mr. KINGSTON.—Take a third off the 35 per cent., and it will reduce the amount to 23 per cent.

Mr. GLYNN.—What is the meaning of printing as the Canadian Tariff duties which are not the *ad valorem* rates?

Mr. KINGSTON.—That is a special concession.

Mr. GLYNN.—If we take "cords and twine" for example, we find that, according to the Minister's appendix, the Canadian duty is 25 per cent., when as a matter of fact those materials are admitted into Canada free at the present time.

Mr. KINGSTON.—This appendix was prepared by officers taking the best materials to their hand.

Mr. GLYNN.—I do not wish to be emphatic on the point; but when I find duties given in the appendix which differ from the duties at present operating in Canada, and when I know that some of the South Australian duties are incorrectly given, because they quote the Tariff figures of 1887, I am led to be sceptical of the accuracy of the whole thing. The Tariff of Canada at the present time is much lighter in its incidence than it is made to appear in this appendix. Perhaps the Minister can throw some light upon the matter subsequently.

Mr. HARPER.—Does the honorable and learned member say that there are errors in the South Australian Tariff?

Mr. GLYNN.—Yes. I do not quibble about the South Australian errors, except to indicate that as mistakes have been made in stating the South Australian duties, they may have been made in the case of the Canadian Tariff, and, indeed, seem to have been made in connexion with it. In a recent campaign, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, indicating his future policy, said—

The duties are still far too high. I can assure you that no one knows the difficulty of dealing with vested interests, but I recognise that our duty is to go on with our great work as opportunities offer.

Mr. KINGSTON.—When was that?

Mr. GLYNN.—It was last year, I think. I copied the quotation from a paper some few months ago. I think it was prior to the last election. All great reforms have proceeded gradually. Take the case of Peel, as an example. His Tariff reforms extended over 1842, 1845, and 1846. Mr. Gladstone took up his work in 1853, carried it on in 1860, and practically finished it in 1866. We have the statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself that what he did in 1896 is simply a prelude—"The baby figure of the giant mass of things to come at large." The Prime Minister said—

There is in existence under the guise of free-trade in a sister federation, a Tariff which, when compared with those of any of the Australian States or with the one under discussion, is a perfectly mountainous Tariff.

I say that the Canadian Tariff is not a Tariff under the guise of free-trade. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's own statement is that it is simply a step in a declension towards a free-trade Tariff. I have shown that out of his own mouth. What is the result of the reform of 1896 in

Canada? A deficit totalling, for the four years ending in 1897, 6,417,739 dols., became in the subsequent four years ending in 1901, a total surplus of 22,684,451 dols., showing that a reduction of duties was followed by an increased revenue through the Customs. The Prime Minister quoted the *Toronto Globe*, and I shall quote the same paper, as regards the effect of protection or high duties in Canada—

High duties led to general stagnation; the burden on the farmer discourages agriculture so much that in spite of our vast natural resources awaiting development exports of natural produce showed an actual shrinkage at the end of eighteen years.

"Exports of natural produce" which were to be encouraged when high duties and protection began in 1879! I may point out also that in America they began with moderate duties and with successful revenue results. They began with 5, 7½, 10, and 15 per cent duties. Those duties were largely increased in 1812 with the result, according to one writer on American finance, an authority named Phlem, that the change

"Seriously affected the growth of the Customs revenue of the Government for a series of years."

May I point out to the honorable and learned member for Indi, when he refers to Washington, Hamilton, and Madison as protectionists of the calibre of himself and some of those associated with him, that I think he is a little wrong.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Their great object was a home market.

Mr. GLYNN.—Let me give the warning which the men who have been cited furnish on a comparison of their declarations and subsequent policy, the warning that you may begin with moderation, but that you will end in excess. They have had protection in Victoria for 35 years, and I have yet to hear that any Victorian manufacturers have asked for any remission of the protection to their industries, or that they have reached adolescence, not to speak of manhood.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There was a big remission in 1895.

Mr. GLYNN.—Very well. At the present time I think the clamour as far as the manufacturers are concerned—I do not say so far as the people are concerned—is for a perpetuation of the protection which was imposed originally to support during a period of delicacy the infant industries of Victoria. Now let us look at America and take for example two items. In 1790, the

duty on cotton was 7½ per cent.; in 1794, it was 12½ per cent.; in 1797, 15 per cent.; 1804, 17½ per cent.; and 1812, 35 per cent. On woollens between 1790 and 1812, the duty ranged from the comparatively moderate protection of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* to 30 per cent *ad valorem*. What does Madison say? and Madison was a moderate; I should be sorry to call him a trimmer. I remember that Dante refers to "moderates" and "trimmers" as hanging between heaven and hell, as not good enough for one place nor not bad enough for the other.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Like the men who went over from our side to the Opposition.

Mr. GLYNN.—Like an honorable member on our side who shifted to the Government side against his apparent convictions—an honorable member who will do nothing until he gets a state of human perfectibility. In 1789 in introducing the duties Madison said—

Regulations in some States have produced establishments which ought not to be allowed to perish from the alteration which has taken place, while some manufactures being once formed can advance towards perfection without adventitious aid.

"Without adventitious aid," and we have figures given which show that up to 1812 Madison increased the duties, while in 1870 there was adventitious aid to the tune of 47 per cent. *ad valorem* upon imports. Protection so far as the system is concerned is as rampant in the States now as it was in 1789. The honorable member for Indi referred to America, and might I be permitted to refer to two periods in American history, which furnish the greatest condemnation of protection. In 1828, when there was a very great danger of the Southern States revolting, owing to the onerous character of the Tariff, McDuffie, of South Carolina, stated—

This very system of indirect bounties is the most stupendous instrument of corruption ever placed in the hands of public functionaries. It brings ambition and avarice and wealth into a combination which it is fearful to contemplate, because it is almost impossible to resist.

In 1861, when the Southern States, having revolted against what they considered to be the tyranny of the North, began to frame their Constitution, this was one of its powers—and may I say that the revolt was not altogether because of an attempt to perpetuate slavery,

and that the Tariff was as much at the bottom of it as even the principle of serfdom—when they came, after an experience of 80 years of protection, to frame, on the model of the United States Constitution, a Constitution for the Confederate States, amongst the first powers actually vested was this—a power which states the true principle of a revenue Tariff, and condemns protection.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is not that the principle of a slave State?

Mr. GLYNN.—No; they modelled their Constitution absolutely as I stated, on the Northern Constitution. They made one very significant exception, and that was an exception against protection, and it justifies my statement that it was not an endeavour merely to perpetuate the principle of human serfdom, but an endeavour also to establish the principle of commercial freedom that nerved the arm and stimulated the spirit of the people of the Southern States in their revolt.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—They are protectionists now.

Mr. GLYNN.—They are part of a union which is at present a protectionist union. If you are once in the grasp of protection it takes a long time to shake it off. There is a growth of vested interest under the ægis of the system, which hinders every endeavour of the legislator to bring the nation back to sense and free-trade. The power laid down in the constitution to which I have referred is this—

To levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay debts; to provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote and foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.

The honorable and learned member for Indi referred to the enormous importations of raw material and of food into England, and he seems to think that England, because of free-trade, is among nations the greatest dependent upon supplies from foreign countries. It is not because of free-trade, nor is England the nation which depends most on imports from foreign countries for the raw material of its industries, or the food of its people. I find that from an address delivered by Sir Robert Giffen, the Statistician of the Board of Trade, on

the 12th September, that Germany is at the top of the list in point of dependence upon foreign countries. He says, speaking of European countries generally, that there is a great dependence by all European countries for food or raw or semi-manufactured materials on foreign places, and in point of dependence he places Germany, not the United Kingdom, at the top. Lighter duties produce not only greater revenue, but a greater purchasing power in the people, and by sending capital and labour along the true lines of production there is greater production. The Minister for Trade and Customs referred to thirteen imports into Victoria, and compared them with thirteen imports into New South Wales. He pointed out that the total value of these imports into New South Wales was £2,251,372, and into Victoria £502,448. Of course the lesson which he wished to convey by this comparison was that New South Wales was importing to her loss these items; that the conditions would have been better if she had produced them; and also that in these items greater importation meant less local production. I challenge both conclusions. One of the items is boots and shoes. I find that in 1899 the total output of the boot and shoe factories of New South Wales exceeded the total output of the factories of Victoria. I have the figures here, but I am not going to burden honorable members with too many statistics. What was the effect of New South Wales attending to her natural industries? The true significance of this difference in the total values of the imports of the thirteen lines is, that instead of its being worse, it was better for New South Wales. There were greater exports from New South Wales because there were greater imports.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Were there greater exports of boots and shoes?

Mr. GLYNN.—I think so, but I cannot say positively. If we have greater local production and greater importation, we must have greater exportation. Take the total home consumption, and the total export of home produce in Victoria and New South Wales, which I think is a pretty good test. The total imports for home consumption into New South Wales were £5,335,926 greater, and the total exports of home produce from New South Wales were £8,908,205 greater than those of Victoria.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What does the honorable and learned member mean by home produce—everything? There is £14,000,000 worth of wool.

Mr. GLYNN.—I take the figures given by *Coghlan*, and compare the home produce of the two States.

Mr. KINGSTON.—When New South Wales has £14,000,000 worth of wool, what chance have the other States in comparison?

Mr. GLYNN.—Does the Minister say that wool is not a natural production? What is the basis of his policy? To deflect energy from one line to another. Does he think that he diverts the population of England to Victoria or Australia by his protection? Has protection done so? The idea is to divert labour from one line of production to another, and so you must strike at the wool trade if you have by your policy to divert labour into some other line. Let me come to another branch of the subject. I allege that the maximum benefit reached by protection, if ever it is reached, which I deny, is exceedingly small. England is still the greatest manufacturing country in the world. It may not be so always. You cannot fight against nature; you cannot have virgin markets when the East itself is producing. But it is still the greatest exporting and the greatest manufacturing centre in the world.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Its exports were less than those of the United States in 1899.

Mr. GLYNN.—I am glad to have the opportunity of clearing that sophistry out of the head of the honorable and learned member, of clearing up the cause of an erroneous use of quotation as regards the imports and the exports of America. Sir Robert Giffen points out that only 20 per cent. of the local working population of the United Kingdom are engaged in manufactures, and that only one-third of the 20 per cent. are engaged in manufactures for home consumption, and it is only manufacturing for the supply of the local market that the protectionist policy can affect. The idea is to make the State self-contained, to supply its own needs, and to stop the importation of corresponding goods. We have the statement of Sir Robert Giffen in his own words—

We can well believe that in no country can the factory operatives for home consumption only ever occupy more than 5 per cent. of the working population.

That is the maximum benefit, if ever it is reached, of protection. Take Victoria and New South Wales. In 1899 Victoria had engaged in manufactures a total of 60,070; and New South Wales a total of 55,646. Analyzing the figures, we find that, competitive with imports, of the Victorian total there were 34,461, and of the total of New South Wales 22,522. But in the natural industries of Victoria only 21,425 were engaged, and in those of New South Wales 34,461.

Mr. KINGSTON.—How many were engaged in the protected industries of New South Wales?

Mr. GLYNN.—I do not care; I am dealing with my own theme. I am adopting a new line of argument, and endeavouring to prove it. I am not going to be deflected into a speech of enormous length by the *obiter dictum* of the Minister. The point of my quotation of the statistics is that of the total engaged in each State only a comparatively small number can be beneficially affected by the principle of protection. It may be considered by protectionists that it is beneficial that there should be in Victoria 34,000 odd persons employed in industries which are competitive with imports, as compared with 22,000 similarly employed in New South Wales; but my point is that the figures show that labour is being diverted by protection from the true lines of production, because there are in the true lines in New South Wales 34,000 persons, against 21,000 in Victoria. That is my argument. I further allege that it is not labour, on the whole, that is protected by protection. Supposing that protection is efficacious, it is not labour that is protected; but it is chiefly capital, and, as proof of that, I might rely on the wages boards in Victoria, which indicate the failure of protection to protect labour.

Mr. HIGGINS.—If wages boards are inconsistent with a revenue Tariff, so much the worse for the revenue Tariff.

Mr. GLYNN.—They are not inconsistent. I am a free-trader, and I supported them in South Australia. Neither system will bring about a perfect state.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Then why make protection responsible for the wages boards?

Mr. GLYNN.—I am not making it responsible, but I am only stating that the allegation that protection protects labour is false.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It protects labour more than does free-trade.

Mr. GLYNN.—I deny that. The comparative statistics of free-trade and protectionist countries do not bear out what the honorable member says, nor do the comparative statistics of England under protection and under free-trade. In 1885, in connexion, I believe, with the Cleveland Tariff, an inquiry was made in the United States into the extent to which labour was protected, and I find that the following results were brought to light. In the total production of boots and shoes, the proportion contributed by labour (to the value of the total product) is only 25 per cent., in clothing 23 per cent., in tobacco 25 per cent., and in leather 14 per cent.—all protected lines. But when we come to the lines that are incapable of being protected, such as brick making, labour, instead of being, as in the case of leather, represented by a proportionate value of 14 per cent., has a proportion of 57 per cent. Can honorable members say, in the face of these statistics, taken from a protectionist country, that labour chiefly can be protected under a system of protection? What has protection done for South Australia? When the Minister of Trade and Customs was Attorney-General of the Playford Ministry, which increased the protection which we had been enjoying without knowing it since 1876—

Mr. KINGSTON.—And sought to give a free breakfast table!

Mr. GLYNN.—The Minister did not do it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Because we were beaten upon it in the House.

Mr. GLYNN.—What is the Minister doing now?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I know what I would like to do.

Mr. GLYNN.—How delightful it is for even the Minister of Trade and Customs to have something to fall back upon. Here he has an enormous Tariff, and he does not even attempt to go as far in the direction of giving a free breakfast as his own Tariff went by taking the duty off tea.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is not a protective duty.

Mr. GLYNN.—The point to which I wish to call attention is that in 1885 the customs duties in South Australia were at the maximum rate of 10 and 15 per cent., and they

were increased to 25 per cent. A comparison of the statistics of 1885 with those for 1900 will show what protection has done for South Australia. The statistical register for South Australia shows that in 1885 there was a total of 9,302 persons engaged in manufactures in that State, whereas in 1900 there were 14,997. We must, however, deduct from these latter figures the men employed in smelting operations. I do not take the smaller lines, but I will deduct the men engaged in smelting works. These men were not protected, but came from Broken Hill in connexion with the Port Pirie and Port Adelaide smelters. There were 2,225 men engaged in smelting works, and when these are deducted from the returns we find that the net increase in the number of persons employed in the manufacturing industries of South Australia from 1885 to 1900 was 3,470.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Did the honorable member deduct from the figures for the earlier period the number of men employed in smelters?

Mr. GLYNN.—No. There were none. I do not think the *Statistical Register* gives any return as regards smelters in 1885. Broken Hill was opened up after 1885. After that date Broken Hill became a factor in the manufacturing development of South Australia, and there ought to have been a large increase in manufacturing activity in South Australia, owing to the benefits that accrued from the Broken Hill and Western Australian trades.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member is allowing nothing for the displacement of labour by machinery.

Mr. GLYNN.—That operates everywhere, but it has not operated by comparison very much during the last 25 years.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It has operated a good deal during the last ten years.

Mr. GLYNN.—The principal authority on this matter, Professor Nicholson, wrote his work about twenty years ago.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Then he did not write of the later developments.

Mr. GLYNN.—It seems to me to be quibbling to take all these petty points when I am dealing with large figures. The displacement of labour by machinery began over 60 years ago. We might think from what some honorable members have said that railways began with free-trade in England, whereas the first railway was opened in

1807, and the greatest developments commenced in 1836, during the protectionist period. Let us take some of these industries in South Australia. Twenty-six of them show an actual decline, and they include such industries as woollen manufacture, which is pretty highly protected. In soap and candle manufactories 104 men were employed in 1885, and an increase of 85 had taken place by 1900.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—The increase is represented mostly by boys.

MR. GLYNN.—I do not know anything about that. Tobacco, which is very highly protected, employed 115 persons in 1885 and 220 last year. These figures have declined since the *Statistical Register* quoted from was published. Does the Minister for Trade and Customs say that such an increase as this justifies the tobacco duties which discriminate between the imported and the locally manufactured article? Let us see what the Minister has done in the way of imposing differential duties in favour of the locally manufactured article as against the imported article? Let us examine the figures from the point of view of the loss of revenue only. We have to add 100 hands to the number employed in this industry, but not necessarily because the industry was protected. The population of South Australia has increased from 310,000 to 360,000 within the period of which I have been speaking, and I have referred to the tremendous stimulus given to manufactures in South Australia through the trade with Broken Hill and Western Australia. The total importations of tobacco, manufactured and unmanufactured, into South Australia for home consumption in 1900 were valued at £704,771. It is fair to assume that if there were only one duty, that which is now levied on the manufactured article, the consumption would have been at least as great.

MR. KINGSTON.—At a higher rate of duty?

MR. GLYNN.—If we had placed the same duty on unmanufactured tobacco as on manufactured tobacco, namely 2s. 9d. per lb., it is fair to assume that the total consumption would have been as great.

MR. KINGSTON.—Then they would consume as much tobacco at 2s. 9d. per lb. as at 1s. 7½d. per lb.

MR. GLYNN.—Does not the honorable member see the sophistry of that? Does

the honorable member suppose that tobacco manufacturers fix their prices to the consumers according to the duty on the raw material? Does the Minister not see that when there is a duty on the raw material of 1s. 7½d. per lb., and a duty of 2s. 9d. per lb. on the manufactured material, that the local price is regulated by the duty of 2s. 9d. rather than by that of 1s. 7½d.? If the right honorable gentleman does not know that, I am sorry that he is Minister for Trade and Customs. The burden of my argument is that if we did not lose the duties of 1s. 7½d. and 2s. 9d. on the total home consumption, the receipts, instead of being £64,711, would be £79,235. In other words, South Australia has been suffering a loss of over £14,000 a year in order to get an increase, if it be allowed to be an increase, of 100 persons engaged in tobacco twisting in that State. I do not know whether the Minister can controvert these figures, but, to my mind, they are particularly significant. In the harvest twine industry, there were 29 people employed in 1885 and 52 people in 1900. Let us, for a few moments, compare, in a different way from that which has hitherto been pursued, the United States and the United Kingdom under protection and free-trade respectively. Let us endeavour to test the probable effect, or the apparent effect, of the rival policies. In regard to some of the statistics used, they are sophistical and deceptive. The honorable member for New England endeavoured to base the alleged comparatively greater prosperity of America on the significance of the savings bank deposits. But if the deposits in the savings banks are a test of the high standing of a country, Denmark ought to be at the top, because the deposits in that country in 1899 were 299s. per head, as against 88s. per head in the United States, 62s. per head in unfortunate England, and 2s. per head in Russia. If I were to pursue the honorable member's use of these deposit statistics, I could easily change Russia from being at the bottom to the top in a comparison of prosperity. In regard to Russia, the word used is "State" banks, because, while there are no real State banks, the banks referred to are to some extent interfered with by the Government. The deposits in the Russian State banks amount to £122,000,000, whereas in the United Kingdom they are only £31,000,000. But will

any honorable member allege that the United Kingdom is in a comparatively less prosperous position than Russia?

Mr. ISAACS.—Surely there is a distinction between bank deposits and savings bank deposits?

Mr. GLYNN.—Undoubtedly; that is the point.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What banks is the honorable and learned member referring to?

Mr. GLYNN.—I am taking, from *Mulhall*, a comparison of State banks, but I can give statistics in regard to the other banks, if the right honorable gentleman wishes. As I say, these are not really State banks, but the Bank of England and the Bank of Russia are thus described in *Mulhall*, and I am making a comparison between so-called State banks. I am not giving the total of all the banks, because the statistics in regard to Russia are not to me easily available. If we take the deposits in the other banks, they amount in the United Kingdom to £706 per head; as against £374 per head in the United States. In Victoria, whose savings banks statistics have been quoted by the honorable member for New England as indicating the comparatively greater prosperity of that State, if we take the deposits of 1891, and compare them with those of 1900, we find a decline of nearly £10,000,000.

Mr. HUME COOK.—There has been a heavy reduction of interest.

Mr. GLYNN.—Am I to rely on that decline in the savings banks deposits as indicating the relative decadence of Victoria? Certainly not.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Has not the leader of the Opposition used the savings banks statistics in the same way?

Mr. GLYNN.—I am not aware whether the leader of the Opposition has done so or not. I am now replying to the debate.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And exposing the fallacies advanced by the honorable member's own side.

Mr. GLYNN.—I will not be tempted to wander, as the right honorable gentleman would like me to do, though if I tested the fallacies he has advanced, I might possibly quote from one of his speeches as contradicting another. There is room for improvement even in Ministers, and I hope the right honorable gentleman is improving as we go along. The Minister for Trade and Customs is particularly fond of that class of illustration

which gives comparative statistics to indicate the relative advance of the various countries of Europe and America, and that class of argument he used on the platform during the South Australian election campaign. *Giffen*, who is a great authority, cautions us against the fallacious use of statistics, and instances the particular method of the Minister for Trade and Customs as the one to be most avoided. *Giffen* points out that, to make a comparison of relative increases in particular lines within certain periods is very often fallacious because some countries—such as those in West Africa—start at zero, and therefore, in the long run, show better results in comparative development. It is the same way in connexion with comparisons between the United States and the United Kingdom. In certain lines of industry, the United States finish at a point which the United Kingdom had reached when the comparison was made.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think that the honorable and learned member intended to put that the other way.

Mr. GLYNN.—The point is, that in America or other countries, for the periods and lines taken, they may start at zero, or at a low state of development, whereas we start at a high rate of development in England. May I quote *Giffen's* exact words. He says—

The percentage method overlooks all the other circumstances—our greater increase in amount, the enormously greater magnitude in our actual trade, and the much greater increase in the population of the United States.

I think the true test should be based upon the increase in the external trade of the two countries, America and the United Kingdom. It is the external trade which is sought to be affected by a protective policy. The internal trade—or as it is called, the home trade—is practically outside the sphere of protection.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Protection stimulates.

Mr. GLYNN.—It may perhaps stimulate, or may retard the home trade. If the claim is to be made that the home trade is advantaged by a particular line of fiscal policy, then as regards America the credit must be given to free-trade, because America enjoys free-trade between 46 States and 80,000,000 of people. Take the exports, which from the point of view of the protectionists, are the best

items for comparison, because the protectionists seek according to their own statement of their position to encourage exportation. In 1840, the exports of the United Kingdom per head of the population were £1 18s. 9d., and of the United States, £1 11s. 1d. In 1880, the exports of the United Kingdom were £6 9s. 5d. per head, and of the United States, £3 8s. 1d. But I will take a period of four years, rather than rely upon a comparison of two particular years—the years 1890 to 1894. The average net exports of the United Kingdom for the period, 1890 to 1894, were £6 2s. 11d. per head, and for the United States, £2 11s. 1d. So that here, Mr. Speaker, a comparison of the increase per head since free-trade became the policy of the United Kingdom, is altogether in her favour. But let me come to 1899, and analyze the exportations from the United States to the United Kingdom. The aggregate increase of exportation in the case of the United States very often deludes protectionists, because they forget that those exports are largely made up of agricultural products. I find that in 1899, 70 per cent. of the total exports of America were of agricultural products. The domestic manufactures were only 24 per cent. For the United Kingdom, textiles were 43 per cent. of the total, metals and machinery 23 per cent., and apparel $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. So that those three lines, which make up the bulk of the English exports, account for $70\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total. In other words, $70\frac{1}{2}$ of the total exports in the case of the United Kingdom are made up of three lines of manufactures, whilst 70 per cent. of the exports, in the case of America, are made up of agricultural products. The greatness of America is due chiefly, not to her manufacturing exports, but to her exports of food and raw material.

Mr. MAUGER.—And the internal trade.

Mr. GLYNN.—That depends on other circumstances. If it is fair to say that the internal trade is stimulated by a protective policy, in the case of America, it is equally fair to say that the internal prosperity of England is due to free-trade. The honorable and learned member for Indi alleged that when protection existed in England, about the middle of the last century, England practically enjoyed a manufacturing supremacy; that her fleets practically covered the oceans of

the world, and that she stood, to summarize his allegations, practically without a competitor. Assuming that the honorable and learned member's statement is correct—if England had attained in 1840 to a condition of commercial eminence—it cannot be assigned to protection, because all the other countries which by comparison with England were stagnant, if we are to trust the honorable and learned member's statement, existed under a protective policy as well as England. So that, if protection was an operative cause in favour of England's commercial eminence, I fail to see that it could have operated towards decadence in the other countries of Europe. As a matter of fact, in 1843, as I interjected when the honorable and learned member was speaking, a third of the total exports of England were of cotton, and comparatively very little of the balance of the exports was made up of staple manufactures. The honorable and learned member referred to the fact that there has been a decline in the cotton trade, that the markets of India are not now entirely supplied as they were formerly by England, but that the East is supplying itself, and that in various other parts of the world England is feeling the keenness of European competition, as well as the competition of local supplies. Does this decadence in the proportion—because it only amounts to that—of the cotton exports indicate that the cotton trade of England has suffered a decline that has been unaccompanied by compensations, or that on the whole England is losing because there has been a shrinkage in the proportion of cotton exports to the total exportations? It means nothing of the sort. In 1840, 33 per cent. of the total exports of the United Kingdom were of cotton; in 1850, 30 per cent.; in 1883, 24 per cent. In 1840, the exports of linen and jute were 6 per cent. of the total, and in 1883, 3 per cent. But the volume of these exports has greatly increased. The volume of the exports of cotton, linen, and jute, which are the two commodities that are now being supplied to the markets of India and the East by the home producer to a greater extent than formerly, have largely increased, though in proportion to the total exports those lines show a decrease. But the decrease has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in other lines of export. As a matter of fact, so far from the

competition of the great protectionist countries, of the United States, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and France, injuring England, it has rather advantaged her, because the export trade to those countries has more than kept its proportion of the total exportation, while the volume of the exportation to those countries has largely increased. When cotton as a proportion of the exportation to Germany slightly diminished, machinery increased. It is impossible to benefit one country without benefiting another. Free-trade is based upon the harmony of nations; upon the abundance of one nation ministering to the scarcity of another; upon the interlacing of the interests of all the elements which constitute the civilized portion of the globe.

Mr. MAUGER.—A nice ideal.

Mr. GLYNN.—It is true. We cannot benefit one nation without benefiting another. The prosperity of Germany has enabled her to become a large purchaser from England. The prosperity of the United States has allowed of England exporting an enormous proportion of her manufactures to that country. I speak from memory when I say that the greater portion of her trade is yet with the United States, which has the heaviest tariff against England. A decline in one export is followed by a corresponding increase in another. The prosperity of even protectionist countries, if we take the evidence of trade, accompanies the prosperity of England, and *vice versa*. As regards the condition of the people, to which the honorable and learned member for Indi also referred, it may be sufficient for me to quote from the reports from which he quoted. The honorable and learned member read from a report made in 1890 by the House of Lords committee upon the employment of the labouring classes, and he quoted also from the report of the Royal Commission upon Labour in 1894. Not one line of the many hundred pages of the commission's report of 1894 refers to protection as the cure for the unfortunate position of some of the outcasts of England. The four labour members of the commission, to two of whom, namely, Mr. Tom Mann and Mr. Maudsley, the honorable and learned member for Indi referred, advanced as a cure for the unfortunate condition of some of the unorganized trades—those that are not within the sphere of trades unionism—not protection, but the extension of the Factories Acts to

those trades. The English Factories Acts, down to last year at all events, did not touch the home workers, and it is amongst the home workers that sweating is the greatest evil. They asked, also, for the extension of Government control of industries—the assumption to a large extent of certain industries by the State—and the limitation of the daily working hours to eight. I am not advocating these as a means of curing the evils pointed out by the Royal commission. The honorable and learned member for Indi has referred to two labour leaders, who were members of that commission, and I merely indicate to the House that they did not rely on protection as a cure, but upon other expedients, with which some may and some may not agree. If the honorable and learned member had quoted from the main report of the commission; if he had quoted a statement by the commission of 1894, which was signed by nineteen members, he would have shown that it was a testimony to the wonderful advance in the social condition of the masses in England under free-trade, as against the condition of affairs which existed during the protectionist period. The two periods are compared. Paragraph 4, to be found at page 17 of the report of 1894, sets forth that—

The general impression left by the information before us is that the level of wage rates has risen considerably during the last 50 years, both in respect of their nominal value, and, with the exception of house rent in large towns, their power of purchasing commodities. At the same time, it appears that the daily hours of labour have, during the same period, been in most cases shortened, and the sanitary conditions of work improved.

Mr. MAUGER.—True protection.

Mr. GLYNN.—Does the honorable member say that this betterment of the conditions of the people as compared with their condition during the period which ended in 1840, is an indication of the advantage of true protection?

Mr. MAUGER.—I say that Factories Acts and trades unionism constitute true protection.

Mr. GLYNN.—If the honorable member quibbles in that way he will put himself exactly within the category in which the honorable and learned member for Indi placed himself in regard to that portion of his speech in which he said that the aid given to the mining industry was protection

of the character of the Tariff. The argument is too thin to deceive. The honorable and learned member for Indi pointed out that the purchasing power of wages, so far as food is concerned, is about the same now as it was in 1840. That, however, was a qualification of the main statement made by Sir Robert Giffen and quoted in the report of the commission of 1894. The honorable and learned member, while quoting that statement, did not quote the whole paragraph. I will not quote the exact words, but it is pointed out in paragraph 9 of the report that 50 years ago the proportion of persons receiving very low wages was much greater than now; that there has been a rise in the wages paid in specific employments, and that the general remuneration of unskilled labour has largely increased. Is it a perfectly ingenuous method of argument, seeing that these were the main allegations of the paragraph, to quote a mere qualification of the paragraph as regards the purchasing power of wages? Let us see what Sir Robert Giffen says in one of his essays on Finance. I quote largely from him, because he was made use of by the honorable and learned member for Indi—

In increased money wages, in cheaper food and clothing, in larger command over luxuries of life, the masses of the United Kingdom having become far more luxurious than they were, have made an enormous advance upon their condition half a century ago. There is still a large criminal and pauper population in our midst, and there is still a large class of the very poor just above the border of pauperism; but the proportions of both classes to the whole community are smaller than they were before.

If I were to rely on published statements, as the honorable and learned member for Indi has done, by quotations from the evidence given before this commission, as well as from the report, in order to show that sweating exists largely in England, and that there is an outcast lot—the pariahs, the submerged tenth—whose condition is so deplorable, I might go to America for results quite as distressing. But it proves absolutely nothing in connexion with the issue before us. Who ever advances free-trade as a panacea for all ills?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Or protection either.

Mr. GLYNN.—Or protection either. Although protection was foisted on the people originally as the system that was going to produce the perfect working man's paradise.

Mr. KENNEDY.—A number of very intelligent communities and nations have adopted it.

Mr. GLYNN.—It would be safer to say they have not yet discontinued it, because in 1840 protection was the vice of all nations. It was England which began the career of reform—of which America is now talking, if we read aright the words of the late President McKinley. The *Scotsman* of 29th December, 1900, publishes a letter from its New York correspondent, from which I make this extract—

Down to the time of the outbreak of the civil war in 1860, there were but half a dozen single millionaires in the country, where there is now a burden of multi-millionaires. Some few men made millions from contracts during the war, and others have made them since then in ways already spoken of. That the growth of millionaires has not proved wholly advantageous to the country is made evident by the simultaneous growth of poverty, trampism, discontent, beggary, criminality, labour revolts, and measures directed against property. It is made evident also by the increase of all kinds of public charity, charitable institutions, reformatories, penal establishments, dry-rot societies, and refuges for degenerates. The official and unofficial records are unpleasant. Last week, on Christmas Day in the city of New York, nearly 200,000 hungry people were glad to get a chance to eat the bread of charity. As many as 25,000 of them were fed at one place by the Salvation Army.

If we deal with this class of quotation, we can get quite as significant facts—if they are significant—from the conditions prevailing in protected America, as can be obtained in free-trade England.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That statement has been disproved.

Mr. GLYNN.—Instead of taking the aggregate prosperity of two countries for comparison, do not honorable members think that a fair test would be to compare two lines of industry, one of which is protected in America, whilst the other has gone on under free-trade? I take the shipping industry as an example. If there were a handicap at all at the start—taking the period from 1850—the advantage, as far as Nature is concerned, was rather on the side of the United States. Its timber, its iron, and its wealth of raw materials were certainly greater than were those of little England. As regards shipping, they are, in the matter of aptitude, pretty well on an equality from the point of view of racial tendencies. Both are carved by Nature to promote a life upon the deep, for though England is "bound in by the

triumphant sea," the States are fringed for many a mile of shore with Atlantic thunder and Pacific foam. They are both alike descended from a great sailor stock, from the volunteer stock of England that placed the trident in her hand, who took to the sea as to their native element when danger threatened the "sceptred isle." It is of the naval ardour of their common ancestors that Froude, referring to their rally in times of danger, so splendidly says—

The spirit that was in them swelled to a wild war music as the wind harp screams and trembles under the breath of the storm.

Well, in 1850, England abolished the last of her navigation laws that protected, but did not increase, comparatively, her shipping. America extended her laws. The honorable and learned member for Indi would have us believe that it was the flag of England, and her flag alone, that then practically sheltered the ocean-borne commerce of the world, and that she had no rival near her to contest the commercial field. In 1854, the tonnage of the shipping of the United Kingdom was 5,250,000 tons, whilst that of America was only 100,000 tons less. What does the *Forum*—an American monthly review—of December, 1900, say as to the position now?—

The American wooden clipper could not hold out against the British-owned screw, and America could not build iron screws. What American ship-owners could not build American ship-owners were forbidden to buy, and the American flag was driven off the face of the waters by its own statesmen. Even now, and including lake steamers, American tonnage is only half what it was 50 years ago.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—How is it that France and Germany have both increased their fleets so much under protection?

Mr. GLYNN.—Of course, there must be some increase with time and development no matter what the fiscal policy may be. According to the *North American Review*, the least subsidized German line of steamers is the most successful. I think it is the Hamburg line.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—No; the most heavily subsidized company is the most successful.

Mr. GLYNN.—A writer in that *Review* points out that the particular company which receives the least amount of Government aid is the most successful. In 1860, 66 per cent. of the imports and exports

of America were carried in American vessels; in 1898, 9 per cent. only of that trade was thus carried. The steam tonnage of the United Kingdom is now ten times that of the United States. What is the reason? There is scarcely an article that enters into the building of a ship that is not taxed in America. From the brass on her taffrail log to the pennant, the duties are graded up to a maximum of 150 per cent. As is pointed out by the *Forum*, it has killed the shipping industry of America. I do not intend to trespass more than a moment or two longer upon the consideration of honorable members. It may be asked what position ought one to assume in case this motion, which deserves, but perhaps cannot command, success, is defeated? My position is clear. I hold that it is the duty, as well as the right, of free-traders to examine this Tariff item by item, and not to relax under the opportunity of a Government majority their efforts to temper its severity with a touch of freedom. The character of fiscal legislation is not easily changed. We may rest assured that the lines which we now lay down for the regulation of our intercourse with other countries will, at least, endure for half a generation. The temporary expedient of protection has—as I have already shown—outlived two centuries in our great exemplar the American Union; it has lasted for a quarter of a century in Canada; and still survives, after 20 or 30 years, in the States of the Australian Union. In each case it was to disappear when strength had come with age, when the commercial mendicant had become the self-reliant manufacturer, when delicate industries could, as the result of State coddling, stand the healthy breath of competition. The years roll on, but the protected producers never declare that the time for independence has come. In their case, by universal admission, appetite grows by what it feeds on; their maw can never be glutted. Free-traders must, therefore, accept for what experience shows it to be worth this pretext of a temporary expedient, a pretext, in fact, which has recently been abandoned as too thin by some of the would-be perpetuators of the policy of protection. Believing, as I do, that taxation should be raised only to meet the requirements of public expenditure; that, as an aid to industry, it is at once wasteful, oppressive, and unjust; that the policy of fiscal freedom

which has made England rich is not likely to make Australia poor ; that in commerce, as in everything else, the strength that endures comes from confronting difficulties with energy, intelligence, and self-reliance, not from a weak-kneed dependence upon the support of the State ; that a policy which makes for international harmony and intercourse is preferable to one based upon mutual antagonism and obstruction, I shall endeavour in committee to support every effort to make the Australian Tariff alike just to the consumer and productive of revenue to the State, free from all unnecessary obstacles to intercourse of nations, and worthy alike of Australian self-reliance and Imperial example.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK (Gwydir).—At this stage of the debate I do not intend to occupy the time of the House any longer than I can help. I feel the importance of the question before the House, and I think that the Government are entitled to credit for the consideration they have shown in giving every member an opportunity of fully debating this motion of censure.

Mr. PAGE.—Why should they not ?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—The honorable member must know that in the State Parliaments on similar occasions honorable members are very often asked to sit until three or four o'clock in the morning, and the question is rushed through to a division at a time when the views of honorable members are not reported.

Mr. PAGE.—We might have to do that here yet.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—That kind of thing is being constantly done in the State Parliaments, and only recently we have seen an example of it in New South Wales, where members were kept sitting for 48 hours that they might be tired out and forced to a division. Under the circumstances, I think that the Government are to be congratulated upon giving honorable members every opportunity of freely expressing their opinions upon this motion. I cannot say that I am swayed from the decision to which I have come to by the address of the last speaker. The honorable and learned member satisfied me that we are on the right track when he told us that we must vote for a Tariff for revenue purposes, and to meet the monetary obligations of this Parliament to the States. That is all we are here to do. I believe that those who are supporting the Government will not, when we get

into committee, vote for any taxation more than is considered necessary to meet the obligations of the Federal Government. When we were canvassing New South Wales we were seeking election for a distinctly free-trade State, and we knew that New South Wales would have to join in with protectionist States. We knew that what, in many cases, might in New South Wales seem a system of moderate protection, would appear to be practically free-trade in the protectionist States. When I was running my election, I was prepared to go to many extremes, sympathetic as I was in regard to the monetary obligations of States like Queensland. I felt that the inclusion of Queensland was a great necessity to the federation of Australia, and that we could have no complete federation unless that State joined in. I felt under the circumstances that we were under an obligation to deal with the black labour question according to the voice of the members returned from that State. We were bound in a measure to consider the monetary obligations and the policies of the different States, and to do nothing to disturb the laws that had been made by their Parliaments. I recognised that we should have to respect their Tariffs, and the revenue they raised through their Custom-houses, and that New South Wales would have to take a liberal view of the Tariff that would come before this Parliament in order to assist the minor States to meet their monetary obligations. I have, therefore, been rather relieved to find so many members representing those States saying that they are entirely in favour of a free-trade Tariff. I do not see that this Parliament is bound to consider them in the imposition of taxation for the purpose of enabling the States to meet their obligations, when the representatives of those States say that they prefer that the money should be raised by some other method. New South Wales certainly does not require any additional money, and I feel greatly relieved in regard to my responsibility to the minor States. I have been relieved in this way by the speeches made by honorable members representing Western Australia and Tasmania, but so far as members representing Queensland have spoken, I feel that I am still under some obligation there.

Mr. PAGE.—Who are they ?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I think most of them have expressed opinions.

Mr. PAGE.—I do not believe that one has spoken on this motion.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I do not know how the honorable member for Maranoa is going o vote, but perhaps when he rises to speak he will sway me a little the other way. If honorable members say that the money required can be raised by their own States, it will not be as necessary for me to support high duties as I should otherwise have been prepared to do, and when we get into committee I shall not vote for any taxation that I consider unnecessary. I have been much struck by the great feeling which it is supposed has arisen in the country in regard to the Tariff. It seems to me that the people of this country, and many honorable members in this House, do not consider the responsibilities the Government have in introducing their Tariff proposals, and having to deal with States that have under their laws adopted entirely different fiscal systems. They talk of a rising of the people. My opinion is that it would not be difficult for any person of note who undertook to explain the Tariff to get a gigantic meeting. If I went to different parts of Victoria and South Australia, or visited any part of Australia to-morrow, and came first into the field as one who was going to explain this Tariff, I could get gigantic meetings. There may be some feeling of the kind suggested amongst free-trade combinations, particularly in Sydney and amongst those interested in the manufactures of Australia, but the people as a whole take very little interest in the Tariff, because they know that it is not yet complete, and they are satisfied to wait until they are in a position to know what is to be placed before them. I believe that is really the opinion of many persons, to judge from my experience in travelling. The Tariff has been before the people for a fortnight or three weeks. I travel a great deal, and when honorable members talk about a rising of the people, I say that it is purely a matter of imagination.

Mr. FOWLER.—If the honorable member will go over to Western Australia he will change his mind about that.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—The people of Western Australia I look upon as a minor consideration, because there is a very small population in that State. I was very much inclined to be what I call liberal

or magnanimous, but if its representatives say that they do not require this revenue to be raised through the Custom-house, that it can be got elsewhere, I do not see why we should be particularly concerned about the matter. There has been a good deal made of the hospitality which has been shown to honorable members by the manufacturers of Victoria. One honorable member interjected the other night that our liberality would be shown by the wine we drank at the banquets when we were taken round the factories each week. I take this public opportunity of thanking not only the directors and the shareholders of the manufactories, but the members representing the districts in which they are located, for giving the members of this Parliament every opportunity of seeing the industries of the State. I suppose if there is one thing which a Member of Parliament would sooner escape than another it is sitting down to a banquet. I suppose if there was one thing which too often engaged our time, it was having to accept the hospitality of a luncheon. We went purposely to gain information, but the gentlemen whom we visited were so hospitable that they insisted upon our staying for luncheon.

Mr. CONROY.—Only those that wanted consideration.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—Of course they wanted consideration.

Mr. CONROY.—Boodle.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—In the same way as we get circular letters asking for consideration from everybody who imports shoddy. I put them all on the same footing. I went to the factories of this State for my own convenience—to get information. I regret that I was not able to go to two or three of them, but before the Tariff comes out of committee, I intend to go over their buildings and see what I can for myself.

Mr. CONROY.—It is holding out a promise to them.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—Of course it is. I wish now to refer to our duty with regard to the framing of the Tariff and the high responsibility of our leaders. We have, in the first place, the leader of the Opposition regretting that the Minister for Trade and Customs has been intrusted with a great responsibility. On the one hand, he says that we have an honorable gentleman intrusted with the power of framing a

Tariff for the Commonwealth ; and, on the other, he says that that honorable gentleman would not be allowed to finance for any private individual to the extent of a £5 note. I suppose that is the way in public life. I see honorable members rising here and taking any responsibility. Men who, perhaps, have only served the mining interests, venture to give advice on behalf of the farmer. I farm 1,500 acres. I have always been mixed up with farming, and I am also a large produce dealer. At the same time, I do not get up to express an opinion on behalf of the farming man as confidently as some honorable members who tell me that they never owned an acre of land, and do not know one provision in the land laws. There are honorable members who represent the mining districts. I would not venture to get up and express authoritatively the wishes of the mining industry, in the same way as I hear them dealing with the farming industry of this State. I think that when we come to deal with the farmers' interests, we shall find that their representatives—that is, the men who are thoroughly interested in the land—will not be very far apart. I see two honorable members on the other side, who, I regret, found it necessary to leave the side of the House upon which I sit, because I feel that at heart we are not divided in our political views. Those honorable members talk about a 15 per cent. Tariff, and about finding it necessary to get certain revenue through the Custom-house, and they have expressed their views with regard not only to the farming industry of the State of Victoria, but the effect which the Tariff will have upon the farmers. I feel that with those honorable members I am quite in accord, that our opinions are undivided, and that they might with me have safely voted with the Government, because we shall be able to alter minor matters in committee. Supposing that the Opposition party had been in power, and introduced a Tariff anything like that which we have in New South Wales. It would have been impossible to have raised a revenue equal to the necessities of the Commonwealth, because we cannot increase the duties. If we do not like to vote for the duties in full on this Tariff, I am quite sure that any proposals which may be made in committee will receive the consideration of the Government. We have one advantage, and that is we can reduce the duties where we cannot increase them.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—We can increase.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—We cannot increase any duty. In this Tariff we have plenty of matter to deal with, and our regret may be that there are items on the free list which we should like to see included amongst the dutiable articles. I have not had time to go over the free list. Our great difficulty has been with regard to the responsibility of the advocates on the other side. For the first time since federation has been introduced have I heard of the leader of the Opposition expressing an opinion with regard to what the Tariff should be. In obtaining my views from the free-trade party in New South Wales I had to read the opinions of the honorable member for Wentworth and of the honorable and learned member for Parkes. Never did the leader of the Opposition express any views as to what his Tariff would be. He has now said that if he were in power he would impose an average duty of 15 per cent. on luxuries and 7 per cent. on other commodities. We know very well that to impose an all-round Tariff duty of 15 per cent. we must get up to probably 20 per cent. in very many cases, for it is only a matter of adjustment. If we have an all-round duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on other commodities taxes must be imposed on a great many articles which we have on the free list. It has been admitted by the honorable and learned member for Parkes and the honorable member for Wentworth that we shall have to raise through the Customs-house £8,500,000, and this Government has introduced a Tariff that will yield £9,000,000. What is £500,000 spread over a population of 3,600,000 persons? It is a mere flea-bite, and matters must be adjusted when we come to the consideration of the Tariff. I do not say that the Government has not probably been extravagant in making provision for the various necessities of the States and of the Commonwealth, but it is preferable to make ample provision than to unduly curtail the Estimates, and, moreover, we shall have all the more scope in dealing with the Tariff when we go into committee. There is another matter to which I should like to refer, and that is the extent to which the Tariff has apparently been exaggerated in the statements which have been made to the people of New South Wales that the duties will average 36 per cent. How that calculation is arrived at I do not know, but I should

like to have the whole thing cleared up. It is represented to them that, owing to the fixed duties and the *ad valorem* duties combined, they are having imposed upon them the enormous average duty of 36 per cent. This, of course, is a very serious matter to the State which has had a free-trade Tariff for such a long time. New South Wales has always been a free-trade State. In 1887, the late Sir Henry Parkes went to the country, because it was alleged that an attempt was being made to sneak in protection, and the 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duties that were then in operation were swept away. In 1890 Sir George Dibbs, who was then the leader of the House, imposed what was nominally a 10 per cent. Tariff, and this excited the people in New South Wales to such an extent that when the present leader of the Opposition went to the country with a land and income tax, the people swept away the Dibbs Tariff which was imposed at a most unfortunate time. The bank smashes occurred just then, and I do not think there was a disaster that took place during the three years that the duties were in operation that was not attributed to the Dibbs Tariff. All the droughts and losses in the country and all the bank smashes were put down to the Tariff. The private banks in America and the English banks failed at the same time, and similar financial disasters were occurring all over the world, and bank directors and auditors were being tried on every hand for shirking their responsibilities. New South Wales naturally felt the effects of the general financial upset, but everything was, nevertheless, put down to the debit of the Dibbs Tariff. The honorable member for Illawarra actually told us that the farming industry in his district had fallen to pieces owing to the Dibbs Tariff. He pointed out that during the Dibbs Tariff there was a duty of 2d. per dozen on eggs, 3d. per lb. on butter, and 6d. per bushel on wheat, and that the farming industry in the Illawarra district had failed utterly in consequence. That brings me back to the remark of the last speaker, that we must be guided to a very great extent by the master minds who have had experience of the fiscal question in other countries. The honorable member quoted men like Madison and other great authorities, and said that they had been the leaders in Germany, America, and other protectionist countries throughout the world, but it is a most peculiar thing that

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every one of those countries, after having been led by these great luminaries, should have adopted a protectionist policy. These facts must have a considerable weight with the House. Now I come to another matter in connexion with the responsibility of leaders of the people. During the federal elections in New South Wales I did not declare myself on either side until the Prime Minister had delivered his speech at Maitland. I read the speech of the honorable member for Parkes and also that of the honorable member for Wentworth, but the leader of the Opposition never referred in any way to what his Tariff would be beyond criticising the address of the Prime Minister at Maitland. If the speech of the Prime Minister carries the responsibility which honorable members have sought to attach to it, we must also attach an equal degree of responsibility to the speeches of leading members of the Opposition. We must attach special importance to the speeches made by leading men in New South Wales, because that is the only State which is asked to alter its Tariff. For the same reason we must allow representatives of that State some degree of latitude, because we are asking New South Wales, which has formerly had the freest Tariff in the world, to adopt a moderately protective Tariff. We are all responsible to our constituents for the construction that we have put upon the Maitland speech of the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister must recognise the gravity of his position, because that speech was read line by line throughout the whole length and breadth of the Commonwealth. When I read the Prime Minister's speech I took the precaution to see what members of the Government were present. I saw that the Minister for Trade and Customs was on the platform, and that the Attorney-General was also there. I was very anxious to notice the degree to which the Prime Minister was supported by his colleagues, because I was told that the influence of Victoria would prevail, and that probably we should not have a moderate protectionist Tariff, such as I was leading my constituents to believe.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The misfortune is that Victoria has not prevailed sufficiently.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—The Prime Minister delivered his speech, and on the platform at the time there were certain members of his Cabinet, and the Prime

Minister will be responsible for a reasonable and fair construction of his statements on that occasion. I was really sorry the other night to hear the Minister for Trade and Customs say—"This is a protectionist Tariff, make no mistake."

Mr. KINGSTON.—I said that it was a revenue Tariff first of all—that was the first consideration.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I took down the words—"This is a protectionist Tariff, make no mistake."

Mr. KINGSTON.—I made it as clear as I could that the first consideration was revenue.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—We have to deal with this matter from the point of view of the speech of the Prime Minister. While that speech has been, and will, be criticised very freely, we who are supporters of the Government have to put our own construction on what the Prime Minister said. We have to take the responsibility before our constituents for accepting the action of the Government as a fair reflex of that speech, and we are responsible to our constituents for framing a Tariff which will produce revenue without destroying any industries, and for taking the position that, as both free-trade and protection are impracticable, this Tariff shall be neither one nor the other, but a business man's Tariff. I believe that a business man's Tariff, if there is such a thing, is the best we could get for Australia. I regard this as a moderate protectionist Tariff, and however it is altered in committee, it will have to be on the protectionist side to meet with my wishes. No doubt the Tariff will be altered, and I cannot but say that I feel it is a higher Tariff than was anticipated by New South Wales. I had a great wish to see a Tariff providing for duties of from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., which, I believe, would have been found practicable. I do not advocate protection or a high Tariff, because a high Tariff brings about combinations, and gives rise to a danger of monopoly and of injustice to the general body of consumers who purchase from the local factories. As has been said, protection does not begin and end at the Custom-house. I believe in encouraging local industries, and everything cannot be done through the Custom-house. At the same time, the Custom-house can be used to assist natural industries, but that is

only one of the many methods of encouraging and developing them.

Mr. CONROY.—How can industries be natural, if they cannot get along on their own account?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK. — Competition can wipe out anything that is natural. If we have two men, one with capital and the other without, the former usually has the advantage of the latter. In making an industry successful, there is no advantage in having a high Tariff; and what is presented to us is a Tariff which encourages industries by discouraging the producers of other countries from sending their surplus shoddy here. Those who send goods from Germany, America, and other countries, look at the prices which rule on the day, and they know that when they get to the border they will have to pay the Tariff. How that Tariff may be spread over portions of the community afterwards is a matter with which the foreign producer has nothing to do, but is a matter for the consumers within the State. The fact that there is a Tariff prevents this country from being made the dumping ground to the same extent as it otherwise would be for the surplus goods of other countries, and it is in that way that natural industries are assisted by the imposition of duties. It is for the Government to give local industries liberal legislation so far as their internal working is concerned, but it is not good to impose a very high Tariff, because if industries become few, monopolies may be formed and prices fixed detrimental to the consuming community. The leader of the Opposition used these words—

It is almost impossible to extend charity except we draw on somebody's pocket, and it is the false opinion of charity that draws on the pocket of the farmer, the miner, and the pioneer in order to maintain a number of artificial industries.

We have to discriminate as to what are natural industries, and that having been done, I hope to see the Government protecting those industries in every way. Our object is to encourage natural industries, not particularly by a high Tariff, but by allowing the free importation of the necessary raw materials, so as to place those industries in such a position that they may be able to compete with the producers in any part of the world. I take it that the pioneer is the man who took up the waste lands in the early days, and that the farmer is the settler in the interior of the country, and,

so far as these classes are concerned, I feel sure that the Tariff, when it leaves this Chamber, will be such as to suit their interests.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It will have to be largely altered.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—No doubt the Tariff will be altered in some cases, but I see very little in it now that affects the farmer. The only people with whom the Tariff interferes are the importers and their combinations, who are determined that whatever profit is made as between the manufacturer and the consumer shall pass through their agencies. The importers are the people we have to fear; because I feel quite sure that the profits made by commercial houses are much greater than any duties which are proposed by the Government. I know cases in which importers' profits have been as high as 30 per cent. or 40 per cent., and names could very easily be given. Australia is asked by the Opposition to deal in the open markets of the world without assistance. We are asked how it is that the manufacturers of England can deal in the open markets. The answer is simply that factories have been established in England for hundreds of years, and that they are equipped with all the best machinery. Having regard to the enormous capital at their disposal, is it reasonable to urge that these English factories are not in a better and stronger position to trade with the open world than are the factories of a new country like Australia, which is little over 100 years old. Have we not to depend on our natural products, which form our exports, and upon our manufactures from natural products? It is only recently that we have become wheat exporters. Is it reasonable to expect a young country like Australia to be able to compete with the great woollen and linen factories which have been established for hundreds of years in the old country?

Mr. CONROY.—Are they the same men, the same capital, and the same machinery, to-day as they were 100 years ago?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—In another 100 years, when the honorable and learned member and I are where we ought to be, the position of Australia will be very different. I hope that there will be very rapid changes in this country within the next twenty years. I feel quite sure that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports,

who has taken such an interest in the factories of Victoria, will be very proud to see the expansion that has taken place in New South Wales by the end of that period. What must be an important factor in this country in devising our Tariff, is the difference in the wages paid in these States and in those countries from which goods are imported.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member means that the amount of protection must depend upon that difference?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—Yes; the amount of protection which we must have must largely depend upon the difference in the wages paid in Australia and in other countries. If we want to have a white Australia—if we want to have a white working man—if we wish the labour of Australia to be done by our own people, we must not only take an interest in our factories, but in the goods coming from those countries where labour is cheaper; and our Tariff duties should be commensurate with the difference between the wages paid here and in those other countries.

Mr. POYNTON.—In the protectionist countries of Germany and America, for instance?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I refer to the countries from which we get our goods.

Mr. POYNTON.—But protectionists say that the best wages are paid in those countries?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—If we take the comparison between wages paid in this and some other countries, it will be seen that there is really very little difference. There is very little difference between the wages paid in Victoria and in New South Wales. But as to Victoria, I should like to say that this State, having only a very small area, deserves great credit for the progress she has made. Victoria, with 87,000 square miles—the smallest State in the group, with the exception of Tasmania—occupying one little corner of the Continent, is entitled to admiration from all Australia. Let honorable members compare the advantages possessed by Victoria and New South Wales. In New South Wales the land revenue for ten years, up to 1899, amounted to £19,370,842. The loan expenditure was £20,417,142. The wool produced represented £82,062,602. The minerals for the same period were of the value of £44,237,000. The return of expenditure for ten years in New South

Wales amounted to £166,087,736. In Victoria the land revenue in ten years amounted to £4,797,000. The loan money expended was £10,753,677. The wool returns were £24,140,544. The minerals represented £26,303,222. The total of these figures to Victoria amounts to £65,904,550, showing a difference in favour of New South Wales of £100,093,236. Surely a State which has had those very large advantages in the way of expenditure does not require the same amount of revenue through the Custom-house to carry on its government as has been required in the State of Victoria, which has nearly the same population, and, I am glad to say, has financially held its own. Therefore, I feel that a great deal has been done in Victoria, and that this State ought to be very proud of her Parliament, which has enabled the people of the country to develop their territory, and to keep the State in the solvent position she is in. The reason why I should like to see industries encouraged in Australia to the fullest extent possible, is that while the value of Australian products is £61,000,000 per annum, and the value of its fuel and materials £27,994,000, and £33,316,000 is added in value by processes of manufacture, the sum of £15,374,000 is paid for wages. The imports from the British Empire amount to £29,000,000, and from foreign countries to £10,000,000, of which approximately 25 per cent. is paid in wages. Therefore, we have imported into this country goods in respect of which £10,000,000 has been paid in wages in other countries.

Mr. POYNTON.—For what period is that?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I think for the year 1899. I have taken the figures from Coghlan's *Seven Colonies of Australasia*. These are the figures for Australia as a whole. I should like to see the wages paid now in other countries on account of goods imported into Australia, paid to our own workmen, if those goods can be produced in this country.

Mr. POYNTON.—Where should we get our revenue from, then?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I would go elsewhere for it. I am not one of those who are afraid of direct taxation. I do not think that because we favour this Tariff we should necessarily avoid direct taxation. I think that people who possess property should be prepared to pay taxation. Those who have an interest in the country must be

prepared to accept their responsibilities. In view of the provisions of the Constitution Act, that we must obtain our revenue only through the Custom-house for the time being. If other methods of raising money are to be resorted to, they must be adopted by the States. The States must make their own provision, apart altogether from the Commonwealth. In that case we should have to retrench, and let the States make up their deficits as best they might. I do not think the Commonwealth is prepared at the present time to go to the length of adopting direct taxation. It has been said that the miners are all free-traders. If there is one portion of the community more than another which favours free-trade, I believe it is the miners. And rightly so. As a body, they depend very largely upon obtaining cheap machinery. They wish to secure it as cheaply as possible.

Mr. CROUCH.—In Victoria the miners are all protectionists.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And many miners in South Australia are protectionists.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I find that there are 19,318 miners employed in New South Wales. There are 30,100 employed in Victoria, 9,700 in Queensland, 1,986 in South Australia, 2,000 in Western Australia, and 1,296 in Tasmania.

Mr. POYNTON.—The figures relating to South Australia are incorrect. There are more than that number employed in the Moonta mines alone.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—These figures have been given me as taken from Coghlan's *Seven Colonies*. I find from the same source that altogether there are 64,000 hands employed in mining in Australia, while there are 169,600 persons employed in manufactures. In other words, there are twice as many hands employed in the manufacturing industries of Australia as there are in the mining industry. What I wish to point out is that the manufacturers have to contribute towards the mining vote, the prospecting vote, and other grants for the development of the mining industry.

Mr. FOWLER.—And they get the benefit.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—No doubt they do. I would support a prospecting vote, because I believe that there is nothing so beneficial to a country as the development of its mining industry. While I hold that view, I consider also that it is a very good thing to encourage our natural manufacturing industries. I should like to see

encouragement given to every system of business that brings prosperity to the country, and that assists to develop the country to its very fullest extent. I should like to say a word or two as to what are our natural industries. That is a matter which we must consider. Doubtless there are many honorable members who will say that the manufacture of agricultural implements, lead works, furniture, bookbinding, coach-building, saddlery and harness making, soap and candle making, fur dressing, and umbrella making, and the manufacture of boots and shoes are purely natural industries. It is in dealing with a number of these trades that I should like to point out what, in my opinion, are the industries which have been established successfully, and which we ought to try and keep going. Many honorable members have taken upon themselves the responsibility of dealing with the farming industry and they are anxious to show how much the farmer is going to be affected by this Tariff. There is a great deal going on in the shape of commercial combinations and associations, that affects the farmers in the interior to a far greater extent than anything under this Tariff could do. Take the price of reapers and binders. It has been brought under my notice that reapers and binders can be bought in New South Wales for £47 10s., while the same machines can be purchased in Victoria for £32 10s.

Mr. POYNTON.—When was that the case?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—Both before and since the imposition of the present Tariff.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member should ask the farmers about that.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I happen to know of many cases in which purchases of these machines have been made. As a matter of fact, reapers and binders can be bought in Victoria and landed in the interior of New South Wales at a cost of £15 below that at which they can be purchased in Sydney and taken to the same districts.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is no duty on reapers and binders.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I am aware of that. I am giving this simply as an illustration of what occurs in commercial houses in Sydney. It is said that the farmers are going to be imposed upon by this Tariff, and

yet we have the fact that an article on which no duty is imposed can be bought in Victoria, and sent to its destination in New South Wales at a cost greatly below that at which it can be bought in Sydney and landed in the same district. Among our industries is the boot trade. It has been pointed out very clearly that we have three boot factories in Sydney which employ a certain number of hands.

Mr. CONROY.—There are a good many in excess of that number.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—Enoch Taylor's, Hunter's, and another big boot manufactory were specially referred to. It has been said by the honorable and learned member for South Australia that there are more boots manufactured in the factories of New South Wales than in the factories of Victoria. As a matter of fact the three factories to which I refer import their own uppers from other countries and merely put the boots together.

Mr. CONROY.—But apart from that consideration the output is larger.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—It is not. Hunter's boot shops are to be seen all over New South Wales. As a matter of fact the boots turned out by them are not made in their factories. They are made in Germany. The parts are imported, and merely put together by them. I should call such a firm a large importing house. These firms write that they are very large manufacturers, and that they can manufacture under a 15 per cent. Tariff. I wish to point out that they cannot do so. One of their objects in putting forward this statement is to enable them to be very large importers. Fifty per cent. of what they turn out consists practically of imported goods.

Mr. PAGE.—What firm is that?

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—The firm of Enoch Taylor. Hunter's is another firm.

Mr. PAGE.—They are the biggest sweaters in Queensland!

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—They have been treading on the honorable member's corns.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member must address the Chair!

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—That is what I am endeavouring to do, sir. I find that there are a great many Victorian boots being sold in New South Wales. Some very excellent tweeds are also being sold there at pretty well the same price as is paid for

imported tweeds. Much has been made of the fact that we are charging a duty of 20 per cent. upon woollen goods, and only 15 per cent. upon silks. But it should be remembered that the former is a duty which is intended to build up one of the natural industries of Australia, whilst the latter is a tax upon luxury. As a matter of fact, about 50 per cent. of the duties imposed are not paid through the Custom-house at all. At the present moment the storekeepers and business houses are actually charging an increased price for goods upon which they have never paid any duty, and never will be required to pay duty, even under this Tariff. They have gone to the length of charging a duty upon fresh-laid eggs from their neighbours' farms. They have increased the price of Bodalla cheese by the amount of the duty which the Tariff imposes on imported cheese. A gentleman with whom I am acquainted went out in Sydney on a recent Saturday night to purchase some cheese. He was told by the storekeeper that he had only English cheese, for which the purchaser would have to pay an increased price so as to cover the duty of 3d. per lb. The consumers are thus being compelled to pay high duties upon all the natural products of this country. Whenever a change is made there will always be the first robbers. I happened to be in the country the other day, and a storekeeper told me that he intended buying a lot of jams. The merchant had written him that he would have to pay so much duty upon them. Before the storekeeper had closed with the arrangement another man entered the shop, and said, "If you take those jams from my firm, I will give them to you 3d. per dozen cheaper than they were before the Tariff was introduced." When asked for an explanation as to how he could do this, his reply was, "They are all Tasmanian jams, and, as we now enjoy Inter-State free-trade, they pay no duty at all." That is the actual position in regard to a great many of the articles for which an increased price is now being paid by the consumer. The public are not alive to the fact that goods from one State can enter another State free of duty. There is another matter concerning which there is some feeling. I refer to the sugar duties. In New South Wales there was formerly a specific duty of £5 per ton upon sugar. That gave very great satisfaction. It yielded a certain amount of revenue, and,

at the same time, was sufficiently protective to settle a very large population on the north coast of New South Wales. I know that the Government feel there must be a duty on sugar, and they accordingly propose an excise duty. I believe that such a duty was first proposed by Senator Pulsford when he was suggesting the method under which the revenue necessary for the Commonwealth could be raised.

Mr. KINGSTON.—He proposed an excise duty equal to the customs.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—He was one of the first to propose this system of excise. Honorable members should not lose sight of the fact that if revenue is necessary this Government is merely adopting the course which any Government would have had to follow. I think that honorable members on the other side of the House would have exhibited more liberality if they had shared the Ministerial responsibility. Upon this question, there should be some responsibility attaching to the Opposition as well as to the Government. We have to raise a revenue of at least £8,500,000. That being so, the Tariff becomes chiefly a question of the incidence of taxation. I should have liked to see members of the Opposition joining with the Government in an effort to arrive at such a compromise as would make this the Tariff most suitable to Australia. We have to frame a Federal Tariff which can be neither free-trade nor protective in its character. I believe that the Prime Minister, when in Tasmania, said that free-trade and protection were alike impracticable. There are a lot of other matters to which I intended to address myself, but I have no desire to weary the House. Every item of the Tariff has been traversed by previous speakers. In view of the capital which has been invested in the industries which I have mentioned, I should be very sorry indeed to see them go down. More money, I think, should be spent in the development of our iron industry. Until that industry has been considerably developed, I do not think that Australia will become a great manufacturing country. That is one of the industries which should be assisted by special grants. I should like to see special grants given also for the development of the mining industry, just as we pass a mining vote for ordinary prospecting. Now I come to the subject of tobacco and spirits. There has been great feeling created by the proposal

to put an extra 6d. per lb. on tobacco. In New South Wales we had a duty on imported manufactured tobacco of 3s. per lb., a duty of 1s. per lb. on the imported leaf, and an excise duty of 1s. 3d., which made a difference of 9d. per lb. as against the imported manufactured tobacco. In Victoria the duties were 3s. per lb. on the imported manufactured tobacco, 1s. per lb. on the leaf, and an excise of 9d., which made a difference of 1s. 3d. in favour of tobacco locally made from imported leaf, and 2s. 3d. per lb. in favour of the local manufacture of colonial leaf. The proposal now is to increase the present enormous duty by 6d. per lb., and my feeling is that we might have been very well satisfied with the previous duty, from which we were receiving a very good revenue. This is one of the industries which, so far as I can see, has been getting on very well under the laws that previously existed. The next question I desire to deal with is that of retrenchment in the Tariff. I believe that we can do with less money than is proposed by these Estimates, and this is one of the matters which I should like responsible men on the other side to consider. The honorable member for Wentworth, in dealing with the figures the other night, took an Australian trade of £161,000,000. The proper basis of calculation should, he said, be £36,000,000, and not £34,000,000; stimulants and narcotics, £4,500,000; fixed rates, £1,400,000—I do not know what they are, but I take them to be specific duties objected to now by honorable members on the other side in stumping the country in connexion with what they call “the rising of the people”—and *ad valorem* duties of £3,000,000, which is 10 per cent. on £30,000,000. These are the figures stated by the honorable member for Wentworth to bring in a revenue of £8,500,000. In connexion with the estimate of £1,400,000, for what he calls “fixed rates,” I do not know what adjustment there may be. No doubt we must help the Government to raise this sum of £8,500,000; but I feel there can be some retrenchment, especially as the representatives of States for which we have to raise money are against a high Tariff. New South Wales is against a high Tariff, because she is receiving more from the Commonwealth Parliament than the needs of that State require.

Mr. CHANTER.—She will spend it all.

Mr. Cruickshank.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—She will spend it all, and so will any State spend whatever it gets. New South Wales under this proposal happens to be receiving a great deal more than she anticipated, and as she does not require it, if representatives of the other States say that they do not require it either, we are given greater scope for the reduction of duties in committee. I do not say that we are to place the other States in difficulties, because, as I said when opening my speech, I explained to the electors, when I stumped the country, that one of the reasons for a high revenue through the Customs was that we were taking in the smaller States, and that we must be considerate to the views of the members they returned. I said that we must consider the Customs revenue that they had been receiving, and must endeavour to meet their wishes financially. That being fully considered, I still hope to see some reductions made in this Tariff. I must say that I feel delicate about imposing an unnecessary burden of taxation upon the people. I intend to vote with the Government when the division is called for, but I hope to see some alterations made in the Tariff in committee. I hope the Government will see that we cannot be bound by a hard-and-fast rule in dealing with the Tariff in committee, and that we must be left to take what is allowed to be a fair and proper view of the construction which ordinary readers would put upon the address delivered by the Prime Minister at Maitland.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH (Parkes).—I do not think any apology is required from me as a preliminary to addressing the House at some length. I have a good deal of sympathy with the supporters of the Government in the desire which they have so often expressed that the debate should be very quickly brought to an end; but I am very glad to see that that anxiety has ceased to be expressed by the Government itself. I cannot help noticing, however, that the expressions of that anxiety ceased only so soon as it became apparent that a very large number of the party who stand at its back objected to being suppressed during the rest of the discussion. It is now evident that the great issue which is involved in this debate has become perfectly apparent to both sides of the House. I think it will be admitted also that, although members of both parties in this House may have

long since crystallized in regard to their fiscal opinions, the debate which has taken place has, for educational purposes, been a boon to the public. I do not say that that education has come from this side of the House only, because a great many speeches have been made from the Government side of the House which were at least calculated to confirm in their protectionist opinions people who already had proclivities in that direction, from long residence in this State. But, on whatever side the merit of the debate lies, I think it was of the utmost importance that at this early stage in the history of the Commonwealth, when so many conflicting interests in the several States have come to close quarters, that the general public should be made aware, through their various newspapers, of what could be said, for and against, on these two important fiscal doctrines. I do not think, therefore, that any member of this House is called upon to apologize for speaking at length. I admit that there is an obligation upon members from time to time to avoid, if they can, the mere repetition of facts and figures which have been frequently laid before the House; but no two speakers treat this question alike. I have listened to a very large number of capable speeches dealing with the fiscal aspect of the question, but I have heard very few as yet in which the method of calculating the requirements of the Commonwealth have been trenchantly attacked; and I have heard no speech, so far, in which any attempt has been made to demonstrate with some degree of accuracy the taxable amount of imports which should form the basis of the actuarial calculations of the Treasurer. I propose to devote myself mainly to that and kindred aspects of the question; but I desire first to deal with one or two more general aspects which seem to me to have a very important bearing on the result of this debate. There are economic reasons which, in my opinion, can be strongly and conclusively, and, I think, irresistibly advanced against this Tariff; and there are what I should call moral objections to it; because I have no hesitation in saying that it involves one of the most reprehensible breaches of political faith that has yet been known in the history of Australia. I do not say this inadvisedly; I do not say it without having given the matter very deep and earnest consideration. But, as a representative of New South Wales—and in my broader capacity as a representative of the

people of Australia—I have no hesitation in saying that the resultant majority in the House at the present moment—and I speak not invidiously of any particular member or of any particular group of members making up the majority—has been returned on false political representations. I say nothing that I am not prepared to prove, for I consider that, quite apart from all fiscal considerations; quite apart from all economic considerations; there is, at the bottom of this debate, a broad moral consideration which ought to be placed before the people of Australia; because, being at the initial stage of Commonwealth history, it behoves every man who aspires to take a part in Federal politics that he should, no matter on what side of the House he sits, to demand from its leaders, and from the members of any Ministry professing to represent the best interests of Australia, that they should treat the people of Australia on all occasions with the utmost *bona fides* and honesty of purpose in their political declarations. There is not only ample, but superfluous proof of my charge lying all round us, and I place it beyond the economic, beyond the fiscal aspects of the great question. The Prime Minister, surrounded by his colleagues, and, whether surrounded by them or not, representing all Ministers—speaking after the fullest opportunities for consideration and consultation with them—told the people of Australia that we were not going to have either a protectionist Tariff or a free-trade Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—Nor have we.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—My glib friend is very ready with his interjections; but I ask him to have a little consideration for me as a speaker desiring to be consecutive, and not to throw me off my line of criticism. The Prime Minister told the people of Australia in many ways, in many phrases—to a few of which I shall refer—that the Government of which he was the head intended to offer to them a Tariff which was neither protectionist nor free-trade, which was a revenue Tariff, and which would please all parties. Of course my general paraphrasing of his speeches will be taken exception to, and therefore I shall feel it my duty to refer to particular passages in them. I need not say that it is not a particularly pleasant duty for me to have to perform; because I stand here as close a friend of the Government in some respects as the three honorable members who had very painful

occasion to cross the floor in regard to this question. I think I can claim that I have given earnest on more than one occasion to the House of my desire not to join in any mere party division for the purpose of displacing the Government. I think I can point to two occasions upon which, though it was a vital question, I distinctly declined to ally myself with a large body of my honorable friends on this side where I thought there was no principle involved upon which the Government were seriously to blame, and therefore deserved to be turned out of office. But on this occasion I think that a great wrong has been done to the people of Australia. This is its first Parliament, and I think it requires very little effort on my part to demonstrate that several honorable members, if I liked to individualize, received very large and important support from free-traders in Australia, because they were assured that the fiscal question was to be one of no importance in this first Parliament. We were told that the great object of the people of Australia should be not to return a protectionist, nor to return a free-trader, but to return the best men, irrespective of their fiscal faith.

Mr. SAVERS.—The elections in New South Wales were fought out on the issue of protection or free-trade, and the honorable and learned member knows that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member wishes to jump over the fence; I prefer to take one rail at a time. I prefer some sequence in my observations, and I shall deal with it all in due time. It is, I say, very painful for me to have to take this course; because I have adopted terms which, although they may seem of no importance to those against whom they are directed, have given me much concern before I made up my mind to use them. I say two things; first, that the Tariff is one of the gravest breaches of political faith I have known—because of its far-reaching results; and, secondly, that the majority in this House, treated as a mere political resultant, is a majority that was obtained under false pretences from the people of Australia. When the Prime Minister was at Maitland he used these words—

I am a protectionist; and so are nearly all my colleagues.

That is a sort of prelude to what he was going to say—

But if we are to raise the great revenue which is necessary for the security of the Federation, then we cannot be prohibitionists.

Many honorable members frequently use various terms of the economic science without exactly realizing their full significance. But there is no man in this House who knows better the meaning of "prohibition," or the meaning of any economic terms, than does the Prime Minister; and therefore I am perfectly justified in using any term he may employ as indicating what it signifies, according to the best authorities. The right honorable gentleman says—"But if we are to raise the great revenue that is necessary for the Federation, we cannot be prohibitionists." I observe that in Mill's treatment of this question of protection—which was brought before the House in a rather partial way some time ago by the honorable and learned member for Bendigo—he says, speaking of the various forms of protection—

Of these false theories, the most notable is the doctrine of protection. The phrase means prohibition—the prohibition or the discouragement of heavy duties.

If that be taken as a fair definition of the equivalent of prohibition, the quoted passage means this—that to raise the great revenue necessary for the security of the Federation we cannot have heavy duties; that is to say, that we cannot apply the doctrine which either prohibits or discourages by heavy duties. Now I ask any honorable member of this House, looking at this matter for a moment impartially, to ask himself whether this Tariff could be looked upon as complying even with my first quotation from the speech of the right honorable gentleman. Because if it be analyzed, this is the result. The right honorable gentleman was speaking not to the people of Victoria, but to the people of Australia. He was speaking in the one State of all others in which we may be said to have approached more closely, perhaps, than any other part of the world, to an absolute free-trade Tariff. When we examine the Tariff which is now placed before the people of Australia—and I am testing it on the first quotation I made from the speech of the right honorable gentleman—we find that far from being in the nature of anything like a compromise between the Tariffs of the two largest States, a quarter of the duties are over 45 per cent.; one-twelfth are from 25 per cent. to 45 per cent.; over half of the duties are from 18 to 25 per cent., and only one-seventeenth are under 17.73 per cent.

Mr. CHANTER.—Does that include stimulants and narcotics?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is apart from stimulants and narcotics.

Mr. CHANTER.—What about the free list?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is apart from the free list also. I would refer honorable members for these particulars to the tabulated statement set forth in the speeches of the Treasurer and of the Minister for Trade and Customs. In testing the promise made by the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government by the mere use of that one term, I say that the Tariff has wholly failed to fulfil that promise; and I shall come in a moment to more complete and conclusive proof—not depending upon my own opinions or my own expressions—in order to enforce my contention regarding the moral aspect of this Tariff. The right honorable gentleman in the same speech said—

And our protection must be moderate, because prohibition or excessive protection would lead to the prevention of that access of revenue that is absolutely necessary for proper government and the security of the Commonwealth—the Tariff which will yield the sum we need—without discouraging protection.

Now, will any honorable member say in his conscience—and I am now trying to address honorable members in a spirit different to that which may actuate us in the ultimate division—that the address to which I have referred, and the percentages which I have quoted, can be said to conform to one another in principle. It must be a moderate Tariff. Why, it is not denied that if the two extremes of this Tariff are taken—as is clearly and unmistakably shown by Sir Frederick Sargood—the apex of its duties, so to speak, is actually 183 per cent.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh! oh!

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Honorable members may exclaim; but is it not so? Has not Sir Frederick Sargood, who is a manufacturer, shown what I have stated; and has his statement been answered, even by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, who is generally the most ready among honorable members in this House to rush into contradiction? Has the honorable member ventured to controvert the statement that these duties run in their extremes to 183 per cent.? I have shown that no less than a quarter of these duties are 45 per cent.

Mr. BARTON.—Would the honorable and learned member mention that Sir Frederick Sargood, in his letter, gave a statement of

the previous Victorian duties, which showed that the duties under this Tariff are not half what they were under the Victorian Tariff?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I shall deal with Victorian duties by-and-by. The Prime Minister is one of the first to object, and not always most amiably, to interruptions from honorable members. I do not wish to say anything unpleasant, except that I wish him to postpone his criticism until he has an opportunity of speaking.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—The honorable and learned member was a protectionist once.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member is making an absolutely false statement, and I wish to call the attention of Mr. Speaker to it, because, if I did not take the trouble to correct it, and it were published in the press, people might think there was some truth in it. I think that the honorable member ought to have a little more consideration than to make a statement of that kind, with his tongue in his cheek.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Was the honorable and learned member not a protectionist in 1898?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No, I was not. The honorable member ought to consider the effect of what he says on the public mind. From the time I settled in New South Wales, in 1881, I have written and spoken, always, as an unqualified advocate of free-trade; and I can show publications containing my views in almost every year since that time. It is, therefore, unbecoming and unfair on the part of the honorable member to make a statement of that sort, which may be taken up by a section of the press, and which may be treated by it, as it often treats equally unfounded data, as a proof of my having been a protectionist at one time. The statement is absolutely untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable and learned member must withdraw that expression.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I withdraw the expression, and content myself with saying that the statement of the honorable member is incorrect.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—I will withdraw my statement if the honorable and learned member will say that he was not the nominee of the Protectionist Union in 1898.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I was never so nominated in my life. I do not think any honorable member on this side of the House can be accused of deliberately breaking into the continuity of a speech in the way now attempted. It may be very amusing to the honorable member, and it might be very useful to the party for which the honorable member acts as "Whip," for him to act as he has done, but such observations are purposeless, and can only prolong the debate. The right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, in speaking at Newcastle, on 5th March, said—

The only way of getting over the difficulty was to raise a Commonwealth Tariff, which neither a protectionist nor a free-trader would think of for one moment. No Tariff which now existed could be adopted.

The public will be rather surprised to find that the average of the Tariff now submitted, including narcotics and stimulants, is 6 per cent. higher than the Victorian Tariff of last year, and that, apart from narcotics and stimulants, the average of the duties in the Commonwealth Tariff is 22 per cent., as against 20 per cent. in the Victorian Tariff. That is what the right honorable gentleman means—because he is persisting in the representation—when he says—

No Tariff which now existed could be adopted. It is too true in one sense, for he has given us a still higher Tariff. When the right honorable gentleman was at Melbourne, he said—

You in Victoria cannot have your Tariff; that is out of the question. We in New South Wales cannot have our Tariff; that is out of the question.

Will any honorable member on the other side of the House, speaking impartially, say that these words do not clearly indicate that neither the Tariff of Victoria, because of its height, nor the Tariff of New South Wales, because of its lowness, could be adopted by the Government? There is a worse aspect, when the right honorable gentleman, instead of admitting what is obviously the truth, persists before this House that he has fulfilled his promise. How can the right honorable gentleman reconcile that position with the fact that three of his most loyal supporters—men who have been intimately associated with him in Victoria on the great question of federation—deliberately stand up here and tell him that

he has been so untrue to the promise he made in his Ministerial manifesto that they have been misled, and, having taken a seat on the Ministerial side, now find themselves bound to cross over and face him instead of sitting beside him? I feel somewhat angry when I think of the persistence with which the right honorable gentleman tries to preserve the attitude he assumed at Maitland.

Mr. HUME COOK.—How does the honorable and learned member account for four honorable members coming over from the Opposition?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have not seen them go over, nor have I heard of their going over.

Mr. HUME COOK.—They are coming all right!

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—There are those who, by reason of their belonging to the labour party, are in the opposition corner; but they are voting independently on the fiscal question. Apart from those four honorable members, the honorable member for Bourke cannot name one. Can the honorable member name any honorable member who has sat in opposition from conviction—except the labour party—who has announced his intention of crossing the floor? I challenge the honorable member to mention one. He cannot do it. I have quoted some of the statements of the Prime Minister, but not all. He said—

Men of all opinions, who hope to act for their country first and their own policy second, can agree that the first Tariff ought to be a considerable reservation of existing protection.

Let us consider those words for a moment. Is there any reservation in a Tariff which, as I have pointed out, shows that the duties average 22·93 per cent., or roughly 23 per cent., apart from narcotics and stimulants and the free list, as against an average of 20·41 per cent. in the Tariff of Victoria of 1900?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is that on all imports?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is on all imports apart from the free list and narcotics and stimulants. The Tariff submitted to us is 3 per cent., or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at least, higher than the Victorian Tariff. Indeed, it is not $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher in the strict sense of the word, but means two out of 22, which is one-eighth more. That is to say, the Tariff which is submitted to us for the Commonwealth is one-eighth more than that of Victoria during 1900.

Mr. ISAACS.—Whose calculation is that ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—One calculation is by the Treasurer, and the other by myself; and the honorable and learned member for Indi can check the figures at any moment. I ought to say that the calculation is not only mine, because it was checked for me by another person. From the figures it appears that the total imports for 1899 were £17,952,894; the free goods, £12,017,968, showing a difference of £5,934,926. The duty paid was £2,051,938, being, over all, a percentage of 31·6 per cent., because that includes narcotics and stimulants. The Tariff for Victoria for 1900 showed 31 per cent. I am taking the percentage of the Victorian Tariff for 1900 and the Commonwealth Tariff submitted. The difference between the average of 20·41 per cent. for Victoria and 22·93 per cent. for the Commonwealth is thus 2·52 per cent.—one-tenth higher.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—What about the intercolonial goods which were dutiable at one time, but are not dutiable now ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—On these figures I show that the Commonwealth Tariff is one-tenth higher than the Victorian Tariff of 1900.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Why not take the Tariff of Queensland ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I take the Tariffs of Victoria and New South Wales because they produce two-thirds of the revenue of Australia. In order to make the point quite clear, I say that, including narcotics and stimulants, the percentage for Victoria in 1899 was 34·6.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is that on all imports ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—On all imports, including narcotics and stimulants, and the free list.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Are Inter-State goods included ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes; For 1899 the Victorian average was 34·6 per cent., and for 1900 31·4 per cent., whereas the Commonwealth average is 35·99 per cent., or practically 36 per cent. When the right honorable gentleman said—

Men of all opinions, who hope to act for their country first and their own policy second, can agree that the first Tariff ought to be a considerable reservation of existing protection—

he never could have meant a Tariff which exceeded that of Victoria in either 1899 or 1900.

Mr. PAGE.—Why did the honorable and learned member allow the labour party to go into opposition ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Because they would have been dangerous under any circumstances. My interpretation of the matter is this—I contend that when the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Ministry first contemplated the formation of the existing Government—there was no doubt in my mind—he intended to create a composite Ministry. He could have had no other purpose in bringing the honorable member who now fills the position of Speaker of this House from South Australia to New South Wales, in order to consult with him. But I have little doubt that when those strong and masterful spirits I refer to, the ex-Premier of South Australia, the present Minister for Trade and Customs, and the right honorable gentleman the Treasurer—

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON. — Over-rated !

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—He may be, but he is strong even if over-rated. When, as I say, those right honorable gentlemen, with the Attorney-General, came together, they were strong enough to dominate the mind of the Prime Minister, and induce him to attempt to sweep away all his former federal intentions.

Mr. BARTON.—I am afraid it was a little bit the other way.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—There followed this extraordinary result, that while the head of the Government, together with another honorable gentleman who occupies a seat in another place, and who ultimately became a member of the Ministry, were assuring the public throughout New South Wales that neither protection nor free-trade was involved—in order to get the votes of the people—those three right honorable gentlemen whom I have mentioned were down in Victoria bidding for the outright support of the protectionists of this and other States. So much was I impressed, and so much were others impressed, by this fact, that they were drawing attention to it in different parts of New South Wales.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Good generalship !

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It may have been good generalship. It had the effect of checking the right honorable gentleman, or else he would have had a much larger majority than he has now.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then it was known ?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes, it was known; but the effect was not corrected, because, notwithstanding that, a large portion of the public accepted the assurances given at Maitland and said—"We will not interest ourselves in one fiscal policy more than another"; yet, for the senior State of the Commonwealth there would have been no difficulty in returning six members pledged to support the Opposition had it not been for the course so pursued. The one honorable gentleman who was returned to support the Government was returned on personal grounds, and because a large number of the people accepted the assurances of himself and the Prime Minister that the fiscal question was not about to be raised.

Mr. BARTON.—They put him in because they thought he was the best man of the lot.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Honorable members are much more disposed to accept a quotation from a past utterance than a present statement of a state of mind in the past. I will therefore quote—to show how I stood in this matter—from a speech of my own, which will prove that I am not now advancing, for party reasons, any new view of this question. I quote from a report in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Mr. CROUCH.—What date?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The 2nd March, 1891, on the fourth page and the fifth column, if the honorable member wishes to be precise. This is what I said—

It was admitted on all sides that the Federal Treasurer must raise £8,000,000 through the Custom House, so that the Commonwealth might keep £2,000,000 for its own expenditure, and hand back £6,000,000 to the States, to enable them to maintain their political institutions. But the question arose, should we have higher duties than those required to raise £8,000,000? The protectionists said, "Yes, let us have as high duties as we can," whilst the free-traders said "No, we want absolute freedom of commerce—we cannot get it—but we desire to get as near to it as possible." The personnel of Mr. Barton's Ministry was no guarantee that they would not advocate a highly protective Tariff. It must also be borne in mind that whilst Mr. Barton gave his solemn promise that a revenue Tariff would be imposed his colleagues in Victoria were preaching undiluted protection.

That was said in March.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—That is not inconsistent.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Of course it is not—it is my own. On 6th March I am thus reported—

Referring to fiscal matters, he said that, in all probability, Mr. Barton would not be able to

carry out what he had undertaken with regard to the Tariff. Whilst Mr. Barton was talking about a revenue Tariff, Mr. Deakin and Sir George Turner were careering about Victoria, telling people that the proposed Federal Tariff was a bastard free-trade Tariff, and that the Victorians must form a firm front in favour of protection. Mr. Kingston was doing the same in South Australia.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I did not say anything about a "bastard Tariff" Did the honorable and learned member say that about me?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That particular utterance is not credited to the right honorable gentleman, but to the Treasurer and the Attorney-General, who were at that time speaking in Victoria—

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I never said that of the proposed Federal Tariff; I did say it of the New South Wales Tariff.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am merely showing that the attitude I am taking up now is the same that I took up then.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is wonderful how a man comes to hear how he has been libelled behind his back.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I said further—

Does not that state of things afford fair grounds for suspicion that Mr. Barton would not have the ability to resist the force of the opinions of the men whom he had taken into his Ministry. That being so, there was great necessity for returning to the Federal Parliament as many free-traders as possible, to act as watch-dogs to see that Mr. Barton carried through a revenue Tariff and to guard the free-trade interests with which the State of New South Wales had been hitherto identified.

Mr. HARPER.—The honorable and learned member could not have been much deceived.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not say that I was deceived; because I saw very well how parties were placed, and how the right honorable gentleman was situated. What is more, I knew the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government. I knew his easy-going ways. I knew how easily he would succumb to the stronger personality of my right honorable friend the Treasurer.

Mr. BARTON.—He never succumbed to the honorable and learned member.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Not to me, but to stronger men than myself. The pledges made to the people at Maitland have thus gone by the board.

Mr. SAWERS.—Did not the honorable and learned member tell the people of New

South Wales that he would preserve existing industries?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Nothing of the kind.

Mr. SAWERS.—He did so in my presence.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I will tell the honorable member what I said, and I am not ashamed of it. I think on this question, whatever honorable members may think of my opinions, I can show a perfectly consistent record. What I said was this. I was one of four speakers who addressed a great free-trade meeting held at the Town-hall, Sydney. The speakers were the leader of the Opposition, the honorable member for Wentworth, myself, and another. I then told the people of Sydney that even if the free-trade party of New South Wales had a majority in the Federal Parliament, I personally would be no party to suddenly sweeping away the whole of the Victorian Tariff; because, I said, I should prefer to emulate the statesman-like attitude taken up by the leader of the Opposition towards the sugar industry of that State, in gradually reducing the duty £1 by £1 over a series of years. And I say that now. I knew at the time that the financial requirements of the Commonwealth would prevent us, even if we had such a majority, from sweeping out of existence altogether the duties in Victoria and elsewhere. I was prepared, moreover, though I was a free-trader, to continue something like 15 per cent. towards the industries of Victoria. I knew very well that the natural protection which every industry in Australia obtains by the great distance of this country from Europe, means in itself 15 per cent. in some cases, and even more in others; and that, therefore, when duties of 15 per cent. were imposed it meant 30 per cent. including the natural protection that those industries would have over European and American goods. That meant, I say, a protection of something like 30 per cent. altogether; and surely if industries enjoy an advantage of 30 per cent. above all the industries of the world, can any one say that they are being destroyed? Therefore, the 15 per cent. which the honorable member for Gwydir has stated that he believed was intended by the Prime Minister would have given the Victorian industries a protection of 30 per cent., and in advocating such duties I say I should not have been acting in such a way as to conduce to the destruction of the industries of Victoria.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The honorable member has not said a word about the other four States.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have every consideration for them, though no anxiety—knowing that they are represented by the honorable member.—That then was the position of affairs. We had Mr. O'Connor, who is now a member of the Senate, saying to the people of New South Wales—“Why do you allow these free-traders to raise the fiscal question?” I state these facts for the information of honorable members who were not in New South Wales at the time; for in Victoria they see very little of the newspapers of the other States. The people of New South Wales were warned that I and other free-traders were dragging the fiscal question into the political arena; and that we were disturbing their chance of returning the best men to the Commonwealth. I will tell honorable members how they endeavoured to return the best representatives to the Commonwealth Parliament. They did so by putting up absolutely unknown men, who merely professed protection, to oppose such men as the honorable member for Wentworth, Sir William McMillan. Honorable members will thus see that right through the piece there has been a most deliberate conspiracy—a political conspiracy, of course—in preaching the note of no policy but a revenue policy in New South Wales; and by preaching the favorite and the popular doctrine in South Australia and Victoria, in order to bring into the political garner the largest number of men who would support this Tariff when it was brought forward. I say, deliberately, that the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government is on the horns of a dilemma. He must admit either that he has represented to the people of Australia a state of things which he is not now trying to realize, or that he has been completely dominated by stronger minds, who had more respect for their political policy than for the promises entered into by the chief of the Government of which they were members. It is an unfortunate alternative for the Prime Minister; and it is perhaps more humiliating to us from another point of view—to find that honorable members have been returned to this Chamber in these circumstances. Some honorable members, I am sure, will say honestly that though they are supporting the Government, they had a good deal of

free-trade assistance at the elections, because the free-traders were led to believe that the fiscal issue was not going to be an element in the approaching election of the Commonwealth; that the best men were going to be returned irrespective of their fiscal creed.

Mr. SAWERS.—Not a vote was cast in New South Wales on such an understanding.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member knows, that so far as the Senate is concerned, there would have been no possible difficulty in returning six absolute free-traders, if it had not been for that feeling which was engendered by the speech at Maitland. I make that statement without fear of contradiction; and silence only gives greater emphasis to it. A principle, if it be an obvious truth, requires no thumping on the table to give it force. What further proof could the Prime Minister have than the fact that three honorable members sitting on his own side of the House, and who had expressed their determination to support the Government, have to rise one after the other and tell the right honorable gentleman and the Ministry generally, in a half apologetic way that they are very sorry, but that this Tariff is not what the Prime Minister promised, and that in justice to themselves, and in duty to their constituents they must cross the floor of the House, and vote against the Government. Then we have had to-day a fourth honorable member—the honorable member for Gwydir—coming forward and saying—"I am going to support the Government; but from the assurances given by the Prime Minister at Maitland, as representing the Government, I believed we were going to have a 15 per cent. Tariff." That honorable member seemed to think that it was necessary, in order to bind the members of the Government, that they should surround the Prime Minister when he delivered his Maitland speech. I do not care whether they were around him or not. They were members of the Government. They had been consulted, and the Maitland speech was the manifesto of the Government. The honorable member for Gwydir says—"I am going to support the Government, but the assurances I have received from the Prime Minister led me to believe," and this comes from the lips of one of the Government's strongest supporters—"that this was going to be a 15 per cent. Tariff,

and not one running up to 60 per cent." What do we find in the newspapers to-day? We find a telegram from Maitland setting forth that—

The feeling in the Maitland district is very strong against Mr. Barton—

Mr. MAUGER.—There are a number of other telegrams.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am going to refer to them presently. The telegraphic message continues—

in connexion with the Federal Tariff, and it is probable that a meeting will be held in the electorate to protest against the attitude of the Federal Premier. Many of Mr. Barton's leading supporters consider that he has not remained faithful to the pledges made by him in his address at Maitland, and in his conference with them. Others who feel equally strong on the matter prefer to wait and see the result of the Federal Parliament's action when the Tariff proposals are considered in committee.

Looking further at that aspect of the question, I find in to-day's newspaper—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In what newspaper?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—In both newspapers.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Who sent the telegram from Maitland?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The Maitland correspondent. Every honorable member knows that up to a few months ago it was impossible for a free-trader to show himself in Victoria without risking doubt as to his mental soundness.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—He is not safe yet.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—An honorable member, who is a protectionist, says that in Victoria a free trader is not yet safe. It is certainly some testimony to the educational value of this debate, however, when—as I say—in to-day's newspapers there are telegrams from the Victorian towns of Seymour, Rutherglen, Wimmera, Coleraine, Kerang, Kilmore, Mansfield, and Tallangatta—

Mr. ISAACS.—What do they say?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I will tell the honorable and learned member, if he will allow me. We find from these messages that in one day in nine Victorian towns meetings have been held and resolutions carried denouncing the Tariff which has been brought in by the present Government.

Mr. KENNEDY.—And every one of them was against the revenue Tariff aspect of the proposals.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If the honorable member will read the newspaper reports he will see that nothing of the kind is mentioned.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I quoted them the other night.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—These reports only appear in to-day's newspapers. The honorable member has surely been dreaming.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I quoted reports of the same kind.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Any one who has listened to the extracts which I have read from the speech delivered at Maitland will admit, I think, that it was made quite clear in them that the Tariff was not going to be a protectionist one. I do not care which extract they take; the fact itself is quite clear. How was the Tariff announced, and how was it received? In the first place, when introducing it, the Minister for Trade and Customs, who, whilst one of the strongest, is certainly one of the most impulsive members of the Government, told us several economic truths in regard to this Tariff—when he became excited.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is a pity that the honorable and learned member does not do the same.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—In his cooler moments, as I shall show, he became a provincialist—to the last degree; but the moment fervour got the better of him he said some remarkably sound things, from an economic standpoint.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable and learned member should follow my example.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am trying to do so. I am going to quote the right honorable gentleman now. He said—

We know what our own fiscal views are, and as a result we are here, and our majority is here; and if there is any question about the Government fiscal policy let it be determined at once.

That was quoted by the *Age* newspaper. I hope that I shall not be suspected of using that newspaper as a fiscal authority.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is a good authority.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Upon its own side it is a very good authority. I have known the *Age* for 35 years, and I have had great pleasure and profit in watching its career—as a sociological study. I have no hesitation in saying that it has circulated more economic falsehoods than has any other newspaper in Australia; and if it has ever told an economic truth, it has been during

the lucid intervals of its existence. What does the *Age* say? Honorable members will notice that I go to an adverse witness to make my point, as the honorable and learned member for Indi would do in his profession. If we take a statement out of an opponent's evidence, even a jury will sometimes believe it. The *Age*, upon the morning following the submission of the Tariff, said—

The Tariff, as the Minister declared in unmistakable terms to the House, is to be a protective one. Whilst it secures a £9,000,000 revenue, it will support existing industries and encourage new ones.

The same newspaper quotes the Minister for Trade and Customs as saying that this was the policy of the Government, and the Opposition could challenge it if they pleased. The right honorable and learned gentleman continued—

The sheltering hand of protection against foreign and cruel competition, against prison-made goods, or goods produced with the cheapest possible labour, and under conditions with which our employers and our men cannot compete, there will be a development throughout Australia.

Then, again, we were told—

A feature of the Ministerial fiscal policy which will find favour with protectionists is that which proposes a bonus upon iron production. This was one of the recommendations of the Protectionists' Conference.

In a leader in yesterday's *Age*, I find the following—

As the protectionists dislike the Tariff, because of its insensate attacks on many valuable established industries, free-traders are averse to it because of its new protectionist provisions in many directions.

If it be once established that this is a protectionist Tariff, the whole case of the Government has gone; because the Prime Minister certainly promised the people of Australia that the Tariff would be neither a protectionist nor a free-trade one. He said—

Men of all opinions who hope to act for their country first and their own policy second, can agree that the first Tariff ought to be a considerable reservation of existing protection.

But the Minister for Trade and Customs, in the height of his fervour and when roused to indignation by the jibes of the leader of the Opposition, said—

We know what our own fiscal views are, and as the result we are here, and our majority is here, and if there is any question about the Government fiscal policy, let it be determined at once.

If I entertain one wish more than another it is that we could have

the whole of the Commonwealth elections over again with the truth which has dawned up to the present time before the people. I will undertake to say that if those elections could be held again the present Prime Minister would not occupy a seat in this House; and there would not be a majority supporting a Tariff which ranges from nothing up to 180 per cent. It cannot be said either that this Tariff is a revenue Tariff. In dealing with that aspect of the question, I propose to refer to some authorities, quite outside the influences of this House; because I think a large number of honorable members will admit that economy is a science quite as surely as are many other studies which go by the name, and which people do not pretend to know so much about. If we want definitions of terms in regard to questions of science, we must inevitably go to the best authorities. There are scores of economic writers that one might quote, many of them against one another.

Mr. SAWERS. — What constitutes a science?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — There is a very fine *Encyclopædia* in the Library, which I can recommend to the honorable member; but I cannot undertake to instruct him in philology as well as in fiscal matters. I take as two authorities on the question of a revenue Tariff, John Stuart Mill and Professor Fawcett. The definition of such terms does not involve a writer's fiscal views. It does not involve the fiscal view of our present question, for it is merely a definition of words to determine what is a revenue Tariff and what is a protective Tariff. I do not suppose that anybody could name two better authorities upon this question than those I have mentioned. John Stuart Mill says—

All customs duties which operate as an encouragement to the home production of the taxed article are thus an eminently wasteful mode of raising revenue.

Professor Fawcett says—

There is, then, this fundamental and important distinction between an import duty which is imposed for the purpose of revenue and one which is maintained with the object of giving protection to home industries. In the former case, the object is to encourage importation, because the greater the importation the larger will be the revenue obtained. In the second case, the object being to discourage importation, the smaller the amount of revenue obtained the more completely will the purpose of the duty have been achieved.

Then I will take an eminent economist in the person of my right honorable and learned friend, the Minister for Trade and Customs. In a lucid economic interval he said—

There can be no extremes of revenue-production and protection, given in any one line. The two things are mutually destructive.

Where does that statement lead us? Is this a revenue Tariff? I read the utterance of the Prime Minister as having been made with a full knowledge of the economic significance of the terms which he used. Can anybody say that that this is a revenue Tariff? Does it encourage importation so as to raise revenue? Can any honorable member urge that it is a revenue Tariff when a perusal of it discloses that a very large part of the revenue is to be raised by duties of 48 per cent.? I think that I am justified in assuming that the average natural protection of goods imported to this country is 15 per cent.

Mr. HARPER. — That is not correct.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — Upon such articles as crockery and furniture it reaches 50 and 60 per cent.

Mr. HARPER. — And in a great many others.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — In a great many other instances the duty is as low as 5 per cent.

Mr. HARPER. — And nothing.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — And nothing. But I say I am dealing fairly in taking the average at 15 per cent. all round. I cannot take any particular article, and I assume that 15 per cent. is a fair average. I pointed out that a fourth of the Tariff was over 45 per cent.; one-twelfth from 25 per cent. to 45 per cent.; over one-half from 18 per cent. to 25 per cent.; and one-seventeenth at 17·3 per cent. I take these figures from the statement laid upon the table. Now if we add the 15 per cent. of natural protection, to which I have referred, to all these figures we shall find that there is one-fourth of the Tariff at 60 per cent., one-twelfth from 40 to 60 per cent.—adding the 15 per cent. in each case; over one-half 33 per cent. to 40 per cent.; and only one-seventeenth is under 33 per cent. Will anybody say for a moment that that is a revenue Tariff within the meaning of the definition—

All custom duties which operate as an encouragement of home production of the taxed articles, are thus an eminently wasteful mode of raising revenue.

Why are they wasteful? For this reason; and it has been demonstrated to-night by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, who showed from *Mulhall* that in America the amount which was paid by the public through the Customshouse is only one-eighth part of what the public have to contribute, in order to support the protected industries of that country.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Who said that?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—*Mulhall* said it; and it was quoted by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn. If honorable members will look at yesterday's *Argus*, they will find this astounding and staggering statement with regard to sugar—that under the proposed customs duties of £6 per ton, with an excise of £3 per ton, the amount which would be collected by the public Treasury would be £530,000; and the amount absorbed by the private industry would be £410,000, or nearly as much. And where the excise went down to £1, as proposed, with the duty at £6, the amount paid into the Treasury would be £256,000; and the amount paid to the private industry would be £683,000. Let honorable members who object to these figures take the trouble to read the article and try to controvert them. It is very easy to sneer at the calculations of scientists, and after all this is a scientific investigation of the figures, based, as Mr. Pulsford says, upon accurate information as to the consumption of sugar by the people of Australia.

Mr. SAWERS.—It is partisan.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Partisan? Is Coghlan partisan?

Mr. SAWERS.—The honorable and learned member said Mr. Pulsford.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—So the honorable member has the temerity practically to impute that Mr. Pulsford, in presenting statistics to the public of the Commonwealth, has deliberately distorted them in order to deceive the public?

Mr. SAWERS.—That is not a fair way to put it, and the honorable and learned member has no right to put it in that way.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It amounts to that.

Mr. SAWERS.—The honorable and learned member knows perfectly well that I had no such idea.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It amounts to that, I tell the honorable member; because, if we are dealing with words they are

capable of as many shades and tints as liberty silks, if I may say so; but when we are dealing with figures we cannot distort them in connexion with a great subject of this sort without deliberate intention.

Mr. SAWERS.—We may come to wrong conclusions.

Mr. PRUCE SMITH.—However, I quote the figures not for what I call fiscal agnostics; but for men whose minds are not absolutely hide-bound, and who are open to conviction from figures honestly presented.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The proposals relating to sugar are accepted by the honorable and learned member's leader. The right honorable gentleman told the House so.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am showing the honorable member the very prevalent impression amongst protectionists—that when the public have paid a duty that is all they have to do, and these returns with respect to sugar, besides showing the two extraordinary results I have mentioned, show this much more extraordinary one: That when the excise is gone altogether, and the £6 per ton duty remains, whilst the Treasurer will receive £120,000, the industry will be receiving £820,000 from the public. What does this show? I hear a great many honorable members in this House contend that it does not matter how high our duties are so long as we do not raise over £8,500,000. The man who says that is surely ignorant of the alphabet of economics; because, if we place a very low duty upon goods, and so raise the revenue by spreading it over a very much larger number of articles, we do not bring into existence or continue in existence these artificial industries, and we do not compel the public to pay in the aggregate to the manufacturer perhaps seven or eight times what they have to pay to the public revenue of the country. That is the difference. Therefore I say that if we take these definitions of Mill and Fawcett, we can come to no other honest conclusion, no matter what our convictions may be, than that this is not a revenue Tariff, that it is a protectionist Tariff, that it is higher than that of Victoria—whether we take it with or without narcotics and stimulants—and that so far from being a compromise between the two States, which really contribute two-thirds of the revenue of Australia, it is an advance upon the Victorian Tariff, and is, therefore, I say, a deception of the people throughout the Commonwealth. But there are other

reasons besides that why I should object to this Tariff. I take the first of the reasons given by the right honorable gentleman who submitted the proposal to the House, that it places the finances of the Commonwealth and States on an unsound and extravagant basis. I deal directly with that aspect of the question in this way: Honorable members will recollect that when the right honorable the Treasurer introduced the Budget, he said—

We have based our comparisons on the figures for 1889, not for 1900, and for this reason: that we had all the statistics prepared with regard to the former, and it would have been impossible to get them for the latter. But we had a stronger and better reason for our action. We found this extraordinary state of affairs, that whereas the imports overseas in 1899 came to £34,000,000; in 1900 they came to £41,000,000.

I should just like to say here that the whole pyramid of figures—

Mr. KINGSTON.—Why stop there?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I was going to read it all, but I should like to say here that the whole pyramid of figures which has been constructed by the two right honorable gentlemen opposite as reasons for imposing this Tariff upon the people of Australia, is based upon this premise that £19,000,000 is the ultimate net sum upon which this Tariff can be collected. They arrive at it in this way. I will repeat that part of the Treasurer's speech in order that I may show that my ground is correct. The right honorable gentleman said that he had based his comparisons on the figures for 1899 and not 1900, and he gave a reason. He then said—

But we had another and a better reason for our action. We found this extraordinary state of affairs: that whereas the imports over sea in 1899 came to £34,000,000, in 1900 they came to £41,000,000, being an increase of £7,000,000. An increase of £7,000,000. Honorable members know that that could not be a normal increase; it would be absolutely impossible.

I shall show the House in a moment that not only is it not abnormal and not impossible, but that £6,000,000 was the advance only five years before—which the right honorable gentleman has never placed before the House—and in a normal time, too. This is the calculation which he makes. He takes £34,000,000 as the total imports over sea for 1899; he deducts from that what he calls reduced imports in consequence of this Tariff £5,000,000, and he brings out a sum of £29,000,000. He makes a further deduction of £2,000,000 for Government

goods and gold and specie, and he brings it down to £27,500,000. Then he takes a free list of £6,500,000, bringing it down to £21,000,000. Honorable members will remember that he makes a further deduction of £2,000,000 for narcotics and stimulants, and ultimately brings it down to £19,000,000 as a net basis on which the Tariff shall be fixed. I want honorable members to follow me in this, that the £34,000,000, the total imports for 1889 is what I may call the corner stone of his calculation, the premise of his argument. Every one will admit that where an argument, or a building, or anything else is reared, if you take away the foundation you destroy the fabrication. I submit that this whole system of taxation has been based on this one assumption, that the figures for 1899 are fair ones to take for 1901. Honorable members will recollect that when the Ministers calculated what was wanted for expenditure in the different States, they did not go back to 1899, but took 1900. They take the expenditure of 1900, but they take the imports of 1899, and though they are taken at £34,000,000, as a fact the imports of 1900 went up from £34,000,000 to £41,000,000, and the Treasurer says—

Honorable members know that that could not be a normal increase; it would be absolutely impossible.

Surely the right honorable gentleman could not have looked into the figures; because if he goes back as far as 1895, he will discover that the rise in the imports was to the extent of £6,000,000. The Australian imports for 1895 were £44,000,000 and the Inter-State trade was £22,000,000, so that the overseas imports were £22,000,000. In 1896 the overseas imports were £28,000,000, so that there was an advance of £6,000,000 between 1895 and 1896.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Would not that be at a period when we were getting from abnormal back to normal conditions?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not know how you can get back from abnormal to normal conditions, by £6,000,000.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The depression.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I can show the honorable member, that from 1898 to 1899 there was a rise of £4,000,000, just before this rise of £7,000,000.

Mr. PIESSE.—There were larger imports in 1891 than in 1899.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not propose to make the estimates myself. I have

taken care to fortify myself with the opinion of people who are better able to judge than I am. Every one knows the large mercantile firm of John Connell and Co. I have consulted one of the most important partners of that firm, and this is what he says—

In the course of our conversation you mentioned that the increase in imports for the Commonwealth for the year ending 1900 was £7,000,000 over that of 1899. I can safely say half this increase was perfectly legitimate.

It was generally admitted, as contended by the Treasurer, and as mentioned in his speech, that from 1899 to 1900 there was an abnormal importation, in anticipation of this Tariff; but like many inquiries of that kind it has not been examined thoroughly. The abnormal imports into Australia were in the one State where the goods could be brought in free in anticipation of a Commonwealth Tariff, with the idea of ultimately filtering them into the other States; but the same authorities tell me—and it seems perfectly feasible—that while the New South Wales stores were choked with goods during 1890, in view of the Commonwealth Tariff; in the protected colony of Victoria, where it was anticipated that the Tariff would be reduced, the majority of the stocks were run down almost to zero.

Mr. POYNTER.—The same in South Australia.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—In all the other colonies where the Tariff was a high one, it was anticipated that there would be a reduction of the duties, and, therefore, their stocks were run down, while those of New South Wales were run up. It is, therefore, not abnormal, because you find a nearly equal rise of £6,000,000 between 1895 and 1896, a rise of £3,000,000 between 1896 and 1897, a rise of £4,000,000 between 1898-9, and a rise of £7,000,000 between 1899-1900. That assumption is the bottom brick in this structure which has been erected by these two right honorable gentlemen and assented to by the whole of the Government. It is a fair calculation to take half of the £7,000,000, according to the authority of John Connell and Co. I have another letter from another Sydney merchant, Mr. Norman Shelley, a well-known name, and an economic student too; and he says—

I think the amount mentioned by Sir George Turner £7,000,000, as being an abnormal increase for the twelve months, is not altogether abnormal;

for the reason that, while New South Wales imported extra heavily in anticipation of the Tariff, the other colonies imported much less than usual, expecting a reduction in the high import duties then levied; and I should think half the amount named would be nearer the mark.

In accordance with these letters, and in accordance with what seems to me to be common sense and reason, I take the normal rise from 1899 to 1900 to be £3,500,000. That brings the taxable imports gross up to £37,500,000, and I do not think it is an unfair estimate to assume that the rise of 1900 to 1901 will be a further rise of £3,500,000; because in taking that half increase I shall be taking, in both cases, very little more than half what occurred between 1895 and 1896, just about half as much as occurred between 1896 and 1897, less than what occurred between 1898 and 1899, and only half of what occurred between 1899 and 1900; and if this be done, what is the result to this corner stone of the elaborate calculation which has been made by these two right honorable gentlemen?—that you get for 1901, not £34,000,000, but 41,000,000. You do not then ignore the progress of a great country like Australia, and say that things have stood still for two years. That is an absurdity; that is an abnormality if you like, even in the Treasurer's calculations. Honorable members will see that whether it be intentional or not, the effect of reducing the taxable amount of imports of this country throws the question into the hands of the protectionist party. The lower you make the taxable imports of the country, the higher the Tariff must be over that amount in order to raise the revenue. If it is admitted that that is a fair argument, and we take the taxable imports of 1901 to be a rise of £3,500,000 on each of the two years, we arrive for 1901 at £41,000,000. What is the result? If the £34,000,000 is reduced by the Treasurer to £21,000,000 before he begins putting on his duties, the £41,000,000 will only reduce to £28,000,000. If that be a reasonable argument, the Treasurer will have to substitute £28,000,000 for £21,000,000 as his basis; that is to say £28,000,000 is one-third more than the amount which he calculates. If £21,000,000 be adopted as the basis of this Tariff, and the Treasurer is right in his calculation that it will produce £9,000,000, then £28,000,000 will produce £12,000,000. The absurdity of the result is no argument against the calculation. If the Treasurer, in order to justify himself in

putting very high duties on the imports of Australia has improperly reduced the taxable amount, I have a perfect right, as a matter of argument, to say that by a rule of three sum, we get the extraordinary result that if £21,000,000 of imports will produce £9,000,000 in revenue, then £28,000,000, being one-third more, will produce £12,000,000 in revenue, instead of £9,000,000. If that be the case, everyone must admit that it is an impossible revenue. If it be right to calculate a £3,500,000 rise for two years, the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs have laid before the people of Australia a practically impossible revenue. The Treasurer has tried to do what he said he could not do; he is trying to serve two masters. He is trying to get revenue first of all, which, according to the best authorities, should result in discouraging importation; and he is trying, on the other hand, to discourage importation, in order to give effect to the policy which, he thinks, is best in the interests of Australia.

Mr. EWING.—What is the result?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The result is, if I am right in my calculations, that we are trying to raise £12,000,000 of revenue, when, according to the Treasurer's own statement, we only want £8,500,000.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We should not allow him to do that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not think it ought to be done. There ought to be some further justification for taking that amount than is contained in the Treasurer's speech. In that speech, the right honorable gentleman said—

We found this extraordinary state of affairs, that whereas the imports oversea in 1899 came to £34,000,000, in 1900 they came to £41,000,000, being an increase of £7,000,000. Honorable members know that that could not be a normal increase.

I have shown it could.

It would be absolutely impossible.

I have shown it has actually taken place.

Therefore, any attempt to base our estimated receipts on the figures for 1900 would be absurd. If my calculation be right, this will be the result:—The whole of the revenue required by the Treasurer, even in his most extravagant moments, is £9,000,000. He gets excise of £1,500,000, and, according to his own statement, duties (apart from excise) are required to the extent of £7,500,000.

Taking £7,500,000 as the whole of the duties which are required, we see that if the £21,000,000 be adopted as a basis the duties all round come to 35·71 per cent., or roughly 36 per cent., as against 31 per cent in Victoria. The duties on narcotics and stimulants are £2,975,000, and if that amount be deducted from the £7,500,000 required over and above excise, we have a total sum of revenue required to be raised on a basis of £19,000,000, of £4,525,000, which will come out at 22·93 per cent., as against 20·41 in Victoria, that is taking £19,000,000 as a proper basis after deducting £1,910,000, which is the value of the narcotics and stimulants. I do not suppose for a moment that any change will be attempted by the Government, but I submit that this should be the course pursued. The figures for 1899 being £34,000,000, the Treasurer should have allowed for a normal rise of £3,500,000, half the actual rise from 1899 to 1900. That is, as I have said, nearly double in one case, equal in another, and exceeded in a third year—all in a period of five years. That gives a total of £41,000,000 as a basis, instead of £34,000,000.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is that £3,500,000 the increase per annum?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—For each of the two years. From 1899 to 1900 there was an actual rise of £7,000,000, half of which I treat as normal. I also take £3,500,000 for a year ignored by the Government. This Tariff has been made not for 1900 but, for 1901; and, therefore, I take £3,500,000 for this year as well as for 1900.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is £7,000,000 in two years.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes; and that brings us up to the £41,000,000. For reduced imports the Treasurer takes off £5,000,000. I should like to say, in passing, that that in itself is a confession that the Tariff is going to operate in the direction of discouraging imports, which is decidedly recreant to the principles laid down by Mill and Fawcett. It is easy for practical men to laugh at what may be called scientific writers, but there are times when we find that scientific men come in and upset our practical calculations. At all events, I say that the admission that £5,000,000 must be deducted for imports, is most valuable as showing that the Tariff is going to work in the direction of prohibitive and discouraging importation. But for

the purpose of calculation, I allow that sum for reduced imports ; and I allow £2,000,000 for Government goods and specie. I allow £6,500,000 for free goods, which gives us a total of £13,500,000, and I deduct that from the £41,000,000, and then I have a taxable amount of £27,500,000. A further deduction has to be made for the value of the narcotics and stimulants upon which the £2,500,000 is raised, and that value is £1,910,000. That gives a net taxable amount of £25,590,000, and on that we have to raise £4,525,000, which is the balance of the £9,000,000 asked for. This £4,525,000 can be raised on £25,590,000, with a $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Tariff, all round. I want honorable members to notice that this is after allowing one or two debatable things. I allow £5,000,000 for reduced imports ; and I admit that so long as we keep duties up to a highly protectionist level, we must make this allowance. There is no doubt that high duties will discourage importations, and that with them an allowance must be made for a reduction, but the moment we reduce the percentage of the Tariff, the necessity for taking the £5,000,000 away is gone. I think that if this Tariff had been constructed according to the Maitland promise at about 15 per cent., it would have encouraged much more importation than we have had in the past. It would have discouraged importation to some extent in New South Wales, but it would have encouraged it in Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia. And that is the mistake that has been made. The Minister of Defence telegraphed to Western Australia the other day, pointing out that the total taxable amount of imports was £21,000,000—he did not deduct the narcotics or stimulants—and he addressed his constituents through the telegraph wires as if the imports were a fixed quantity from which there could be no possible deviation, and that, therefore, there must be a 22 per cent. duty in order to raise the necessary amount of revenue. But every man who gives his mind to this matter must see that the imports are a moveable quantity—they are the algebraical x —and that the lower the duties are fixed, the larger the imports become.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Always remembering that it is only while the people are able to pay for them.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Of course it is while the people are able to pay for them.

I do not think that touches the question at all. My contention is that the lower the Tariff is fixed the more easy it will be for the people to pay ; and I am advocating, not the raising, but the lowering, of the Tariff, because I believe it will have the effect, as *Mill* suggests, of bringing in an increased amount of imports on which we can levy duties. While the revenue must depend upon the total amount of imports, the total amount of imports is regulated by the Tariff, so that instead of having the Tariff as a movable quantity, and the imports as a fixed quantity, they are both movable, and what we free-traders advocate is, that instead of reducing the imports in order to justify a high Tariff, to bring in the necessary amount of revenue, the Tariff should be lowered, and no allowance should be made for the falling-off in the amount of imports—that the Tariff should be lowered to encourage imports. This is no legerdemain, but is a very simple matter of calculation. If it is admitted that the increase I have assumed for these two years is fair, we are in this position—that with £25,590,000 to work on, and £4,525,000 to get, the money can be obtained upon a $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. all-round Tariff—allowing for the free, list for the £5,000,000, and £2,000,000 for narcotics and stimulants. If, on the other hand, it is desired to have lower duties, then imports will be increased and a much lower Tariff will suffice. The right honorable gentleman said in the course of his speech that the Government had increased the Tariff “in their effort to get revenue.” Those are very suggestive words. Why should there be this “effort” to get revenue. The Government have provided for half-a-million more than is generally acknowledged to be required to supply the needs of the States, even for the years which the Treasurer has taken, because, although the Treasurer takes 1899 as the basis of all his calculations, he has tried to raise an amount which will satisfy the needs of the States up to date—up to 1900. That is to say he has blown hot and cold upon the needs of the States and the revenue which has to be raised according to the sums which will most easily justify these high duties. I think I shall have the assent of honorable members when I say that the only amount that the Government has shown the necessity for is £8,500,000 ; and the only reason given for raising the other half-million is

that in their effort to raise revenue they have taken £9,000,000 instead of £8,500,000—and if £8,500,000 is all that is required, and it can be raised with a 16 per cent. duty, still allowing £5,000,000 for the falling off of imports—

Mr. EWING.—Would the honorable and learned member support a 17½ per cent. Tariff?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If a 17½ per cent Tariff had been brought into this House, I am very much inclined to think I should have assisted the Government to carry it. There is a great difference, however, between a Tariff that would give a 17½ percentage on the average and a Tariff which would be constructed on the basis of 17½ duties so as to encourage imports. I do not think they are at all equivalents. It would be one thing to construct a Tariff on a 17½ per cent. basis so as to encourage imports, and another thing to construct a Tariff with a large free list, and run some of the duties up to as high as 100 per cent. or even higher. By adopting the latter course you would get rid of the indispensable idea of an honest revenue Tariff, which must encourage imports. £8,500,000 could be raised by means of a 16 per cent. Tariff. I am not alone in taking this view of the possibilities of our finances, and I should like to mention—although one does not want to draw Mr. Speaker's name into this matter—that the honorable member who fills the distinguished position of President of this House has expressed himself in very clear, decisive, and interesting terms with regard to this very question. He made a calculation, which he expressed in a speech in South Australia many months ago, and he repeated it in a magazine article. I mention this calculation in order to show that, in putting my view before the House, I am not speaking as a mere novice. I have had the honour of holding the position of Treasurer of the oldest State in the group; and I think I may assume that I should not have been asked to fill the position of Colonial Treasurer of New South Wales unless my colleagues had thought I possessed at least some qualifications for the position. I do not, however, rely upon my own opinion in this matter, but take that of a gentleman who is recognised as one of the first financial authorities of Australia, who has been Treasurer of South Australia for seven years, and has also been the Prime

Minister of that State. He shows that a 16 per cent. *ad valorem* duty would produce the required amount of £8,500,000, and yet leave £10,000,000 on the free list—that it could be done with a 15 per cent. duty, with £8,500,000 on the free list. That is very much like the calculation I have brought out, in which I show that a 16 per cent. duty would suffice, even after allowing £5,000,000 for the falling off in revenue in consequence of the high level of the Tariff. Honorable members will notice that when we come down to 15 or 16 per cent. there is no possible necessity for allowing £5,000,000 for the falling off in imports, because the reason for the reduction is gone. Therefore, what I show as capable of being done with a 16 per cent. duty, allowing for the falling off of £5,000,000 in the imports, is practically the same as is brought out by Mr. Speaker at 15 per cent. I think 15 per cent. is a very fair average to allow for what we call natural protection. It was pointed out by Mr. Speaker that Sir George Turner had fixed it at 10 per cent., and Sir William Lyne at 20 per cent. If there is a natural protection of 15 per cent. under this 16 per cent. scheme which I now place before the House, and which our Speaker placed before the people of South Australia, the result is that we have a protection of 30 or 31 per cent. on an average, mounting up in some cases to 40 or 50 per cent. to the manufacturers of Australia. Can any one ask for more than that? I myself said when I spoke in the Sydney Town Hall that I would be no party, even if we had a free-trade majority in this Parliament, to wiping out altogether the duties of Victoria, because I felt that as statesmen—if we are entitled to that term—we were bound to consider the interests of all the parties to this great national compact. I should have been found keeping to that promise, if a 15 or 16 per cent. Tariff had been introduced into this House; because I should have known that that meant from 30 to 40 per cent. protection for the industries of Australia. And I can only say this—that if the protectionists of Victoria say that her industries, after 35 years of protection against other parts of the world, cannot endure with a 30 or 31 per cent. protection, I think it is conclusive proof that they are simply calling upon the people to unfairly

and unnecessarily, and unnecessarily lengthily, support those industries. It is absurd to suppose that this kind of thing can continue for all time. I well remember, and many others will recollect, when the protectionist journals of Victoria told the public that all the protectionists wanted was to have their industries fostered. It was said that they were nursing those industries into a condition of maturity, and what had to be done was to import labour and teach the youth of the colony how the industries should be conducted. It was said that they wished to import machinery, to erect plant, and to thoroughly grasp all the intricacies of each particular industry. And, said they—I can remember it, for I lived in Victoria at the time; I remember reading the articles in the *Age* and reflecting upon them, somewhat critically I admit—these industries are going to develop, and be fostered, and they would gradually grow into a position of no longer requiring this artificial strength, which would be removed ultimately—as a mother removes her arms from the armpits of her child when it can move about for itself. But what has been the actual result? We have had 35 years of this artificial nursing, and we have figures staring us in the face to-day which show conclusively that, whatever advantages Victoria had at first over New South Wales, the fact is now that the last has become first and the first has become last in every item of national prosperity.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Only in pastoral pursuits.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I consider that there are five chief factors of national progress—population, shipping in and out, revenue, imports, and exports.

Mr. EWING.—And production.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Production of what? Of manufactured articles or unmanufactured articles?

Mr. McCOLL.—Everything.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I will show what has taken place. I do not wish to deal too much in detail with this matter, but it is an important subject, and as I have been challenged, here is my answer. Mr. Coghlan has divided the 35 years through which we have passed since 1866 into decades. He has taken 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900, and he shows with regard to population that in 1860 the population of New South Wales was 348,000, whilst the population of Victoria was 537,000. Therefore

Victoria was at that time 50 per cent. in advance of New South Wales.

Mr. McCOLL.—That was the era of alluvial gold.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Will the honorable member allow me to give the House these figures? It will not read well in *Hansard* for the figures to be interrupted by these interjections; and I am speaking to a larger audience than this House alone affords. In 1900 we find that the positions are reversed, and that while Victoria has a population of 1,197,000, New South Wales has 1,364,000.

Mr. KENNEDY.—New South Wales has a larger area.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I reply to that that the limited character of the Victorian territory has been a distinct advantage to her in regard to her population, because both her railway system and her land system have contributed towards a natural concentration of population, whilst in New South Wales artificial aids have had to be used in the form of what is called "closer settlement," to counteract the spread of the population over an enormous territory. It was impossible to bring about the same economical results in any of those communities which possess large territories that could be brought about in a smaller country. Therefore I should say that the larger territory of New South Wales has been a disadvantage to that State, and that, so long as the people have room for expansion, the limited territory of Victoria is an advantage. But these comparisons do not apply to population alone. In other respects there has been the same ratio between New South Wales and Victoria in regard to prosperity. Let me next take the case of shipping. In 1861 the shipping entered in New South Wales was 366,000 tons, against 549,000 tons in Victoria. But in 1900 the shipping entered in Victoria was 2,900,000 tons, against 4,000,000 in New South Wales. So that the 50 per cent. superiority of Victoria has been reversed after a period of 30 years. In the shipping out of the two States, the following is the condition of things. The shipping leaving New South Wales was 379,000 tons in the first year mentioned, and the shipping leaving Victoria was 540,000 tons. When we come down to the year 1900, we find that the shipping going out of Victoria was 2,944,000 tons, as against 3,920,000 going out of New South Wales. So that whether we take the shipping in or out, the position

is now reversed after 35 years of this beneficial policy in Victoria. Then let us turn to imports. In the earlier year, 1861, we find that the imports to New South Wales were £6,000,000, and the imports to Victoria were £13,000,000.

Mr. PIESSE.—Has the honorable and learned member given the total of clearances and entrances?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—They are both in the same position. The total of shipping entering and clearing New South Wales in 1861 was 745,000 tons, and in Victoria, 1,090,000 tons. In 1900 the total shipping of New South Wales was 8,014,000 tons, and of Victoria 3,873,000 tons. Then coming to imports, we find that the imports of New South Wales in 1861 amounted to £6,604,069, and those of Victoria to £13,532,452. When we come to 1900, however, we find that the imports of Victoria represented a total of £18,301,811 and those of New South Wales £27,561,071. The increase in regard to exports was the same. The exports of New South Wales in 1861 amounted to £6,609,461, while those of Victoria were £13,828,606, or more than double. In 1900, however, the Victorian exports were £17,422,552 in value, while those of New South Wales represented a total of £28,164,516. Taking the total trade, we find that in 1861 the total trade of New South Wales was £13,213,530, and that of Victoria £27,361,058, or more than double. Coming to 1900, however, we find that the total trade of Victoria for that year was £35,724,363, while the New South Wales trade was £55,725,587, or nearly double that of this State. I do not allow statistics to run away with me, and I do not contend for a moment that these figures are conclusive against the smaller State; but I do say that if ever there was an opportunity in modern times of comparing two communities composed of the same people, living under the same conditions, practically under the same laws, and running neck to neck under the two differing policies of free-trade and protection, these States afford that opportunity. If there is an advantage to the one by the difference in the extent of its territory the advantage is to the smaller State for the reasons I have named. Another ground upon which I object to this Tariff is that it presses injuriously upon certain industries native to the soil and climate, which should be

hampered as little as possible. These industries are mining, farming, pastoral, and dairying. Some people may include dairying under the heading of farming; but I place it separately. Whilst a number of manufacturers in this State are protected with regard to their products, and whilst the whole of their tools are admitted free, it is a singular thing that the industry of farming should be taxed almost at every turn. It must be admitted that the farmers of this country have no longer any protection for their products. Some honorable members may quote New Zealand against that statement, but such a thing would fit very inaptly with the expressions of joy which the Minister for Trade and Customs uttered when he said —“We have got free-trade with the sister colonies.” He forgot, whilst he was rejoicing, the inconsistency, and the incongruity of his speech. He rejoiced over the breaking down of the barriers between the sister States; but he did not recognise the same principle as applicable to New Zealand. Why? Because, forsooth, New Zealand, for Constitutional and other reasons, has not thought fit to come into this compact. This great rejoicing on the part of the right honorable and learned gentleman was not a letting loose of his thoughts and expressions of joy with regard to the actual economic result. The incident gave him an opportunity of going somewhere in that direction, but of halting when he came to consider another sister colony which did not happen to come under our Constitution. Nevertheless, I say that the farmers of Australia have, practically, no protection now for their products, and, whilst they are unprotected in their products, they are taxed at every turn for their tools and food.

Mr. McCOLL.—They are not taxed in regard to their tools.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Will the honorable member say that machinery does not form part of their tools of trade?

Mr. McCOLL.—All their tools are admitted absolutely free.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Their business consists of ploughing the land, of sowing the seed, of gathering the harvest. What does a farmer need in order to sow his land? Agricultural machinery has a duty of 15 per cent. on it, and if he buys a plough to turn over the sod he pays a duty of 15 per cent.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—According to honorable members behind the Government, a plough is not a tool of trade.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—According to them it is not.

Mr. McCOLL.—All the small things that the farmer handles—his forks, shovels, and picks—are absolutely free.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member, if he permits me to say so, is resorting to a subterfuge.

Mr. McCOLL.—The honorable and learned member is doing that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Will the honorable member answer my question? What is a tool? Is it not a mechanical contrivance by which a man in some particular industry performs his work? Is not a chisel or a plane, or a saw, with which the carpenter cuts his wood, a tool? Is not a lathe, with which a manufacturer turns his wood or metal goods a mechanical contrivance, a tool? And is not a plough, with which the farmer turns the sods, or a harrow, or a reaper and binder a tool?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They make ploughs and harrows here.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes, but they are so dear that they cannot compete with the imported article. The Government have to impose a duty of 15 per cent., in addition to the natural protection amounting to another 15 per cent., in order to enable the local manufacturer to compete against the imported article. If it is not necessary, why is the duty put on? We have this anomaly, and I can only tell the Prime Minister and his colleagues that he will find day by day the farmers of Australia rising up as a body, because they are now seeing for themselves the lop-sided nature of this doctrine of protection. Their own products are not protected, but they are taxed on every article of clothing, food, and furniture, and upon the material with which they build their houses.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What? Taxed upon their food?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes; they are taxed 45 per cent. upon their groceries.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They grow all their own food.

Mr. McCOLL.—This is very one-sided.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I hope honorable members will remember that there are

people outside Victoria who know something of these interests. I have represented a farming constituency in the New South Wales Parliament for some years.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member is not doing so now.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—But I am speaking for them now; because I consider that I represent all classes of the community. Perhaps the right honorable gentleman thinks it is wrong to advocate the cause of people whom we do not specially represent? It is not my view of political life that a politician is to give his attention merely to that particular class of industry which happens to be in his own constituency. The farming community are not being treated fairly, because whilst the manufacturers' products are protected, those of the farmer are not; whilst the manufacturers' tools are admitted free, those of the unprotected farmer are subject to a heavy duty. That applies equally to our mining, farming, pastoral, or dairying pursuits.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Even fishermen's nets are taxed.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes. I do not want to go into details, because one could spend weeks in doing so. My third objection to the Tariff is that it is unjust in its incidence. One of the first features of the Tariff upon which I shall put my finger in order to prove that proposition is its composite duties. The chief justification advanced by the Minister for Trade and Customs for the imposition of composite duties was that they had been adopted in America. If he had looked a little further into the treatises by skilled critics, he would have known that the whole principle had been almost universally condemned. I say that it is entitled to even greater denunciation in this country, especially when it appears in this Tariff, because it goes before the people under the pretence of being a revenue Tariff. These composite duties are so imposed, that on the cheapest article the duty is highest. That deals with another principle of taxation, to which I consider every member of this House should have some regard. The composite duties hide the real duty. Take a 2s. pair of boots, or a 2s. hat as an example of what a composite duty does. It charges 20s. per dozen, or 1s. 8d. each, to start with, on the 2s. article; and then 15 per cent. in addition. On the 10s. article it charges a duty of 2s. to start with, and 15

per cent in addition ; and the difference is this, that in one case we may get a 25 per cent. duty, in the other case we may get a 50 per cent. duty ; and the 50 per cent. duty falls upon the article consumed by that class which has the least means of contributing to the revenue. Every tyro in politics knows that the bottom principle of all taxation is that people should contribute according to their means. Whether it be a property tax or an income tax, every man is supposed to contribute according to his means, which means are protected by the police, the army, the navy, and the other institutions of the country which watch over his interests. These composite duties are a mere ruse, a simple substitute to enable the Treasurer to impose heavy protective duties without allowing them to be seen. Fortunately, we are not all ostriches, nor are the Treasurer's duties so constituted. He may bury his percentages, but their real meaning is quite capable of discernment by us. We can see for ourselves that under these composite rates we may reach duties as high as 80 per cent. Sir Frederick Sargood has shown that in extreme cases we can reach duties of 183 per cent. I cannot rid my mind of the impression that this Tariff comes to us under the promise of being a revenue Tariff, and of not being a protective Tariff. At the same time, it was to be a Tariff which would not be calculated to destroy industries. But in order to prevent the destruction of industries it is not necessary to impose duties of 60 or 70 per cent., because such duties practically go beyond the prohibition limit. The Minister for Defence does not seem to understand the difference between prohibition and revenue. He apparently thinks that so long as we put a duty upon any article we are bound to raise revenue. My objection to these composite duties is that they touch groceries, apparel, oils, paints, &c., earthenware, boots, and vehicles. Upon boots the Tariff runs up to 60 and 90 per cent. Upon hats it is as high as 70 per cent. A 4s. hat will reach 10s. 6d. retail, whilst a 2s. pair of boots will reach 5s. retail. Yet we are told that this Tariff is just in its incidence. If it be true that people should pay according to their means, how can it be considered by the Ministry that it is just to all classes of the community

when upon the cheap article it levies a duty of 65 per cent., whilst imposing only 25 per cent. upon the dear one! The position should be reversed. If upon a 10s. article we had a duty of 60 per cent., and an impost of from 20 to 25 per cent. upon a 2s. article, we should at least have justice, although we should not have a revenue Tariff. That applies to tea, boots, apparel, and furniture. Then, whilst silk, which is worn by the people who are most competent to pay taxation, is taxed to the extent of 15 per cent., woollens bear a duty of 25 per cent, flannels of 20 per cent., and woollens made up of 25 per cent. We have, also, another anomaly, in that whilst upon bevelled and heraldic glass, which is used in the houses of affluent people, there is a duty of 20 per cent., on common earthenware, which is used in the cottages, there is a charge of 5d. per foot, measured on the outside of the package, in addition to an *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent. My fourth objection to this Tariff is that revenue duties, which these are not, can be removed without leading to a cry that industries are being destroyed. During this debate we have had honorable members asking, "How can we allow these industries to fall suddenly after they have had so many years of support?" That is a very justifiable question, because if men have been induced to invest large amounts of capital in industries, one cannot blame them for asserting that they have been lulled into a condition of security, and have acquired a right to be supported by the public. That is one of the dangers of protection. It builds up vested interests. I do not admit that this contention is right. When a man embarks in an industry, he does so with his eyes open, knowing that its success depends on the fiscal policy of the country which may be altered from time to time. If he chooses to sink his capital in an industry upon the chance of the country continuing to follow a certain fiscal policy, he does so at his own risk. As a matter of consideration I can understand a man not wishing to throw into the streets hundreds and even thousands of people who have found an occupation in these industries. I can understand that it would take a little time to restore things to their normal condition, but honorable members are told not only that these industries are to be supported, but that the Government intend to build up new industries out of the revenue

collected by the Commonwealth. We are told by the *Age*—

A feature of the Ministerial fiscal policy which will find favour with protectionists is that it proposes a bonus on iron production. This was one of the recommendations of the protectionist conference.

It will be seen, therefore, that this Government, which professes to hold the scales of fiscal justice between two parties, which merely professes to raise the revenue necessary for paying the expenses of the Commonwealth, and for supplying the needs of the States, is deliberately proposing to devote a portion of that revenue to the building of new industries. Inconsistency is a mild term to apply to such a proposal. It is a gross perversion of the uses of the revenue. When the Minister for Trade and Customs comes to grant this money as a bonus, a nice question of law will be raised as to whether he has a right to collect it, and make a deduction from the States for the purpose of granting the encouragement indicated. The Commonwealth may do it with its own revenue derived from some other source, or out of its fourth of the customs revenue. But when the Minister comes to grant bonuses in the way he has suggested he will find that he is treading upon delicate legal ground. But what concerns me chiefly is that this Tariff is an extreme form of the deceitful policy of the Government. They have been returned, and the House has been returned to establish a revenue Tariff. Yet we are told in this barefaced—I was going to say this brazen—way that part of the money that is collected as revenue for Australia is going to be used to build up a number of fresh industries at the expense of the people of Australia. I say that that is a gross perversion of the use to which the revenue should be put, which is to supply the needs of the States in the first place, and pay the expenses of the Commonwealth. I challenge any member of the Government to quote a single word or phrase in any of their speeches made at any time, showing that they told the people of Australia that, in addition to proposing a revenue Tariff, they were going to take money belonging to the Commonwealth, or to the States, in order to establish new industries by the giving of these bounties. One disadvantage about this Tariff is that it is perpetuating in an aggravated form some of the vested interests which have been established in this State and which

the people of other parts of the Commonwealth have a perfect right to see gradually let down to a position of revenue production. Now I come to the address of the Treasurer, and though I had some observations to make on the right honorable gentleman's speech, I put them aside and pass them by. I think I could have made some very damaging observations upon that speech, to show, first of all, that the right honorable gentleman may be said to have made two speeches in one. One was a real free-trade speech which he made at times when he was irritated into a condition of indignation by the good-humoured jibes of the right honorable and learned gentleman at the head of the Opposition. The Treasurer allowed himself to be forced, so to speak, into a condition of anger, when he really did give expression to some very sound free-trade sentiments. But the moment he settled down to the part which I say he had undertaken to act, that of showing that this was a compromise between the two parties, then he became a provincialist to the letter—to the manner born. On other occasions I say he was a perfectly sound free-trader. There is no doubt that the right honorable gentleman started his speech with the full intention of observing his text and playing his part of persuading this House and the people of Australia that this was a compromise Tariff; and it was only when he was forced into this condition of fervour that he really revealed what his real feelings were, and expressed himself in this indignant manner. I should have liked very much, indeed, to have had an opportunity of dealing with that speech if I had not had to begin at such a late hour. I should like to say a few words about the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi, which seems to have attracted a good deal of attention in and out of doors. I am bound to say that I did not form anything like so high an estimate of that speech as many other people have done. I listened to it from first to last, and it seemed to me to be delivered entirely from a brief. It seemed to me to be an entirely one-sided speech; and that it was principally directed, not to show that this Tariff was a wise one; not to show that it could not have been made a wiser one; not to show that England was a decadent nation, but to show that certain statements with regard to England's prosperity could be met by some quite irrelevant evidence taken from

newspapers and books, which, I say, were not quite properly used for the purpose. The honorable and learned member quoted at great length from a newspaper that I certainly never heard of before in my life. The *Drapers' Journal*, forsooth, was brought here in order to convince us that England was on the down grade.

Mr. KINGSTON. — The *Ironmongers' Journal* has been quoted also.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — It is perfectly true that the *Ironmongers' Journal* has been brought to answer it, but I am bound to say that one is about as valuable as the other. The idea is truly interesting of coming to a deliberative assembly of this kind, and quoting a leading article from a paper written in the interests of a particular industry, and written by somebody whom nobody knows! He may have been a protectionist or a free-trader, or an ignoramus, and yet this article was seriously quoted in a Parliament by one of its most intellectual members for the purpose of throwing light upon an Australian Tariff! Could one conceive anything which was wider of the mark? Could anybody think of anything more totally irrelevant to the question? Then the honorable and learned member quoted from one of Mr. Lecky's works. The name of Mr. Lecky necessarily carries great weight. He is one of England's greatest thinkers, and the honorable member quoted Mr. Lecky to show that the trend of public thought throughout the world was in the direction of protection, but he forgot to tell the House, although I reminded him of it afterwards, that whilst the great name of Mr. Lecky was attached to the statement as merely recording an historical fact—that the trend of thought was in that direction—Mr. Lecky himself deprecates that trend of thought; and therefore he should be quoted on the other side, and not as supporting a tendency which the honorable and learned member seemed to think was a valuable light thrown upon this question.

Mr. KINGSTON. — It is a valuable admission by Lecky.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — It is a valuable admission on behalf of free-trade that he deprecated the trend of thought in that direction.

Mr. KINGSTON. — It is a valuable admission that there was that trend of thought.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — I say this for my part, and I have said it before, that

I do not regard the trend of public thought on all occasions as evidence of the wisdom towards which it is leading. Everybody knows that the general public think very superficially on many questions. I do not say for a moment that I have not a great regard for the aspirations of the public where I think they are matured; but I am one of those unwise politicians who tell the public very often what I think of popular opinion; and I do not believe that they think any the less of me for it. The honorable and learned member for Indi quoted this trend of thought as if it proved the soundness of the theory towards which the thought was trending; but he quoted Mr. Lecky without at first telling the House at the same time that Mr. Lecky deprecated that tendency. The honorable and learned member dealt with a number of other questions, and he said something concerning a comparison between Victoria and New South Wales. I should like, just for a moment, and I shall not spend much time over it, to quote a statement here with regard to the two States, which is very important. It is with regard to the incomes of the people. I am sure every protectionist will admit that the incomes of the people, from whatever source, are very valuable data as to the success of the community or communities to which they refer. This is what Mr. Coghlan says on the subject of the incomes of the people:—In Victoria the number of persons with incomes of £200 and over are 19,000. In New South Wales they are 31,000. The total incomes of £200 and over amount in Victoria to £10,000,000, and in New South Wales to £17,000,000. The total incomes under £200 amount in Victoria to £39,000,000, and in New South Wales to £45,000,000; and the total of all incomes amount in Victoria to £49,000,000, and in New South Wales to £63,000,000. The number of persons concerned in incomes of £200 and over is 95,000 in Victoria and 156,000 in New South Wales, and the average income per person is £105 in Victoria and £114 in New South Wales. I know, of course, that these figures, taken in an isolated way, prove nothing conclusively, but I submit that if a protectionist looks round in these two States to try and get some guidance as to which policy has done most towards producing what is generically termed happiness or prosperity for the people, he cannot help being struck by the comparative figures at every turn.

Taking another index—what did the Royal Commission on the Factory Act, directing an inquiry into the wages in the two States, find? They found that in cases where the Victorian wages boards were bringing their artificial methods to bear, they did succeed in lifting the wages of Victoria 4d. above those of New South Wales; but that, where no such artificial aid to the wages was brought to bear, the wages of New South Wales were 2s. above those of Victoria. I should have liked to deal at greater length with the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi, because I think he misrepresented the honorable member for Wentworth with regard to one statement when he said that that honorable member had justified, on behalf of the Commonwealth, an all-round Tariff without a free list.

Mr. KINGSTON.—He practically admitted it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Here is his speech—he did not admit it. He said—

There is no free list on that basis. Practically my facts are against a free list. But I recognise the fact that a free list is a necessity in dealing with the views of the different States, because it has been part and parcel of the system of finance adopted in most of them.

Whilst expressing his individual opinion, he said, from the Commonwealth point of view, it was not a desirable thing.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Did he not make that speech qualifying it after the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is his main speech.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable and learned member for Indi, I think, spoke before that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No; he spoke afterwards, and he reminded the House that my honorable friend had advocated having no free list.

Mr. KINGSTON.—So he did, in the debate on the address in reply.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—He did not acknowledge it in the speech from which I have just quoted. There is much more I should have liked to say; and the importance of this occasion, and the immense amount of matter which has been brought before the House, would have justified, if the time would have permitted, a much longer speech, I think, without enabling honorable members to say that I have spoken merely for the sake of speaking. I have now said all I wish to say of a particular character

in regard to this proposed Tariff. I have, in common with the other members of my party, the consolation of knowing that, even though we fail to secure a majority, we shall have vindicated the cause which we have been intrusted to espouse in this the highest Legislature of Australia. I feel convinced that in a little while the light of economic truth will dawn, and though for a few short years we shall—as a necessary condition of our newly-established brotherhood—have to bear with a measure of restriction, many of us will live to see Australia emancipated from the thralldom of a worn-out creed, and to welcome the advent of complete commercial and industrial freedom.

Debate (on motion by Mr. EWING) adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

A very ample time has been given for the discussion of the very important question—the importance of which I do not deny—which we have been engaged in considering, and I hope that honorable members on all sides will, in the interests of the country, concur with me in saying that at the very earliest possible moment this week we should bring the debate to a close.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 11.45 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 30 October, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 p.m. and read prayers.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—As the motion which has been the cause of our adjournment hitherto is still pending in another place, I move—

That the Senate, at its rising, adjourn until Wednesday next.

In doing so, I may state that, although there is a probability that the debate on the motion in another place will be concluded on Thursday night, as we hope it will, still, as we cannot be certain of that, I do not think it is worth while to bring the members of the Senate back here on the possibility of being able to do one day's work on Friday.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I do not suppose that an amendment that the House should adjourn until to-morrow would be likely to be carried, but I am satisfied that members of the Senate now see what a mistake it was for us to adjourn a fortnight ago.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It will not be done again.

Senator HIGGS.—Honorable senators have spoken of constitutional procedure, but inasmuch as our Constitution is unique, and there has been no procedure to speak of so far, no constitutional procedure can be relied upon in this case. I regret that we did not see our way clear to go on with business, and especially business of a non-party character, such as has been mentioned by honorable senators. I feel, for instance, that we might very well have put in our time in considering the draft standing orders. They have taken the standing orders committee several months to draw up, and, under present conditions, it appears very unlikely that they can be dealt with until the next session of the Federal Parliament, seeing that we have so much to do in connexion with the Elections Bill, the Alien Immigration Restriction Bill, the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill, the Post and Telegraph Bill, the Public Service Bill, and a number of other measures of very great importance. When this question crops up again, as no doubt it will in the years to come, I shall ask that you, Mr. President, than whom there is no greater authority on constitutional procedure in the Federal Parliament, shall give us your opinion as to whether the Senate should adjourn when a motion of this kind is before the other House. I have no doubt that some members of the Senate, who belong to a particular party, may have thought that, if the Senate did not adjourn when this motion was being discussed in another place, it would have been a reflection on their party, and that the Senate by adjourning would to some extent magnify the importance of that motion.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is it the Government party that the honorable senator is speaking of?

Senator HIGGS.—No, to be candid, I may mention that I have Senator Clemons' party in view. I have no doubt that Senator Clemons' free-trade party would consider that if the Senate went on with its business it would be to some extent an indignity, and a reflection upon the mover of the motion in the other Chamber.

Senator CHARLESTON.—Not at all!

Senator HIGGS.—I do not know, but I am inclined to think that, as a matter of fact, the motion originated in the free-trade party in this Senate.

HONORABLE SENATORS.—No.

Senator HIGGS.—I am inclined to think that some of the strong men in this Senate put up Mr. Reid to move this motion. That is what I mean to say. I am sorry that other members of the Senate have not had a keener appreciation of their duty to the Commonwealth, of the fact that we have a great deal of important legislation which should be attended to, and of the fact that there were plenty of other means which the free-trade party might have adopted for the purpose of doing its educational work, without hanging up the business of the Commonwealth in this way.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—Although I belong to the party the honorable senator has referred to, I may say that I am in accord with the honorable senator in saying that we ought to go on with business. Looking to what has occurred during the past fortnight, I think that we acted rather unwisely, and probably the Vice-President of the Executive Council is of a similar opinion.

Senator O'CONNOR.—No.

Senator WALKER.—We cannot consistently act otherwise now, but I hope the action taken on this occasion will not be considered a precedent for all future time. We must remember that we have senators here from distant States, such as Western Australia and Queensland, and it is very unsatisfactory to them to feel that the session will probably be prolonged for a fortnight owing to the delay which has taken place. Personally I have always received the greatest courtesy from the Government, and I do not complain of them, but I think the precedent is an unfortunate one.

Senator HIGGS.—Then let us vote against the motion.

Senator CHARLESTON (South Australia).—As we have responsible government I fail to see how we can do otherwise than adjourn, but I think these proceedings must have led a good many of us to question whether in the Federal Parliament we should have responsible government, or whether it would not be more advisable for us to have elective Ministers. I am inclined to think that in the not far distant future we may have elective Ministers, and then this Senate would form an independent Chamber. Whilst we are, as at present, dependent upon the other House for Government representatives in this Chamber, I fail to see how we can become the independent Chamber that the framers of the Constitution evidently contemplated, and that the people of Australia thought we should become.

Senator O'CONNOR.—That is a splendid subject for a Friday discussion.

Senator CHARLESTON.—So long as the honorable and learned senator favours the idea of elective Ministers we shall have an excellent chance of carrying it out. At present we have a responsible Ministry, and the position is not quite fair to the Senate, inasmuch as we have only one paid Minister in this Chamber, and it is impossible for the Senate to be able to take the place which the people of the Commonwealth expected it would take. I believe that in future we shall have to adopt the principle of an elective rather than a responsible Ministry, and we can then conduct our business in this Senate in the manner we think best, and without the delays we are now subjected to.

Senator MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—I should like to say that, as a member of the party referred to by Senator Higgs, I disclaim any wish to have these adjournments. I have all along been anxious that the business should be gone on with. As to the free-trade party in the Senate leading Mr. Reid that is a matter which I think need not be gone into.

Question—put. The Senate divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 15 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 7 |
| | | | — |
| Majority | ... | ... | 8 |

AYES.

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| Best, R. W. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| Charleston, M. | Playford, T. |
| Clemons, J. S. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Downer, Sir J. W. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Ferguson, J. | Styles, J. |
| Glassey, T. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Gould, A. J. | Drake, J. G. |

NOES.

| | |
|----------------|----------------|
| Dobson, H. | Stewart, J. C. |
| Macfarlane, J. | Walker, J. T. |
| McGregor, G. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Pearce, G. F. | Higgs, W. G. |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 2.46 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 30 October, 1901.

MR. SPEAKER took the Chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

MR. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—Before the order of the day is called on I should like to make a short statement to the House as to the position of public business, which grows urgent while the debate proceeds. Amongst other things, there is fixed for Friday a conference between the members of the Government and representatives of the Governments of the States in respect to several important matters upon which an interchange of views is desirable. We think that under ordinary circumstances this discussion might have been over earlier, but as there are yet a number of honorable members who desire to speak, Ministers, instead of endeavouring to take a division to-night, are prepared to adjourn at a reasonable hour; but, without any desire to unduly curtail the debate, I think I can rely on the co-operation of honorable members when I express our intention to bring it to a conclusion during the sitting which commences to-morrow afternoon.

Debate resumed (from 29th October, *vide* page 6569) on motion by Mr. REID—

1. That this House cannot accept the financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon the necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would in their operation destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

2. That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. EWING (Richmond).—I am sure that any honorable member who consulted his own feelings would not intrude himself upon the discussion at this juncture, because almost everything which could be said on both sides of the question has already been ably said by some of the best speakers in the House. One feels, also, that parliamentary institutions are on their trial, and every representative should be prepared to sacrifice his individual feelings to the interests of those institutions. Therefore, I shall simply make the brief statement to my constituents which I think I ought to make. If the policy of the Government were such as it has been stated to be by honorable members on your left, Mr. Speaker, there would be only one course for honorable members on this side to take—to cross the chamber and join them. The fact that I speak from the Ministerial side of the House shows that I am not of their opinion in regard to the Government policy. It has appeared to me that from the very first a false issue has been raised. We have before us on one hand the statement of the Government, which is accurate so far as it can be in respect to the aggregate amount required to be obtained from the people of Australia in taxation, and accurate also as far as possible in regard to details—a plain, bare statement, open to full consideration and criticism. On the other hand, we have the nebulous policy of the Opposition. So far as my intelligence enabled me to understand them, the argument of the whole of the speeches which have been delivered from the opposition side of the Chamber has been—“Place us on the Treasury benches, and there will be no taxation of the people of Australia.”

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No one has said that.

Mr. EWING.—That is the inference which I draw from the statements of honorable members opposite. They say that too much taxation is being wrung from the people. “Place us on the Government benches, and we shall be able to lessen the burden of taxation, and govern Australia without imposing taxation at all.” What other inference is to be drawn from the fact that honorable members have called attention to the duties on molasses, barbed wire, and other articles, and shown that the people are being unjustly taxed upon those articles, if it is not that if honorable gentlemen opposite were in power they would allow such articles to come in free? But when honorable members are asked whether money will not be required for the Government of the country, to pay its politicians, maintenance men, policemen, and public servants generally, whether its policy is free-trade or protection, they have to concede that money is required for these and other purposes. Therefore, we come to the first issue: How much taxation is required? Opinions vary as to the amount which should be raised. Some put it at £8,048,000, and others at under £9,000,000, but if we take the mean, which is a little over £8,500,000, and subtract it from the amount which the Government propose to raise, which is a little under £9,000,000, the balance comes to about 2s. 6d. per head of the population, and that divided by the 52 weeks in the year is equal to something less than three farthings per week for each inhabitant. This is the heavy burden of taxation which these four-hour speeches have been delivered against. But, it being conceded that the money is required for the Government of the country, and that about the same amount would be required if the Opposition were in power as is required by the Government, we come to the question of the incidence of the proposed duties. The term “incidence” is a magnificent one, and it would have served honorable members capitally if some of them had not been a little more honest or ingenuous than others. So long as they kept to generalities there was some safety, but unfortunately some of them went into details. Honorable gentlemen will remember how the faces of the Opposition fell when the honorable member for Wentworth went into details, and the glaring looks when the honorable member for North Sydney pointed out that

the difference of incidence meant quite as objectionable taxation in detail as the Government proposals. I think the financial editor of the *Daily Telegraph* is as competent a man as we have in Australia with regard to the free-trade aspect of any case. In New South Wales his is a name to conjure with. When he proposed a Tariff dealing with the question in detail, every honorable member on the other side felt what a fatal mistake had been made; for the moment the free-trader commenced to deal with details, the moment he commenced to deal with his revenue Tariff, it was clear that the taxation on the people must be as heavy and as objectionable under one party as under the other. Therefore we get rid of the two aspects of the case. Honorable members who have left this side for the other, and taken with them our kindly personal wishes, might remember two things. First of all, they must concede, as any honest man must concede, that in the aggregate the taxation to be levied by the Opposition must be as great as that levied by the Government, and that in detail a revenue Tariff would press as heavily on the people of the country as do the proposals of the Government, in fact more so. I shall not enter into that aspect of the case, in respect to which some honorable members have endeavoured to prove that one can take a less number of articles and on each of them put a lower duty and still obtain as large an aggregate revenue as if one took more articles and imposed a larger duty. But there is an alternative, and the honorable member for the Barrier has touched the only point at which these honorable members can escape, if they are free-traders. What do we express by the term free-trade? It is the difference between indirect and direct taxation. A man who will not accept direct taxation, with all its responsibility and all its defects, is not a free-trader. If honorable members do not vote for the suggested amendment, and destroy the customs that are presumed to shackle our trade, let them say good-bye to any free-trade. Their professions are only misleading. They are keeping in existence protective duties, and under a protectionist flag they are carrying on a system their protests against which, if they refuse to accept direct taxation, are useless chatter. What does it mean?

Mr. THOMAS.—Should we get a Customs revenue from a true protection?

Mr. EWING.—The honorable and learned member for Parkes proved that. I have endeavoured to put in order what I desire to say, and if honorable members will allow me to go on for a moment, I shall come to any point upon which they desire me to touch. The amount of direct taxation levied by all the States in Australia is, roughly speaking, £2,700,000 per annum. Leaving out narcotics and stimulants, we should have to get in taxation something over £4,000,000 per annum.

Mr. CONROY.—That is about £600,000 wrong.

Mr. EWING.—I am making no mistake. There is a sum of £2,700,000 levied by direct taxation in the States. If honorable members desired to adopt a free-trade policy they would have to double their stamp duties, their income tax, and their land tax, and then they could talk about free-trade.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Does not the honorable member know that the Constitution does not provide for direct taxation?

Mr. EWING.—Exactly; the needs of Australia are such that it is utterly useless to talk about free-trade or protection. The environment of Australia is such—and every man conceded it during the passing of the Constitution Bill—that it is absolutely essential to have a heavy Tariff. Now we have got back to the old point. Honorable members are fighting the Tariff as free-traders. They are not free-traders; there are no free-traders in the House. As a rule a free-trader will face his principles, and now and again he has them in spasms. If these honorable members tell the people of this country that they intend to keep in existence the direct taxation in each State, and in addition to that to double the land tax, the income tax, the stamp duties, and so on, in order to provide for the needs of the central government; if they will make that statement, and stand up to it, I am then prepared to believe that they are men who accept the responsibilities of their principles; otherwise I regard them simply as fiscal masqueraders.

Mr. CONROY.—But the Federal Government requires only £300,000 for its own services.

Mr. EWING.—We have a Constitution. If I forget to deal with any of these points later on, I shall be very glad to be reminded of them. It appears to me that every speech made from the free-trade or protectionist aspect of this case has been so much energy thrown away—and for this reason: Before it is possible to argue with regard to two nations there must be similarity of conditions. If honorable members will take the British Tariff they will find that there is raised by customs duties about £23,000,000 a year, of which only about £1,000,000 is obtained on articles somewhat similar to those on this Tariff. If they are prepared to bring into existence a Tariff similar to that of Great Britain, then I will concede at once that their comparison with England is a fair one. Will they endeavour for a moment to understand exactly the position? It is idle to deal with the question of Australia and Great Britain, unless it can be shown that there is a similarity of Tariff. The basis of their argument is this: Get rid of customs duties, get rid of shackles on trade, get rid of everything which interferes with free intercourse oversea, and then the nation will be great and prosperous. If they can show that it is possible to have a Tariff here similar to that in Great Britain then there is some basis for their argument, otherwise there is none. But if we made our Tariff similar to the free-trade Tariff of Great Britain only £100,000 a year would be obtained by customs duties from Australia.

Mr. CONROY.—Nonsense!

Mr. EWING.—It is not nonsense. The revenue from narcotics and stimulants I have excepted. We understand that those things stand in a different category. They are things which the baby does not want, and which, as a rule, women do not consume very largely; they are luxuries. If honorable members desire to use Great Britain by way of a comparison with regard to fiscal policy, they will have to run Australia on a Customs revenue of £100,000. An honorable member asks me to give the figures. I state—and honorable members can look up the figures if they like—that outside the revenue from narcotics and stimulants, Great Britain does not get £1,000,000 out of customs duties. There are 40,000,000 people in England, or ten times the number of the people here. Divide £1,000,000 by ten, and we have

£100,000. I can prove it in many other ways, but that is near enough. Honorable members must concede that they are referring to a country with a free-trade Tariff, and they have conceded that they have to bring into existence in Australia a Tariff that will very heavily shackle its trade. By their own admission, there is no way out of it, except that which is suggested by the honorable member for the Barrier. If it be true that there is no similarity between Great Britain and Australia—and I emphasize it for the sake of getting it at last into that nebulous thing which is known as the grey tissue of their brains—if honorable members concede that they have to obtain between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000, and that if they had the British Tariff they would collect only £100,000, the reference is a contrast, and not a comparison. The two things stand in absolute antithesis. Therefore, according to my view, the arguments which have been used by honorable members on the other side of the House have been absolutely thrown away, and any person not tainted with party feeling will see this at once. As there is no similarity in the conditions of the two countries, and as according to their own showing honorable members on the free-trade side are willing to shackle trade to so great an extent, we must not turn for an example to a country where there is no taxation such as that which it is necessary for us to impose. I am not, therefore, going to follow honorable members through their statistics. Some of them were very clever and very ingenious. One honorable member took four hours to prove that before free-trade was established in England 60 years ago, Englishmen travelled about in coracles—little bits of things made of wicker-work and covered over with skins—that the English soldier went to war stained with woad and armed with a spear, and that, furthermore, England had no ships, that Drake and Frobisher fought from rafts, and that there was no commerce, and no trade. One honorable member actually spent two hours in trying to prove that a bus horse lived longer under free-trade than under protection. Although the longevity of a bus horse may be an important matter I do not see that it has much to do with the case we are now considering.

Mr. FOWLER.—Free-traders are more humane than are protectionists.

Mr. EWING.—I remember that the honorable member turned the full force of his scorn upon members on this side of the House, and told us that Lincoln and Bismarck, from the mere fact that they were protectionists, had worked in the interests of monopolists, and had sucked the life blood out of the people. He furthermore stated that the only way in which he could force his arguments into the heads of protectionists generally was by driving them in with an axe. Having heard the honorable member's arguments I concede there may be some truth in the statement. If honorable members will pardon me for a moment or two, in the midst of this long, weary vigil through which we are passing, while listening to this debate, I will tell them one or two things which have struck me. I listened very attentively to what honorable members had to say, and now I have an opportunity of telling them what I think of them. They have occupied two or three weeks in addressing the House, and I think that a two or three minutes' resumé of their speeches will not be out of place. All of us have been very much interested in seeing how nations are made, how they have grown, and how they have progressed. There is one thing that has always been insisted upon by those who have expressed authoritative opinions on the matter, and that is that savage men talk a great deal more than civilized men. We can understand how the savage, on returning from his foray, or from snaring his prey, or from killing his antagonist, goes to the camp fire. Although no one is very much interested, he is very full of his adventures, and there is plenty of room for turgid oratory, and flamboyant talk.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I do not think this has much to do with the subject.

Mr. EWING.—I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that I am not going to make any mistake. I am simply tracing developments from the time the family merged into the tribe, and the tribe consolidated into the nation. There came a time for the discussion of matters affecting the general community which gave a premium to intelligence; those possessed of the best facts, and who were able to reason from cause to effect, were at a premium, and they were the men who eventually won. I do not say that honorable members' speeches ought not to have been delivered, simply because they were destitute of facts or because they were unsound in reasoning, but because men would have to

live to be as old as Methuselah in order to justify the length to which some of the speeches have been extended. Have honorable members ever visited a mining field, and seen the vast heaps of apparently useless spoil lying about in the form of tailings, and so on? They have, perhaps, seen these accumulations lie undisturbed until the chemist came along, and by the application of science was able to obtain a few grains of gold out of the huge mass of *avoirdupois*. I think, Mr. Speaker, we ought to make your work as easy as possible, and although I do not attach much importance to the words of honorable members on the other side, I shall endeavour to take a considerate view of their efforts. If, therefore, we put their four-hour speeches through a sort of concentrating process, I think we might probably get four seconds of consecutive intelligent thought.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—The honorable member is too sanguine.

Mr. EWING.—I think that is a fair expectation.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The educational effect has evidently not extended to the honorable member's mind.

Mr. EWING.—Honorable members are very much interested apparently in cheapness, and seem to think that if we could give the people cheap barbed wire and cheap molasses that would be all that the nation would require. I would point out, however, that we do not all worship at the shrine of cheapness. The first element of national greatness—I emphasize this at the risk of reiteration—is the character of the people, and it matters very little what kind of fiscal policy is established, or what the national opportunities are unless the men composing the nation are of a good type. Without this element there is no greatness in front of the nation. The next thing is the character of the soil. If a nation is to become rich, it must be able to wring out of the soil without too much labour what is required for its sustenance. What follows in its natural order is a fiscal policy. Protection is not a principle, nor is free-trade a principle; they are expedients which may change in character with almost every degree of latitude. When I hear people speaking of eternal principles I wonder whether they understand what the phrase means. The honorable and learned member for Parkes was asked to explain what a principle was, and

gave his views on the subject. It is a very difficult matter to explain. There are certain things that are true all the world over, and lying, fraud, and trickery of all kinds, or anything that means a sacrifice of the happiness of another individual to ourselves, means a want of principle. We know that; but what have eternal principles to do with the question of free-trade or protection? Why, 60 years ago no one had ever heard of free-trade, excepting the smuggler, the freebooter, or the pirate. And how old is the world? The world, as far as we know, has been inhabited by men for thousands of years; history, partly oral tradition of one kind and another, takes us back for 8,000 years, whilst exact history takes us back it may be 3,000 years. Of all that time there have only been about 60 years devoted to this temporary experiment of free-trade? Will honorable members divert their attention from that solitary instance for one moment, and allow their eyes to rest upon what has happened in all parts of the world? What has happened? There has been, first, an advance in practical science, and secondly, an awakening of the coloured races. Practical science will place the coloured races in the possession of machinery, and will bring the products of that machinery right to the threshold of Australia. If I may be permitted to make a prophecy, whatever my reputation as a prophet may be worth, I am sure that no textile industry, or such industries as the making of boots, hats, or harness, will be found in Australia in two or three decades, unless under the shelter of a heavy protective Tariff. Honorable members who realize the awakening of the coloured races, and the rapidity with which space is being annihilated by science, must see that what I have described is absolutely certain to occur. I do not desire to overlay this question of free-trade and protection, but I should like honorable members opposite to be a little more thoughtful in regard to protectionists. In some minds, protection is identified with two great twin sisters—the twin sisters of poverty and crime. You, Mr. Speaker, as a free-trader, will concede what other honorable members will concede anywhere out of political debate, that some of the nations which run neck and neck with England for the manufacturing power of the world—nations which are our competitors in thought and literature, and the relative strength of which can be decided only by the cruel arbitrament of war—

Mr. Ewing.

are protectionist nations. Notwithstanding the statements which have been made about thick-headed protectionists, into whom it is possible to drive argument only by means of a claymore or a battle-axe, some of the names which will be handed down to posterity as synonyms for everything that is great, virtuous, and straightforward are the names of protectionists. A truce, therefore, to this patronizing talk. I object to be patronized by men who outside are prepared to concede all these considerations, but who in debate will apparently concede nothing. In New South Wales, unfortunately, a portion of the people are free-traders, but five of the States are protectionist. So far I have not seen any evidence of that criminality which we are presumed to expect amongst protectionist people. Of course, it will be understood that I am speaking only of the Government side of the House, and of those with whom I am more closely associated. The first charge made against protection is that it destroys primary industries—that if we have protection, there will be failure to recognise the importance of primary industries. A good deal has been said in regard to the two States of Victoria and New South Wales, and that, perhaps, is pardonable, seeing that some of the other States have already gained a notoriety which entitles them to stand a little while in the background. Tasmania, for instance, returned to this Parliament a gentleman of whom we speak with all reverence. I refer to the right honorable gentleman, Sir Edward Braddon, who, at the Federal Convention, was the originator of the provision known as “the Braddon blot,” which makes it absolutely certain and essential—

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Not the originator—the stepfather.

Mr. EWING.—The provision of the Constitution to which I refer is known as the “Braddon blot,” and its origin does not very much matter. The right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, was the originator, or is presumed to be the stepfather, of a provision in the Constitution which makes it absolutely certain that an enormous Tariff will have to be levied on the over-sea trade of Australia. Then Tasmania produced another gentleman with widely different views, whose name was also Braddon. I cannot imagine the latter to have been the man who originated the “Braddon blot,” because after originating

that provision, which makes it perfectly clear that Australia must be taxed to the extent of at least £7,500,000 on the oversea trade, he would not be likely to proceed to point out the marvellous beauty of unrestricted intercourse. Is that not fame enough for one State? Then there is a section in the Constitution under which Western Australia is able for five years to levy duties on Inter-State commerce. Western Australia has seized her opportunity, and I should like the representatives of that State on the Opposition side to observe what is the present position. It is in the power of the Western Australian Parliament to give their people to-morrow cheap butter, cheap cheese, and everything that is required for the working man.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Everything that is made within the borders of Western Australia?

Mr. EWING.—Everything that is made in Australia. In Western Australia they have the opportunity of giving the working man cheap food, cheap clothes, and cheap material in connexion with the whole of the necessaries of life.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—What about cheap sugar?

Mr. EWING.—Sugar was admitted free under the old Tariff. Western Australia could, if the local Parliament liked, have an absolutely free Tariff with Eastern Australia. But what has been done? All the necessaries of life have been loaded with taxation, duties against the other Commonwealth States having been placed on boots, flour, and everything the working man uses. Yet the representatives of Western Australia make an appeal to this House, on what ground? On the ground that we must not tax the capitalist's machinery. Let those honorable members go back to the working men of Western Australia, and tell them that what the Federal Parliament says is—"Let Western Australia do her duty; let her give her population cheap food; let her take down the barrier between the Eastern States and herself, and then the Federal Parliament will be prepared to consider the question of the capitalist's machinery." Is it thought that the Federal Parliament is composed of idiots, who cannot see exactly what is meant? The representatives of Western Australia can tell the working men of that State that if their own local Parliament will do its duty, the Federal Parliament will do its

duty also. Let taxation be taken off the food of the working man in Western Australia; let the representatives of that State give their constituents a free port, or let them give up talking about free-trade. I hear no reply from the representatives of a State which within the last few days has put special taxation on the food of the working man. That, surely, is as much fame as any State desires. It may be the fame which Macaulay says is very close to infamy, but it will stand in the place of fame. I should like to say a word or two now in regard to Victoria and New South Wales. New South Wales has four times the greater area, and four times more sheep than has Victoria; but with regard to cattle, horned stock and horses, Victoria has many more than she ought to have in proportion to her size. I do not say that these facts prove anything, but they indicate that in protectionist Victoria the primary industries have not been neglected. We now come to the question as it affects the farmer. Although the area of New South Wales is four times that of Victoria, we find that butter, cheese, and all those things by which we can apply a test, are in each instance produced more largely in Victoria. I do not say that proves anything, except that, notwithstanding the fact that Victoria is protectionist, her primary industries have not been neglected. As representatives of farmers in New South Wales, we have been accustomed to hear at every election the same old story of cheap barbed wire, cheap molasses, and so on. What has been the reply made by the farmers of New South Wales? The reply has ever been the same. There has been always a solid phalanx of representatives returned for the farming districts in support of the men who desire to develop their own territory and employ their own countrymen. Look at the result of the federal elections! Every man who sits on the Government side of the House is purely and simply a farmer's representative; and that would be remarkable, if the charges made by honorable members opposite were correct. What have the farmer of New South Wales always found? We know how heavy the New South Wales dairyman's work has been. We know that when he brings his goods to market, he finds the Sydney population endeavouring to get food at the cheapest rate from any part of the world. I should like the honorable

member for Grampians to bear with me for a moment or two while I say a few words in regard to the position of the farmer and producer. I am afraid that the honorable member does not know the importer. I speak with the fullest sympathy for him. If he knew what the importers were, he would be aware of this—that the little finger of the importer is thicker than the manufacturer's loins. We know it in New South Wales. I presume that honorable members opposite want to make the whole of Australia a free-trade country. Well, what has the farmer found in New South Wales? He has found, when he got his produce to market, the indent agents of Sydney, and those employed in selling there, getting their goods from all parts of the world, and endeavouring to get them in any way they can, so long as they can break down the price of the farmer's commodity. What has the sugar-grower found? He knows that, because of bounties which are paid to the producers of sugar in other countries, it has been made utterly impossible for him to live except under the shelter of a protective duty. What has the timber-getter found? Any man who knows the work of the timber-getter, as I know it, is aware that he has to work during long days and nights, that he has to face perils from flooded torrents, and spend weary hours working by the side of his bullocks in the scrub. He finds, when he gets his timber to market, the Sydney population with their arms outstretched to the foreigner, trying to bring down the price of his labour. What does the wheat-grower find? After toiling, it may be in the Murray fringe, or some other part of the country, he finds, when he gets his produce to Sydney, the importers with their hands again outstretched, endeavouring to get wheat from whatever source they can obtain it, in order to break down the value of his labour, and bring him to a condition of penury. It is always the same story. The producer finds this great trading Sydney population, with arms outstretched to the alien, and with backs ever turned against their own countrymen. He finds them, and will ever find them, never ready to employ the labour of their own country and develop their own resources. He finds them ever eagerly scanning the sky-line looking for a ship coming over the horizon—a foreign ship, manned by foreign crews, stuffed with foreign goods, the importation of which will tend to break down

Mr. Ewing.

the value of every commodity produced in their own State. This is the experience of the farmers and producers in New South Wales. What is the reply they have made to the free-traders? How do they view the free-trade policy favoured in Sydney? They look upon the free-traders as purveyors of nostrums, just as the ordinary qualified medical man regards the person who purveys "pink pills for pale people." They look upon them as fiscal thugs, who first mislead them, and then destroy them. I do not think that I need examine at any great length the attitude of the farmer towards free-trade. The farmers give their reply every time an election takes place. But I should like now to say a word or two as to the signs of the times. I do not desire to follow honorable members into lengthy speeches with regard to heathen mythology and the tutelary goddesses of long ago, but I wish to deal with the signs of the times with which we have to do. There is in England a Manchester School of political thought, one of the doctrines of which is cheapness. Honorable members opposite appear to be all impregnated with the doctrine of the Manchester School, but I may remind them that that is not the view of some of the ablest free-traders in England. I will give the House simply one example. There was recently held in London a Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire. I took the trouble some time ago to write out a portion of what was said at that congress, and I will quote it to the House.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Where did they sit?

Mr. EWING.—They sat in London, in June, 1900. The honorable member for Parkes will recognise that this is not a quotation from the *Drapers' Gazette*. It is a quotation from the proceedings of the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire. They dealt with the important question of bounties. The bounty has been a device that has done more to shatter free-trade principles than has anything that has happened in modern times. And for this reason. Free-trade is presumed to be the flowing of goods from A to B without interruption; and if B can make them better and cheaper than A, they flow back again without interruption. The result is said to be that the people get the best result with the least labour. That is the theory. Some years ago certain countries

gave bounties in connexion with the production of sugar. The result was that sugar was sold in the markets of the world for actually less than the price for which it could be produced. But there was this enigma in connexion with it, that it appeared that the inferior product, beet sugar, would eventually beat the superior product, cane sugar, out of the market. Usually speaking, under free-trade the best man and the best acre would win, but under bounties to-day the acre and the man plus the State Treasury would win. The State Treasury is a disturbing element. At this meeting of the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce, the representative of St. Albans made a remark which I shall quote. It must be remembered that these men were nearly all free-traders. Honorable members opposite may not pay attention to my opinion, but they should listen to the opinions of representative free-traders. This is what this gentleman said; it is very significant—

We are perfectly prepared to pay a fair and proper price for every commodity which comes to these shores, but we are not prepared to accept any commodity at any price, more particularly if those prices are to affect injuriously the colonies and also the industries of Great Britain.

Honorable members see the force of that argument as far as it affects cheap sugar. The men who agreed with this gentleman, that cheapness is not everything, were representatives of Chambers of Commerce in Liverpool, South of Scotland, Bristol, and Glasgow; and the resolution was carried by a huge majority.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What is the resolution?

Mr. EWING.—It was framed in some such words as I have cited. I have read an epitome of the statement.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member appeared to read part of a speech.

Mr. EWING.—This shows that we are on the verge of industrial war in the world. Instead of the nations adopting free-trade, there is every sign that they are going in the opposite direction. Just a word or two more, and then I shall have finished. What is a deadly blow at Australia?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Protection!

Mr. EWING.—But the honorable member must understand, as I have already proved, that we shall have protection under any circumstances. I hope I am not wasting my time; I have endeavoured to

show that the honorable member's Tariff must shackle trade just as much as any other Tariff.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Well, I have not appreciated the logic of it.

Mr. EWING.—I have described already the honorable member's speech, but I do not think he was present when I did so. Exclusive of narcotics and stimulants, the Commonwealth Tariff on all other articles amounts to £4,500,000 per annum, or £1 5s. 6d. per head of the population. That is the aggregate amount of the Tariff which either party would find it necessary to bring in.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is the taxation through the Customs?

Mr. EWING.—Yes. Under the Victorian Tariff the taxation levied in the same way amounted to £1 4s. per head of the population, while that of Tasmania was £2 per head.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member admits that the Commonwealth Tariff taxes the people more than did the protectionist Tariff of Victoria.

Mr. EWING.—The Commonwealth Tariff, viewed in that light, is £1 5s. 6d. per head, while the amount raised through the Customs under the Victorian Tariff was equal to £1 4s. per head of the population. But we are leaving out of consideration the one great element in the matter, and that is Inter-State free-trade. I shall deal very briefly with that point in a moment or two. Tasmania has lived with a Tariff on the same articles equal to £2 per head of the population, or 14s. 6d. per head greater than the Federal Tariff. How would she carry on under federation with a Tariff more than 14s. 6d. per head below that which she imposed previously? Then the people of Queensland under the former Tariff were taxed to the extent of £1 13s. per head through the Customs, or 7s. 6d. per head more than under the Federal Tariff, while Western Australia was taxed at the rate of £3 per head, or £1 14s. 6d. per head more than is proposed by this Government.

Mr. KIRWAN.—Where did the honorable member obtain his figures?

Mr. EWING.—I will vouch for their accuracy. They are taken from the statistical registers of the States.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—They are not obtainable.

Mr. EWING.—Anything is obtainable if one knows how to go about it.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Anything is available to a Government supporter.

Mr. EWING.—Surely the honorable member does not place that interpretation upon my statement? There are certain facts, and it is possible to collect the figures readily enough if one only takes the trouble. Let me go over these figures again. The Federal Tariff is 14s. 6d. per head less than was the Tasmanian Tariff; that means that much less degradation to Tasmania than the old Tariff of £2 per head would mean, unless New South Wales, as many people in that State anticipate, is going to pay for all. The Tariff proposed by the Federal Government is 7s. 6d. per head less than that formerly raised in Queensland; £1 14s. 6d. per head less than that raised in Western Australia; and 4s. 6d. per head less than the South Australian Tariff.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member is wrong.

Mr. EWING.—I think not.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—In making his calculations, has the honorable member had any regard to the small amount which the States other than Victoria and New South Wales contribute to the Commonwealth Tariff?

Mr. EWING.—Yes. I will stand to this statement, for I know it is correct. If honorable members take the trouble to go into the matter they will find that I am not misleading them. The Commonwealth Tariff is less than that raised hitherto in all the States with the exception of Victoria.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member is taking the average percentages without considering the amount which the States contribute.

Mr. EWING.—No; I am not doing so.

Mr. POYNTON.—What is the South Australian Tariff?

Mr. EWING.—I say that the taxation levied through the Customs under the old South Australian Tariff amounted to £1 10s. per head of the population. Of course I am excluding narcotics and stimulants.

Mr. POYNTON.—What is the total?

Mr. EWING.—I have not with me the calculations inclusive of stimulants and narcotics. I took out the whole figures, and I found that South Australia was paying taxation equal to £1 10s. per head of her population. The honorable member will

find that my statement is correct. If that was the state of things in the several States prior to federation, how can they expect to do with less now, unless New South Wales, as presumed by the free-trade party in that State, is to foot the bill? New South Wales will pay more than she has been doing. The reason of this may be seen very easily. Land revenue in Victoria is £330,000 per annum; Tasmania, £70,000; Queensland, £590,000; South Australia, £160,000; Western Australia £150,000; and New South Wales, £2,100,000. There is the whole case. So long as New South Wales is able to sell her lands and put the proceeds into current revenue, she is able to do with less taxation. A country travels on its stomach, just as an army is presumed to do. In the future, if New South Wales continues to receive this increase of customs revenue she will be able to pay for her wooden bridges out of other than loan money. She may be able to pay her interest out of legitimate revenue and make a number of other payments of that kind. This will give her an opportunity of doing so. I should esteem honorable members much more if they would be politically honest. I will endeavour to show what I mean by that. The one great idea in New South Wales is that that State is to foot the bill for the Commonwealth. There may be a few exceptions, but when speaking in New South Wales nearly every honorable member from that State sets forth that she is the richest of all the States—which is absolutely correct—and that she will have to pay for the impecunious States.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Nonsense.

Mr. PIESSE.—That is the whole trouble.

Mr. EWING.—Exactly. We hear that statement made on every hand. It was made right through the appeals to the people during the federal campaign. One may hear it at every street corner; read it in almost every free-trade paper, and hear it asserted by almost every free-trade speaker.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—New South Wales gets back her extra taxation.

Mr. EWING.—I will forgive those honorable members all their arguments and unwisdom if in the statements which they make in the future, in regard to the finances of Australia, they point out that in the Constitution Act it is laid down absolutely that

each and every man within the Commonwealth shall pay exactly the same amount of taxation—that taxation all over Australia is uniform. If that fact were put clearly before the people of New South Wales—if it were put forward at every meeting and emphasized, that taxation is uniform throughout Australia—it would take the sting out of everything that appears in the Tariff.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—What does that prove?

MR. EWING.—It proves that New South Wales is not, in the euphemistic language employed by some honorable members, being loafed on by the other States. Do honorable members imagine that it would have been possible to get up the agitation now going on in Sydney, unless the people of New South Wales were persuaded that the other States were sucking the blood out of the mother State?

MR. V. L. SOLOMON.—That question has never been raised.

MR. EWING.—I know the story from beginning to end. The people have been appealed to on that ground, and will be appealed to again.

MR. V. L. SOLOMON.—The honorable member knows the story, but not the truth.

MR. EWING.—I know the story well. If honorable members would only explain to the people of New South Wales that every individual throughout Australia pays exactly the same taxes; that the taxation imposed upon a man in New South Wales is not greater than that imposed upon a man in Victoria or Tasmania, we should not have a particle of agitation in that State. I have heard the honorable and learned member for Parkes say that this is a question between New South Wales and Victoria.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I said that New South Wales and Victoria would have to pay two-thirds of the Commonwealth revenue, and that therefore it was their percentages that should be considered.

MR. EWING.—The honorable and learned member said it was a question of Tariff between New South Wales and Victoria, and that New South Wales had not a fair show. As a matter of fact, however, it is a question of Tariff between the five protectionist States I have mentioned and New South Wales—a question of five to one.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—But the contributions of the other States are so small.

MR. EWING.—They are all sisters in the Commonwealth, with exactly the same responsibilities as those imposed on New South Wales. Instead of being a case of one against one, it is a question of five States to one. Another statement made by the honorable and learned member for Parkes was that protection means the discouragement of importation, and, therefore, that under a protectionist policy we should get no Customs revenue. That is point No. 1.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I did not say that we should get no Customs revenue.

MR. EWING.—Well, the honorable and learned member said that we should get very little. Point No. 2, which he made, was that this Tariff is a protectionist Tariff. Point No. 3 was that under this Tariff we should get about £12,000,000 of revenue.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—If the calculations of the Government were correct.

MR. EWING.—I take the three points advanced by the honorable and learned member. His first was that this Tariff is a protectionist Tariff, his second, that under a protective Tariff, no revenue would be derived, and his third, that the Tariff before the House would yield £12,000,000, which is £3,000,000 more than is required.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I did not say that under protection we should receive no revenue.

MR. EWING.—The honorable and learned member said that under protection we should receive very little revenue. His next point was that this is the Victorian Tariff. The Victorian Tariff and this Tariff, he said, are a sort of *x* quantity, being equal, but the annual value of the goods that came into Victoria during the last year or two was about £18,000,000.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I said that the difference in value between the oversea imports in 1899, and the oversea imports of 1900 represented £7,000,000.

MR. EWING.—I am not dealing with that point. The imports of Victoria, according to the Government Statistician, represent an annual value of £18,000,000. Of this amount, £6,300,000 worth of goods come from States within the Commonwealth, and yet the honorable and learned member for Parkes says that there is no alteration in the status of Victoria. He takes up a truly remarkable position. I do not pretend to answer his speech for two reasons—first, because I do not think it would be fair to the House; and secondly, because I

consider that it answers itself. We are told to behold the signs of the times—the handwriting upon the wall. There has been a huge meeting held in Melbourne. Honorable members are told that such a large meeting must have some effect upon every one. It had a very great effect upon me; it caused me to look up the lunacy statistics of Victoria. Melbourne is a city with approximately 500,000 inhabitants, and the leader of the Opposition was about to make a speech. I believe that in any city of the world the leader of the Opposition is entitled to an audience. His qualifications, his abilities, and his powers, will ever entitle him to a good audience. He got one. What does that prove? The admission was by ticket.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Only to the gallery.

Mr. EWING.—The honorable member for South Australia wants to separate the sheep from the goats.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—All the protectionists who were shut out attended the overflow meeting.

Mr. EWING.—I have been thinking over the matter very carefully, because the speech of the honorable and learned member for Parkes did not supply me with very much food for thought. I have been thinking whether that meeting was really a sign of the times, because if Beelzebub were advertised to deliver an address in a hall in Melbourne, that building would be filled from floor to ceiling in just the same way.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—And there would be an overflow meeting.

Mr. EWING.—Yes. The fact must always be remembered that if a ticket is sent to a man for a dog show he will attend it, because he immediately imagines that he is a person of importance and is entitled to some special consideration. If you want to get a meeting together by all means let tickets be sent out. In order to gain admission to the meeting which was to be addressed by the leader of the Opposition, one required to have a ticket. If one went to see Beelzebub, one would desire a ticket in order to get out. At the present time Sydney is, no doubt, very indignant. A considerable number of men in that city are angry. But we must always remember that the Sydney people were never in favour of the Constitution Bill. Fifty per cent. of the people there

fought against it. The present agitation against the Tariff is not a circumstance to the agitation which was raised against the Constitution itself. The present agitation is raised by the same men, who tell the same old story, and make the same unfortunate exhibition. The same old gang are gathered together again, and they tell the same old story. In a great city like Sydney, with 50 per cent. of her people against federation, of course it is easy to make a fuss. Some indent agents are very indignant because they speculated in the wrong thing. What are the scenes we see in Sydney? Scene No. 1 is that of the importer or storekeeper rushing in and marking up his goods 5, 50, or 100 per cent. higher than they were formerly irrespective of whether those particular goods are on the free list or not. He is so fond of the people that he gives them an opportunity of paying duties which he himself has never paid. If the writing up of the goods in Sydney and various other parts of the Commonwealth happened under any circumstances except those connected with trade, it would be absolutely criminal. Scene No. 2 shows these men rushing out into the streets and crying that they are very sorry for the consumer. They attend meetings in every part of the metropolis. In every tea-room, and every restaurant one hears the raucous voice of the indent agent. It is a perfect babel of foreign tongues. The tongues of all the men who hate Britain like poison, who regard our country as merely a sojourning place, are heard wagging in every direction. Above it all can be heard the guttural grunt of the kanaka and the babbling jargon of the Chinese. These are the men who form the basis of the meetings which are being held in Sydney. These are the people who are sorry for the Australian workman. The Chinaman, the kanaka, and the foreign indent agent say that Australia has been accustomed to buy cheap labour, but the Federal Parliament will no longer permit of that being done, and, therefore, they are fully in sympathy with the working man.

Mr. McDONALD.—All the kanaka supporters in Queensland are protectionists.

Mr. EWING.—I do not think that the honorable member is in earnest, but even if he were, that fact has nothing to do with the principle involved. I am giving a

correct description of the state of things which exists in the metropolis of Sydney. Amongst the free-traders I know there are good, intelligent men, who are suffering, perhaps, from a temporary aberration or hallucination, but who are, nevertheless, good, loyal, and honorable citizens. Their feelings appear to me to be very much those of a man who is fighting the battle of freedom, and who finds himself surrounded by savages, with scalping knives and tomahawks. They know that, although they may demolish the enemy, the time will come when these lovers of cheap labour will destroy them.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member is departing far from the question before the Chair.

Mr. EWING.—In conclusion, I wish to say that from the very first I regarded the question of union as an abiding faith. I always told my constituents in the north—and I stood pretty well alone in this respect for a time—that we should never get a white Australia until it was washed white by a Federal Parliament. I knew that the basis of Australian industry would never rest upon a firm foundation until it was under the control of this Parliament. I am glad to see that the legislation so far shows that I made no mistake. We, native-born Australians, do not regard this continent as a boarding-house, where a man pays his score and goes along, or peddles a few goods and passes out of the country to enjoy what he has made. We regard it as our home. To my mind, there does not appear to be any better way of showing our devotion to Australia than by endeavouring to develop the resources of our own country, to patronize our own industries, and to give work to our own countrymen.

Mr. FOWLER.—I wish to make a personal explanation in reply to certain remarks which have just fallen from the honorable member for Richmond. He charged me with having stated in my speech on the motion before the House that in my opinion the only way to deal with protectionists was to use an axe to them. I interjected that the honorable member was wrong in attributing that statement to me, but, notwithstanding my denial, he repeated his remarks, and said that he had heard me use the words. I will read exactly what I said, as reported in *Hansard*. I had referred an

honorable member to a certain publication, and I went on to say—

The book is quite a recent publication, but the date does not appear. It is not more than two or three years old. I shall be very glad indeed if the honorable member will read it.

Mr. MAUGER.—I know it very well; I have read Professor Ely.

Mr. FOWLER.—I must apologize for asking the honorable member to read it. I forgot for the moment that I was addressing a protectionist whose only means of getting light upon such a subject as this would be by the application of an axe of considerable weight wielded by somebody of considerable vitality.

I think that that quotation indicates that what I said was merely in the nature of a humorous remark, by way of reply to an interjection, and I resent the insinuation that I meant it to apply to protectionists in general. Nothing could be further from my intention.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—In dealing with the motion before the House, I do not intend to enter into a theoretical discussion of the respective merits of free-trade and protection, for I cannot find that any one proposes free-trade or even an approach to it, or that any one proposes a really protectionist Tariff or anything like it. We have not a long enough free list on the proposed Tariff, and its duties are not high enough, for protection. I regard the Tariff as oppressive, but in its main features necessary in order to meet the requirements of the several States. I regard it as oppressive chiefly because of those duties which the members of the Opposition most favour—revenue duties on tea, coffee, flannelettes, cottons, linens, and other articles, duties which admittedly are burdens, and nothing but burdens. I take up the position which has been adopted by so many others, that we must get money; and this money must come from the pockets of the people, because there is nowhere else that we can get it from. To put the blame upon the proper shoulders, the cause of this heavy and burdensome Tariff is the very heavy interest which the States have to pay upon the money which they have borrowed, interest which amounts to nearly £8,000,000 a year; while the cause of that heavy interest is the shiftless, thriftless, and selfish policy of borrowing, and pawning the future of Australia to the bond-holders, which has been pursued by the State Ministries for years past. I am sorry that the first

Federal Ministry is, in the first session of the first Federal Parliament, proposing to follow their bad lead in this respect by superadding to the six State borrowing machines a seventh borrowing machine on the part of the Commonwealth. If honorable members will help me, I shall be willing to vote against the proposal of the Government to borrow £1,000,000. I think, however, that the Barton Ministry are acting straightforwardly with regard to measures which are of infinitely greater permanent moment to the Australian people, and I should regard it as a distinct disaster if they were ousted, because it would mean delay in the passing of those measures, and probably great risk to their proper enactment. It is significant that those who have crossed from the other side of the chamber to this, to help the Government in the present crisis, are men who are in sympathy with progressive ideas, while those who have left this side of the House to support the motion of want of confidence—and I hope I may say it without offence to personal friends of my own—are men who are least in sympathy, amongst those on this side, with such ideas. Under these circumstances, I have no hesitation in voting against the motion.

MR. CHANTER (Riverina).—I recognise that the debate has already been prolonged to an undue length, and I shall endeavour to compress my remarks into the shortest time possible. I propose to deal with statistics only in a very small way, but I feel it to be my duty to embrace this opportunity, which is the only one I shall have, to speak to honorable members who are not personally acquainted with me, and do not know the reasons for the principles I hold. I wish also to reply to several of the remarks which have been made by honorable members sitting on the opposite side of the Chamber, and which I have been very sorry to hear. In the first place, I exceedingly deplore the fact that some of those who occupy leading positions on the Opposition side of the Chamber have charged the Prime Minister with breach of confidence, with breach of trust, and with almost every other breach of faith with which they could have charged him. I cannot forget that I was associated with him during the whole of the federal campaign, and that honorable members opposite when they stood on the platform with me told their

audiences time after time that federation would sound the death knell of free-trade, so far as New South Wales was concerned, and that the people of that State must be prepared to accept a very high Tariff. The Prime Minister stated at Maitland what the policy of the Government would be. He said that it was impossible to have either an ideal protectionist or an ideal free-trade policy—that there must be a compromise, because revenue was the first consideration. The honorable and learned member for Parkes is not usually unfair; but last night he manifestly distorted the words of the Prime Minister. As one who has been behind the scenes and before the curtain in regard to the federal movement from the time of its commencement, I say that the Prime Minister has been true to his speeches, and to the speech which he delivered at Maitland, announcing that the policy of the Government would be framed to suit, not the free-traders of Sydney, nor the extreme protectionists of Victoria, but the requirements of the people of Australia as a whole. That was his position then; that is his position now. My honorable friends on the other side, with whom I have always been on the most friendly terms, will not attempt to deny that during the late elections to this House they raised the cry of free-trade, and fought for it on every platform. They sent one of the strongest men they could select against myself, and, following the lead of the leader of the Opposition and others, he detailed to the electors of Riverina what a terrible calamity it would be to them personally, and to Australia as a whole, if the Barton Government were allowed to retain the reins of power, because, as he said, they would establish some more match or starch factories. There is not an honorable member on this side who did not have to meet the same kind of opposition. I told the electors of Riverina that I had faith in the Prime Minister that he would keep his pledges. I hold that faith as strongly now as I did then. I told them then—

MR. CONROY.—That it would be a revenue Tariff.

MR. CHANTER.—Nothing of the kind. I said that the Prime Minister had said that it would have to be a compromise Tariff; that the duties were so high in Victoria that some of them would have to be lowered, and that the proposal was to lower them; that the duties in New South

Wales would have to be increased, and that articles then free would have to be taxed. From my knowledge of the leader of the Opposition, gained during my political experience ranging over nearly twenty years in New South Wales; from my recollection that in one session alone he was so anxious to obtain control of the Treasury benches that he moved no less than thirteen motions of censure, it is my deliberate opinion that, no matter what Tariff this Government had proposed to the House for its acceptance, it would have been opposed just as virulently as that which he now proposes to condemn.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And would the honorable member have consented to any Tariff he would have proposed?

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member knows that on the floor of the Legislative Assembly I did as much as any man could possibly do to prevent the right honorable and learned member from bringing New South Wales into the disastrous position that he did. The honorable member for North Sydney laughs at my statement, but I can recollect the time when he stood on the floor of that House and denounced the financial doings of the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. THOMSON.—Not only the leader of the Opposition, but all Premiers in New South Wales.

Mr. CHANTER.—I can also recollect the honorable and learned member for Parkes and the honorable member for Wentworth doing the same thing. I can recollect all the right honorable gentleman's lieutenants, at the present time, denouncing him.

Mr. THOMSON.—It was his system of finance.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member for Parkes was not in the House at the time.

Mr. CHANTER.—He was not in the House at that particular time, but he was there during the time that the leader of the Opposition was Premier, and my honorable friend Postmaster-General. This union has been brought about with the full knowledge that what is called free-trade—but which I prefer to term foreign trade—would be impossible; there was to be internal free-trade within the Commonwealth, and a reasonable protection for its industries and manufactures by the imposition of customs duties

on certain imports. The Treasurer, the Prime Minister, and the Minister for Trade and Customs tell us that with the advice of the most experienced men they can gather from the States—advice far better, I venture to say, than any member of the House can offer without the knowledge of these experts—they have arrived at the conclusion that a certain amount of revenue must be obtained to meet the requirements of the States; and because in obtaining that amount, New South Wales is to get more than it is said she wants—those in power, however, do not say that she is to get more than she wants—there is an attempt to displace the Government. For what purpose? To reduce the amount of revenue raised, and thus, at once, to put at least three States out of the six into an absolutely insolvent position, or force them to levy taxes on their people, which we have no right to do. We must be fair to the compact we have made, and we should stand here not as members for a State, but as members for Australia, who have entered into an honorable compact to deal with every State in a just, liberal, and honest spirit. That can be done in no other way than that which is proposed. Of course the Tariff as a whole is not acceptable. Did honorable members ever see a Tariff which was acceptable? I have no recollection of any Tariff being proposed which was acceptable to the people as a whole. Tom objects to the Tariff because it affects his interests; Dick objects to it because it affects his interests; and Harry objects to it because it affects his interests. The only advice given to the Minister for Trade and Customs is practically—"Leave me alone, and tax the other fellow." We are not here for that purpose. We are here to place the burdens, if they are burdens, in a manner in which they can be beneficial, and not prejudicial to the people as a whole. One statement which the Prime Minister made at Maitland—and on which some members of the Opposition base their arguments—was that the policy of the Government would be to obtain revenue without destruction. Any school-boy understands what that meant—that the revenue was to be obtained in the best manner possible, but in a manner which would have no destructive effect on the industries which had been brought into existence by the laws of the States.

Mr. CONROY.—I wish that had been carried out.

Mr. CHANTER.—It was put as clearly as possible. Amongst my papers, I have the report of the Prime Minister's speech, in which he deliberately declared at Maitland that that was to be the policy of the Government, and no amount of distortion can get away from the fact that since that time—I think the Minister for Trade and Customs and the Attorney-General were on the platform—he has repeated that statement in Melbourne, Adelaide, and other places. There is no one who wishes to be honest and straightforward but knows exactly what the intentions of the Government were, but must declare, if he wishes to be fair in politics, that they are honestly trying to keep the pledges then made. My principal object in rising was not to deliver an elaborate address on the principles of foreign trade as against Australian trade, but to reply to certain speakers, not by quotations from *Mulhall*, *Coghlan*, or others, but from my own experience in Australia, in which I was born and bred, and have all my interests. I claim to know, perhaps, as much about the agricultural community as do many honorable members, not from a theoretical, but from a practical point of view. My first farming experience was obtained in Victoria. When I came here with my parents from Adelaide my father purchased a large area of land in the Kyneton district of this State. It is a very fertile district, and I then got a practical experience of farming which I have retained, because I have been connected with the industry personally and in connexion with my business ever since. I am now going to speak of what the Victorian policy has done for the State of Victoria, and of what the policy of New South Wales has not done for the State of New South Wales. Living, as I do, on the border of the two States, and having business with, and holding the confidences, financial and otherwise, of many interested in agricultural pursuits on both sides of the River Murray, I have no hesitation whatever in saying that the policy of Victoria has had the effect of advancing the Victorian agriculturist far beyond his fellow on the other side of the Murray. It has enhanced the value of his land; it has given him a market for his produce; it has secured his home market in every possible way, and when he has reached the stage at which he has been able to fully supply his own market, then the protecting hand of

the State of Victoria has been stretched out to find a market for him wherever one is to be found in the world.

Mr. CONROY.—Yet 130,000 people have gone away from the State in ten years.

Mr. CHANTER.—I have heard that statement time after time.

Mr. CONROY.—Is it true?

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable and learned member, with whom I hope to continue on the best of terms, only repeats that because he has heard it. I am not going into figures, but I might retaliate by asking what drove the people away from New South Wales? How is it that the policy of New South Wales has not been such as to keep the best of her people in that State? The fact remains that they had to go away from New South Wales, and to petition the Home authorities to allow them to act for themselves that they might adopt the policy which best suited them. From that moment Victoria began to advance, and New South Wales began to stand still. I do not desire to repeat what has been said by others any more than I can possibly help, but New South Wales would not be in half as good a position as she is in at the present time, had it not been for the Victorian energy, grit, and capital, which has developed her territory. The impetus given to agriculture by the Victorian policy was marvellous. Those of us who are old enough to know the times when population here became denser than at any other time, will remember that there was one great attraction, an attraction which it is admitted is always potent, and that is the existence of gold. Gold was not found here first, as we know that New South Wales had had her gold-fields, but there is no doubt that the gold-fields of Victoria did attract a very large number of people from the other States and from other parts of the world. Victorian politicians were then wise enough to know that the gold-fields of the State could not absorb the whole of the population that was coming in, and that they must make provision for the outflow from the mines so that the people might be occupied in some kind of agricultural or industrial pursuit. The State of Victoria laid itself out at once to secure and retain a class of population which is beneficial to any State. Certain land laws were passed—and here, as has been said by other speakers, let me say that protection will not do everything. No one has ever claimed that it would.

Protection is simply one link in the chain which had to be forged. The first question the State had to consider was what to do with the people in order to retain them, and Victoria did what New South Wales has not done. The first thing said to the miners and others who were here was that they might go upon the land, and they would get it on deferred payment without any charge for interest. They were told also that they would be helped to grow produce on it for the requirements of the State. In New South Wales that was not done. In that State they started by charging the same price for their land, but they charged the agriculturist 5 per cent. interest on the principal. In Victoria that was never done. After production had reached a certain stage, and especially in the case of the butter industry, other steps were taken—and I cannot help specially referring to this matter, because the honorable member for Illawarra and other honorable members have spoken of it. If the policy adopted in New South Wales is the correct one, and has been as beneficial as it has been claimed to be, how is it that the great butter industry has not reached the importance in that State that it has reached in the State of Victoria? I can recollect when the latest and most modern machinery was brought into New South Wales—into the district of the honorable member for Illawarra—in connexion with this industry. It was imported at a large cost, but even then with the semi-provincial idea of supplying only the requirements of the South Coast district of New South Wales. I can recollect Victorian politicians travelling over to Sydney with me and going into the South Coast district to inspect this machinery. Coming back here with the knowledge obtained, they started at once to develop the butter industry; but they started here with the assistance of the State, which offered bonuses for the development and export of this produce, which, I have no hesitation in saying, rapidly placed the State of Victoria in the front rank so far as this particular class of production is concerned. That is what was done under a protective policy. There is also another link in the chain for the benefit of the farmer, who, it is said, is going to be ruined under this Tariff—I shall show directly how he will be ruined. In Victoria the State

said to him, "We shall help you in every way we possibly can. We recognise that you are going away out of the cities and away from the domestic and other advantages which are possible only in city life. We are going to give you free schools, and we shall educate your children without any cost whatever to you." New South Wales has not done that, and at this moment in the ordinary public schools of that State people are being charged 3d. per head and a maximum of 1s. per week for the education of their children. In regard to roads, bridges, railways, and such matters, let honorable members go from one end of this State to the other, and what will they find? They will find railway stations everywhere—not little boxes such as exist in the agricultural districts of New South Wales, but commodious stations for passengers, large sheds for the accommodation of produce, and large subsidiary sheds outside the platforms. We cannot find them in New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is slandering his own State.

Mr. CHANTER.—I am stating here what I have endeavoured during the last eighteen or twenty years to get New South Wales to do. I have endeavoured to induce my own State, the State which I love and in which I have a very great deal to be thankful for, to embrace a policy different altogether from that which she has embraced; to induce her to stop selling her land and putting the proceeds into revenue; to induce her to stop that wasteful criminal procedure she has adopted, which is leaving a burden as a heritage for our children which we should be manly enough to bear ourselves.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member could not get them to do it.

Mr. CHANTER.—No. The honorable member has reminded me of it, and as comparisons have been made between the two States, I must deal with the matter. When I went into that State there were seven individuals, the Minister for Home Affairs and myself amongst the number, who had the courage to declare that the best policy for New South Wales was a policy which would protect her own people, and not a policy for protecting the foreigner against her own people. Gradually the feeling grew, and I will now take the opportunity of replying to the statement made by the leader of the Opposition. The members of the labour party who come from

New South Wales will bear me out when I say that the people of that State as a whole, when appealed to at the last three elections, including the one which has just taken place, returned a majority of protectionists as against foreign traders.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What nonsense!

Mr. CHANTER.—I make a statement that can be easily proved. What defeated the protectionist majority in the House after the first of these elections? The honorable member for Parramatta was then the leader of the labour party in New South Wales, and controlled that party to the number of 21. The leader of the Opposition offered the honorable member a portfolio, and the labour party became allied with the foreign traders, who were enabled to hold the reins of power although the people of New South Wales had spoken in favour of protection as against foreign trade.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is absolutely inaccurate, and the honorable member knows it!

Mr. CHANTER.—I repeat the statement in the presence of other honorable members here who know the facts. After that election, when a Ministry was formed by the leader of the Opposition, a portfolio was offered to, and accepted by, the honorable member for Parramatta, who was leading the labour party of 21 members in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—But the honorable member for Parramatta has been a consistent free-trader.

Mr. CHANTER.—If the honorable member for South Sydney will take the trouble to look up the *Sydney Morning Herald*, he will find one of the strongest protectionist letters ever written over the name of the honorable member for Parramatta.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is an—I was going to say, absolute fabrication.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—It is quite true, and I shall quote the letter presently.

Mr. CHANTER.—The letter has already been quoted. It was written before the honorable member became Postmaster-General of New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The letter was written years before I entered political life, and the honorable member knows it.

Mr. CHANTER.—I do not wish to be misunderstood. I say again that the letter was written by the honorable member, and published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*,

before he was leader of the labour party in New South Wales, and before he accepted a portfolio in the Ministry formed by the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member say that I wrote that letter after I had entered political life?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! If the honorable member for Parramatta considers himself misrepresented, he will have an opportunity of making an explanation, but he must not interject.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is very unfair to misrepresent an honorable member.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member for Macquarie had better keep quiet, or I shall have something to say about him. At the two elections held in New South Wales prior to the election which recently took place—at which the fiscal question was supposed to have been sunk, but was not—the people of New South Wales were appealed to as a whole, apart from the labour party, which sunk the fiscal question, and they returned a majority of protectionists to the House. They also recorded a larger number of votes for protection than for free-trade. Therefore, the claim of the leader of the Opposition that he came back to Parliament with a mandate from the people to establish free-trade was not correct.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He made an appeal to the country, and was returned to power again.

Mr. CHANTER.—The leader of the Opposition made an appeal to the country, and so did the honorable member for Macquarie, and no one knows better than the honorable member for Macquarie that there are very many side issues which influence elections. The honorable member knows very well that he got in on one of those side issues. The Bathurst electorate, which had been represented by the honorable member, was noted for the part it took in the federal movement, and on a subsequent occasion the people voted against the honorable member and rejected him.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They reversed their decision the next time—they may have been humbugged by a few people like the honorable member.

Mr. CHANTER.—They might have been humbugged by me for a few minutes, but the honorable member can lay claim to having humbugged people all his life. No

one has been louder in advancing the supposed claims of the farmers to consideration than the honorable member for Parramatta, but the district he represents is more of a mining than a farming district. The man who grows a bit of hay, or who goes into his paddock and cuts a bit of lucerne, calls himself a farmer, but the real farmers—the wheat growers—are represented in the largest numbers in my own constituency all along the Murray.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What nonsense!

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member may say it is nonsense, but he knows that he is stating what is untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member must withdraw that expression.

Mr. CHANTER.—I withdraw, Mr. Speaker, and am sorry that I have been led by these interjections into a breach of the rules of debate.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have some of the best farmers in New South Wales in my district.

Mr. CHANTER.—I have been through the honorable member's district, and I have failed to see the farmers. However, if it is more satisfactory to them, I will concede that my honorable friends do know something about farming. They have told this House of the terrible burden the farmer is going to bear, and the leader of the Opposition and others have complained of the disabilities under which the farmers are to be placed by this Tariff. Now if any one has been humbugging the farmers, I am afraid the accusation must be made against the honorable members to whom I am referring. Where are their burdens? What is the first consideration to the farmer? His first concern is to obtain land, and when he has done that he has to put up his fences. For this purpose he requires certain implements—a pick and shovel and crowbar—with which to dig his post holes. All these articles are on the free list. When he has put his posts in the ground he requires fencing wire, and this also is on the free list.

Mr. POYNTON.—Not all of it.

Mr. CHANTER.—All but barbed wire. How many farmers use barbed wire?

Mr. POYNTON.—Thousands of tons are used in the State of South Australia.

Mr. CHANTER.—That may be; but does one farmer out of a hundred use barbed wire? I know many farmers who have very

strong objections to barbed wire, because it has injured some of their stock.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member wants to go into the north of South Australia in order to see the extent to which barbed wire is used.

Mr. CHANTER.—Even supposing that farmers do use barbed wire, they will not be placed under any handicap, because I am glad to say that barbed wire is already manufactured in Australia.

Mr. POYNTON.—At £2 15s. per ton more than it is sold for in New South Wales.

Mr. CHANTER.—That opens up another question altogether, and if the honorable member will allow me to proceed I hope to be able to prove even to him that the mere fact of placing a duty on an article does not increase its price. The price may be increased for the moment, until internal production can be brought about, but, so surely as internal production is carried on, so surely will the price go down, not only below the amount of the duty, but below what it was before the duty was imposed. I can recollect the time when the machinery used in farming consisted of a sickle, a sythe, what was called an "American cradle," and implements of that kind. I saw the first reaping machine, known as the "Windmill," which was imported, and I know that after Victoria adopted the policy of protection, establishments were started at Bendigo, Ballarat, Kyneton, and other places, until the farmer had Australian manufacturers to provide machinery at half the price which had been previously charged. That development has gone on, and it is of no use honorable members endeavouring to deny the experience of history. Every farmer, who is honest and straightforward, must admit that he purchases his machinery in Australia because it is cheaper and better than that which he was able to obtain prior to the imposition of protective duties.

Mr. POYNTON.—A farmer does not live on machinery only.

Mr. CHANTER.—I know that the farmer does not live on machinery only, but there are some honorable members in the House who do seem to live on "machinery." They live in a "factory" where figures are worked up with a view to deceive people outside, and especially with a view to deceive the farmers. That kind of machinery we are used to, and I am now laying some facts before those who,

perhaps, have not had practical experience in the farming industry. Those who have had such experience know which is the best policy, but I do not want people who are now going on the land to be led away from their best interests. I have dealt with the alleged burden which is on the farmer when he fences his land. I have shown that the posts, the wire, and the tools which he uses bear no duty, and that consequently he suffers no burden. Having enclosed his land, the farmer has to build his house, and here again he uses Australian material in the shape of timber. The only things on which he is called upon to pay duty are the nails with which he fastens his boards together.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—There must be galvanized iron for the roof, and there must also be doors and windows.

Mr. CHANTER.—Galvanized iron is being made in Australia at present, and I am satisfied that under this Tariff iron-works will in a short time be established not only in New South Wales, but elsewhere.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Then the farmer has to wait for his roof until a factory is established.

Mr. CHANTER.—I am not so foolish as to say that until factories are created the farmer has not to pay a somewhat increased price, but that is only for a short period of time. Mr. Sandford, the owner of the iron-works at Eskbank, in the Parramatta electorate, has written showing what the policy of protection is going to do for the people of Australia in connexion with corrugated iron for roofing and iron for other purposes. After the farmer has built his house, in connexion with which I claim he bears no burdens, because the doors—

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Doors pay a duty of 7s. 6d. each.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member does not seem to be able to get away from the idea that the farmer rushes out and buys nothing but what is imported. If the farmer could not get his material in Australia at reasonable prices I could understand his being forced to buy imported articles. But cannot the farmer buy Australian doors and windows, which are manufactured by his fellow-countrymen? That is what the farmer does, and he is proud and patriotic enough to do so in preference to spending the money abroad and getting no benefit in return.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Is not Oregon timber necessary?

Mr. CHANTER.—In my own electorate we have pine, which is superior to Oregon timber, and is preferred for building purposes. A house built of Oregon in the Riverina, or the northern part of Victoria, would not last, because the white ants would soon have it down to the ground, whereas Murray pine, which is provided by nature in abundance and is used for building purposes, is impervious to the attacks of ants.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Are doors and windows made of that pine?

Mr. CHANTER.—They can be.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Are they made of it?

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member seems to think that a farmer is an individual who can sit down at his desk and sign cheques to any amount for the purpose of building a mansion.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The farmer will require a cheque-book in order to build, under this Tariff.

Mr. CHANTER.—The Tariff is giving the New South Wales farmer a rapidly increased banking account, as I shall show honorable members. In the matter of cultivation, what are the tools used by the farmer? He requires ploughs, harrows and machinery of that description, and for not one of the implements needed for modern farming is it necessary to go outside the Commonwealth. Ploughs, harrows, and machinery of the very best description, are already manufactured in Australia at a price which is cheaper than that the farmer would otherwise have to pay for imported articles. The first stripping machine was invented in my native State of South Australia. That invention has been followed up by others, and such progress has been made that the farmer can now sit on his combined winnower and harvester, driving his own horses, and leaving behind him a trail of bags of wheat ready to cart to the market. The machines used in the wheat growing districts are not, and never have been, imported, and the Government recognise the fact that to impose a duty in such a case would be absurd. The same remark applies to the farmer's other implements. For putting in or taking off his crop, he requires no imported machinery; and here let me state a fact to my honorable friends from New South Wales, who

claim to know a great deal about the farmer. In New South Wales there was an open market for machinery, as for everything else, and American, English, German, and other machinery was available. Why is it that when the farmer had the opportunity of getting these goods at the cheap rates which freedom from duty is said to create, he did not do so, but preferred to purchase his machinery in Victoria and South Australia—the very machinery that the farmer is using in New South Wales at the present moment. Is that not the best proof I can give that Australian machinery is quite as cheap as imported machinery, and that the former is the better adapted for work in Australia? Manufacturers in other parts of the world make machines for the purpose of sale, but the manufacturers in Australia make machinery for the dual purpose of sale and of giving honest value for the money paid. In Ballarat, Bendigo, Castlemaine, and throughout the farming districts repairs to agricultural machinery can be promptly attended to, men being sent round for that purpose.

Mr. WILKS.—That was done by the Clyde Engineering Works in New South Wales.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member must know that £300,000 was absolutely sunk in those works. The firm of Hudson Bros. was known and well respected in New South Wales, and had one of the largest plants in that State. Capital to the amount of £300,000 was sunk in their works. What was the result? Under the free-trade policy of New South Wales the firm was ruined, the proprietors and shareholders lost the money they had invested, and the place was sold not very long since for £20,000.

Mr. WILKS.—It is still going, stronger than ever.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Mr. Hudson is one of the greatest free-traders in New South Wales.

Mr. WILKS.—The firm employs 800 men.

Mr. CHANTER.—When the farmer has got through his fencing and building operations, and has put in his crop and taken it off, he takes the grain to the miller. What miller? Not the miller we hear so much of, whose works are in England. We have it dinned into our ears that the price which the farmer gets is the price ruling in Mark-lane. But in Victoria the farmer has had millers

competing for his grain, with the advantage of selling it to whoever would give the highest price for it. He has not had that advantage in New South Wales. He never has had it in New South Wales, until this Tariff was imposed, and has never obtained anything like the price that has been obtained by his brethren in Victoria and in South Australia for their wheat. That is an undeniable fact, which can be proved from the columns of the *Argus*. When the farmer has harvested his grain—I am speaking more particularly of the wheat farmer—he puts it into—what? He puts it into corn-sacks, of course. Let honorable members look at the Tariff. There is no duty on corn-sacks.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Marvellous!

Mr. CHANTER.—I intend it to be a revelation to honorable members and others, because the farmers of this country are told that they are going to be taxed off the face of the earth. I am showing, as clearly as possible, that nearly everything that the farmer requires—with the exception of a few articles, such as tea, cocoa, and similar things, the duties upon which are revenue duties—is not taxed. He does not import the articles, and, consequently, he does not pay the duty.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—What about boots?

Mr. CHANTER.—I have something here from New South Wales about boots, and I will come to that directly. Some farmers also engage in dairying. The cream separator of the farmer is not at present manufactured in Australia. It is on the free list. The reaper and binder is on the free list, if the farmer uses that implement; but it is not largely used, except in the colder districts. It is seldom used in the wheat districts. So that nearly everything that can be done for the farmer has been done for him. Now, when I had the honour of speaking in this House upon the address in reply, I quoted certain prices from the *Argus*. I showed then that under the free-trade policy of New South Wales the farmer was getting less for his produce than were the farmers of Victoria and South Australia. My quotations were taken from the *Argus* of the 30th May. They gave the price of wheat in Victoria as at 2s. 10d. a bushel, whilst the price in New South Wales was 2s. 7½d. The price of bran in Victoria was 11d., in New South Wales 8½d. The price of pollard in Victoria was 11½d., in New South Wales 8½d. Flour was £6 5s.

a ton in each case. Potatoes were £3 15s. a ton in Victoria, and £3 10s. in New South Wales. In every case, with the exception of flour which was exactly equal in price in the two States, the New South Wales agriculturist was getting a price a long way below that received by his brethren in Victoria and South Australia. I asked the reason why the prices differed so much. The *Argus* dealt with my argument, but no sufficient answer was given to the question I then put. It has been asserted, and repeated, and reiterated by one after another of the speakers on the opposition side of the House that protection can do nothing for the farmer in Australia, because he has reached the condition in which he has to compete in the markets of the world.

Mr. WILKS.—That has been said from the Ministerial side also.

Mr. CHANTER.—Then I respectfully differ from honorable members opposite as well as from those who have used the same argument on this side. Experience teaches wisdom. This Tariff was laid upon the table, and came into force on the 8th instant. If there was nothing in the contention which I made on the 30th May in regard to the advantage of protection to the agricultural producer in Australia, will honorable members opposite tell me why, immediately the Tariff was imposed—I will use that term—and the door was locked in New South Wales against the importation of foreign produce, prices went up, and are now, for the first time, on a level with the prices ruling in Victoria and South Australia?

Mr. WILKS.—Is that a benefit generally?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Protection does make things dearer, then?

Mr. CHANTER.—I have shown that before the Tariff was imposed the farmer in New South Wales got less for his bran, his pollard, and his potatoes than the farmer in Victoria. The ring of importers and others put the flour up to the same price, however, and the consumer had to pay it although the farmer received less. I have taken the trouble to look at some more recent quotations from the same authority—the *Argus*.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member could not get a better.

Mr. CHANTER.—I am glad to hear it. On the 15th of this month the Tariff was in existence, and the door was closed in New

South Wales against these importations. Wheat has been practically the same in Victoria as when I quoted its price on the 30th May. The price then was 2s. 7½d. in New South Wales. But since that time in New South Wales it has gone up to 3s. There is a jump straight away from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. since the Tariff has closed the door against foreign competition, which the farmer had previously to deal with. Bran is now 8½d. in Victoria, and 8¼d. in New South Wales. The price of pollard is 9d. in each State. Flour is £6 7s. a ton in New South Wales and £6 15s. in Victoria. Potatoes were £7 per ton in Victoria and £8 in New South Wales. That, as I say, was on the 15th of the month. On the 24th of this month wheat was 2s. 10½d. in Victoria and 3s. in New South Wales. Bran was not quoted in one State. Pollard was 9½d. in each case. Flour was £6 7s. 6d. in Victoria and £6 15s. in New South Wales. Potatoes were £7 in Victoria and £7 to £8 in New South Wales. Practically the same figures apply to the 29th of this month—only yesterday. There is no getting away from these facts and arguments. For the first time—with one exception, and that is when the Dibbs Tariff was imposed—the farmer of New South Wales has the same protection as the farmer of Victoria and of South Australia against outside competition. Under the old free-trade system he had always to lose, while the importer gained. Under this Tariff the farmer can save 1s. on every bag of wheat that he grows, and that is a large consideration. He can save in other directions also. There is no denying these facts. They show a benefit for the farmer right through. It is said in this connexion that we cannot import what the farmer produces. I am sorry for those people who make such assertions without any warrant. I have seen great ocean steamers, laden with wheat from California, berth alongside the mill of one of the largest millers dealing in wheat in Sydney, and I have had invoices placed before me, showing that the charge for the carriage of the wheat from California to Sydney was 10s. per ton. I have seen that for myself again and again, and I have deplored it greatly. The farmers in the district which I have the honour to represent, produce a very large quantity of wheat, but it would cost them more than twice that amount to convey it by rail to Sydney. Why have these prices increased? I can

give the reason. With the outside markets open under free-trade to the millers and others of New South Wales, they were able to say to a local farmer—"I will give you so much for your wheat." The farmer might reply—"They are getting more than that in Victoria;" but the miller knew that under the old order of things the farmer could not sell his wheat in Victoria, South Australia, or any other State in the Commonwealth because of the barriers of protection. Now that those barriers have been broken down, the miller in New South Wales realizes that the local farmer can send his wheat to Victoria, or to any other part of Australia, and he has to buy it himself or lose it altogether. I have seen purchases made in New South Wales by firms which you, Mr. Speaker, must know better than I do. I have known 30,000 bags of wheat to be stacked at one station in my own electorate for carriage to Sydney by a railway, about twenty miles of which was made practically to enable the farmers to convey their produce to the New South Wales capital, and I have seen Darling and Sons' representatives buy the whole stack and convey it to Adelaide. They cannot do that now. The local miller was careless then. It was a matter of indifference to him whether Darling and Sons or any other firm purchased grain grown in New South Wales, because he knew that he could obtain his wheat from California, and that the freightage would be very low.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Pauper labour.

Mr. CHANTER.—Under this Tariff, however, he will not be able to obtain it from outside sources without payment of a duty, and therefore he has to look to the local producer. The honorable member for Parramatta should not try to drag me off the track by interjecting in regard to pauper labour.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is putting forward a splendid free-trade argument.

Mr. CHANTER.—Then I present it to the honorable member for his acceptance. What I have proved is that under free-trade the farmer in New South Wales has been robbed, but that already under the operation of this Tariff he is getting his just dues, and is being placed on the same level as his brother in other parts of the Commonwealth. This Tariff compels the millers and shippers in New South Wales to satisfy their requirements by purchasing from the

local farmers or from farmers in some other part of Australia. They will no longer be allowed to break down the farmers' home market by immensely large importations of produce from other parts of the world. I am going to keep my promise to refrain as far as possible from reading statistics, but there is one quotation which I find it necessary to give. I made a statement the other night that agriculture in New South Wales was decreasing, under the conditions which had existed hitherto. That assertion was denied. I desire to inform the House that my authority for the statement is the *Age* newspaper. The following telegram from Sydney appeared in its issue of the 23rd instant—

The Government Statistician, Mr. T. A. Coghlan, has completed his estimate of the area under cultivation in the State, as well as the area under wheat for the present season. As regards wheat, it would appear that the total area sown amounts to 1,776,000 acres, which is a decrease of about 86,750 acres on the area of the previous year. The total area under crops is estimated at 2,363,517 acres, as compared with 2,445,564 acres last year, showing a decline of about 82,000 acres.

The *Age* is a well-known Victorian journal.

Mr. WILKS.—I had never heard of it before.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member will hear a great deal more of it. It is a journal which has done a very great amount of good for Victoria. It has stood by the agriculturist, the artisan, and the mechanic, and if there had been an *Age* newspaper in New South Wales, we should have had an Australian policy there ten or fifteen years ago. I would ask those honorable members who have given consideration to something more than the theoretical aspect of the question, to look at the value of the home market to the farmers. Honorable members of the Opposition appear to think only of the external trade. They attach no value whatever to an internal trade within the boundaries of a State or the Commonwealth as the case may be. What is the advantage of the home market to the farmer? It enables the farmer who grows wheat, oats, barley, or any other produce, to go to the market created for him at his own door. The manufacturers assist it by providing more mouths for him to fill, and as a result he is not compelled to accept any price for his produce that is offered to him. If the price is not satisfactory, he is able to hold back until he can obtain a legitimate one. If he has to depend

entirely upon Mark-lane or any other outside market, his position is changed. He is not able to convey his wheat in his own drays to those markets. That work is handed over to some person who buys for speculative purposes, and who is within the ring and knows what risk he has to take in regard to losses and insurances. The farmer in Australia knows very well that the home market is much better for him than the external one. He can control the home, but he cannot control the external market. That is controlled and will continue to be controlled by rings. But while a home market is secured for him under the Federal Tariff, he is not deprived of the outside markets for his surplus. He is not deprived of his right to sell in Mark-lane to the extent even of one bag of grain. Why do they purchase our wheat or wool there? Is it to please the Australian farmer? Certainly not. They purchase it because they cannot produce it themselves, and are therefore compelled to buy it. Under the protection which the farmers of the Commonwealth are about to receive at our hands, they will be able to enjoy a home market—just as those in Victoria have done—and to place their surplus produce on the markets of the world, where it will be sold at whatever price shippers, agents, or speculators choose to give. The farmer wants to enlarge his home market still further. The larger it is the better it will be for him, but it cannot be large unless we have a strong industrial life within the Commonwealth to give the necessary impetus. I have shown that industrial life increases the home consumption. I have said also that a protectionist Tariff does not interfere in any way with the output of the farmer or the squatter. I have said that the imposition of duties—perhaps only for the time being—upon machinery which the farmer uses will bring into life local industrial agencies, which will produce the implements that he requires. In that way a very natural competition will be created between the local producer and the importer, with the result that the farmer will be able to obtain his implements cheaper than he has been able to do. Thus the home policy is best for the farmer. The same remark is applicable to the squatter. How is the squatter injured? I have a large number of squatters in my electorate.

Mr. WILKS.—So have I

Mr. Chanter.

Mr. CHANTER.—Yes; but those in the honorable member's district are domain squatters. This Tariff has given to the farmers and squatters whom I have the honour to represent a Christmas box, or New Year's gift, which will prove of lasting benefit to them. Time after time they pleaded with the New South Wales Parliament to give them railway communication so that they might be enabled to get their produce down to the nearest seaport. But their pleadings were unheeded. To the discredit of the politicians of that State, the policy of New South Wales has consistently been to prevent the extension of railway communication to places near to the Victorian border. Why? Because New South Wales feared that such extensions would have the effect of diverting trade from that State to Victoria. The policy of Victoria has rightly been to impose protective duties in favour of her own people. Hitherto the New South Wales farmer has been handicapped on the one hand by the speculators and millers in that State, and on the other hand by the imposition of a duty of 2s. a bushel upon his wheat, of 30s. per head upon his cattle, and of 2s. per head upon his sheep. This Tariff, however, has placed the Riverina farmer in such a position that for the first time in his life he feels that he is an Australian. He can bring into the markets of Australia his wheat, his cattle, and his sheep, and share those markets with his brethren. This Tariff will put into his pockets hundreds and thousands of pounds of which the policy of New South Wales has hitherto deprived him, besides in many instances utterly ruining him. These are facts that no one can deny, because they are historical. Honorable members have heard a good deal about the mining industry. I do not pretend to have any intimate knowledge of the miner from a practical standpoint. But I do know that mining, even to those engaged in it, is not a pleasurable occupation. The father of a family has, perhaps, been brought up to it because there was no other means open to him for obtaining a livelihood. He takes his life in his hands daily, until he becomes so inured to it that he grows utterly callous so far as his own personal safety is concerned. But he has sons to consider, and he wishes to prevent them from adopting the avocation which he himself follows. He, therefore, desires to see an industrial life

created in which they can find employment.

Mr. MAHON.—Of what sort of miner is the honorable member speaking?

Mr. CHANTER.—Of any sort of miner.

Mr. MAHON.—Ninety-nine per cent. of the miners in Western Australia are free-traders.

Mr. CHANTER.—I am speaking of the value of a protected home industry to the miner. We cannot all be miners, and we do not wish to be. If the extreme contention of honorable members upon the opposite side of the House were correct, I should say unhesitatingly—"Give them their way. Give them the opportunity of making this Tariff so low that it will destroy the industries which are in existence, and which are furnishing employment to the rising generation." But what would be the inevitable result? If we throw those who are engaged in these industries out of employment they will be forced to enter the primary industries. They will become boundary riders on stations, or may perhaps be compelled to work in our mines. If we want some other walk of life in which their energies can be profitably employed we must create an industrial life. We cannot create that industrial life under the conditions which have been operating in New South Wales. We must, therefore, consider the advantages of this Tariff to every class of the community, including the miner. I know something of the district which is represented by the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, and I can appeal to him to confirm my statement, that of so much value did a protectionist policy prove to the miners of Victoria that a very large number of them found it more profitable to take up land and become farmers than to continue in their former avocation. Nearly the whole of the north-western portion of Victoria is largely populated by erstwhile miners, who would not go back to the mines to-day if they had the opportunity of doing so. I do not wish to deal at any very great length with the position of the labourer. If we are to adopt a free-trade policy, surely we must have free-trade in labour. How can the two things be dissevered? If we exclude from our shores the Chinaman, the Asiatic, and other undesirables, how can we benefit the labourer if we allow their products to come into competition

with his? The free admission of their goods would have the effect of reducing our workman to their level. We have, therefore, not only to exclude undesirable races, but also their productions. The views which I hold in regard to the necessity for protecting the people of Australia are strong and deep-rooted. No one claims that the Tariff under discussion is a perfect one. The Treasurer himself does not consider it perfect, and he gave us an assurance that whilst he is not prepared to put it upon the table and allow it to be worried by honorable members, he is willing that the united wisdom of the House should make it more acceptable to the people as a whole. The policy of the Government is one for the prevention of the destruction of existing industries, and for the encouragement of new industries. But what is the policy of the leader of Opposition and his followers? They preach free-trade, but they never practise it. They have never practised it in New South Wales during my political career. I recollect very distinctly the time when the Parkes policy was adopted in New South Wales. I remember when it was superseded by the Dibbs policy. The highest duty then imposed was a 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. That Tariff operated for three years, during which period it gave the greatest impetus to the agricultural industry that it has ever experienced. It, and it alone, was the cause of inducing a large number of agriculturists to go into New South Wales and arrange with the pastoralists, who had become landed proprietors, to settle upon the land. They said—"We have the machinery, horses, &c., and now that we have an opportunity of making a profit by farming, if you will allow us the use of land we will give you the proceeds of half of our produce." No less than 86,000 acres went out of cultivation last year as a result of the reversal of the Dibbs policy. The present leader of the Opposition, when he obtained the reins of power, said that he intended giving a free breakfast table to the people of New South Wales. If that principle were good, why did he not stand to it? The only article at the breakfast table which was absolutely free was sugar. The idea of the right honorable and learned member was to reduce the duty of £5 or £6 per ton, which was formerly levied upon this article, by one-half each year, so that in the third year it would vanish altogether. Notwithstanding the assertions which have

been made by honorable members opposite, as to the mandate given to the leader of the Opposition, to provide a free breakfast table for the people of New South Wales, a motion of censure was tabled against his Government, and two or three honorable members, putting duty and principle before everything else, determined to save the sugar industry of the northern districts from annihilation, and to vote for that motion. The right honorable gentleman, however, made a compact with them that he would not lower the duty if they would not vote for the motion of censure, and the duty was retained for the avowed purpose of sustaining the industry. The right honorable member has also said here that he is prepared to keep a heavy duty upon sugar for the purpose of sustaining the Queensland sugar industry. Now, if he is prepared to protect the sugar growers of New South Wales and Queensland, I ask why should he not vote to protect the agriculturists of Australia generally. On a former occasion I made a comparison between New South Wales and Victoria, which I shall not repeat, but because of which I was charged with being disloyal to my own State. I am as loyal to my State as any man can be, and shall prove my loyalty by voting for a policy which will tend to advance it. The result of the adoption of an opposite policy there has not been so evident as it would have been had New South Wales not spent £2,000,000 of land revenue each year, and borrowed large sums to squander on unproductive works. But for such extravagance the State would long since have been forced to impose duties for revenue purposes, and those duties would have had a protective incidence. The land of the State is part of its capital, and when it is sold the proceeds, instead of being squandered, should be used for the redemption of loans. I have condemned, times without number, the practice of borrowing money for the construction of unproductive works. The leader of the Opposition, when asking the electors of New South Wales to place him in power, made use of this remarkable sentence—"I am the chap to save the country. Give me 24 hours in power, and you will have no more unemployed." He was in office five years, and during that time the number of the unemployed increased so largely that a permanent Department of Relief, with a head office and several branches, had to be established.

Mr. Chanter.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—How was it that the people of the State kept the right honorable member in power for so long a period under such distressing circumstances?

Mr. CHANTER.—The people of New South Wales did not keep him in power. He was kept in power by the labour party.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Do not the members of the labour party represent the people?

Mr. CHANTER.—Only a section of the people.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Did not the labour party keep the right honorable member's successor in power?

Mr. CHANTER.—The right honorable member was able to hold the reins of power for five years because of a combination between the labour party and the so-called free-trade party. The labour party went into the House for a certain purpose, and one of its members declared that its support would be given only in return for concessions. If honorable members look at this morning's newspapers they will see that the Broken Hill miners have telegraphed to the Ministry in Sydney asking for the establishment at Broken Hill of relief works for the unemployed.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What has that to do with free-trade? The depression at Broken Hill is due to the low price of silver.

Mr. CHANTER.—The policy of New South Wales has not established industries at which these people can find employment.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Does the honorable member think that we shall improve their condition by imposing a tax upon timber and mining machinery?

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member does not know as much about geography as I gave him credit for.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I know more about Broken Hill than the honorable member knows.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is very likely, because I have not been there, but I know that if a railway were constructed from Broken Hill to Menindie, a township on the Darling, only 70 miles away, the mines could be supplied from the Murray forests with all the timber they want, and all the country wants for the next 200 years.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—What a slow crowd they must have had in the New South

Wales Parliament not to have made that railway.

Mr. CHANTER.—The policy of New South Wales has been opposed to the extension of railways towards the borders of other States, for fear that trade should go towards Melbourne and Adelaide instead of to Sydney. It is the narrow-minded jealous policy of New South Wales that is to be blamed.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The mine-owners of Broken Hill say that the timber to which the honorable member refers is not suitable for their purposes.

Mr. CHANTER.—Does not the honorable member know that timber is being supplied from those forests to even deeper mines, where great strength, durability, and lightness have to be taken into consideration quite as much as at Broken Hill. The Bendigo mines, and mines in other places, are being supplied with it.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The Broken Hill mine owners know all the facts about this timber, and they say that it is not suitable for their purposes.

Mr. CHANTER.—Is it not marvellous that an honorable member will make such a statement, when the fact is that they are using Murray timber.

Mr. POYNTON.—Not in the Broken Hill mines. They have never used it there.

Mr. CHANTER.—They are using it in other mines. They do not use it in Broken Hill, because they cannot obtain it there. A railway 70 miles long will put Broken Hill in connexion with its own forests of timber, as durable and as good as any imported timber. Would not the miner of Broken Hill rather have his countrymen employed in his own forests than depend at all times on that which comes from people who have nothing in common with us? The labour bureau has been one result of the policy of New South Wales, and stands as a monument against her.

Mr. WILKS.—The people are willing to continue that policy.

Mr. CHANTER.—No one knows better than does my honorable friend that it is of no use to attempt to hide the fact. I find no pleasure in declaring these things, but I feel that it is due to the people of Australia to know the truth. Can my honorable friend, who has participated in the matter to which I am about to refer, find a parallel for it in Victoria? There are not only thousands of unemployed sleeping in the parks or

wherever they can, but the Government have built a shelter-shed for them on the Burrangong-road, and there are thousands of poor outside. My honorable friend and many others, not once or twice but many times, have gone to the Ministers and declared that poverty was so rampant—

Mr. WILKS.—I never did.

Mr. CHANTER.—Pardon me a few moments. They have declared that people were so poor that in the winter season they had not the means of buying the cheap blanket which was imported into New South Wales, and appealed to the Ministers time after time for the issue of blankets to the poor.

Mr. WILKS.—I never asked for blankets.

Mr. CHANTER.—The *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*—honorable members used to take a pride in it—announced that Mr. So-and-so, M.P., had been instrumental in obtaining from the Chief Secretary so many pairs of blankets.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member never saw my name appearing in that way, and he knows it.

Mr. CHANTER.—I apologize to the honorable member if I have used his name wrongly, but can he deny that many other city and suburban members have done so and published the fact in the newspapers?

Mr. WILKS.—They used to do it while the Dibbs Ministry were in power—to their shame.

Mr. CHANTER.—I do not recollect it.

Mr. WILKS.—The papers were full of it then.

Mr. CHANTER.—It does not make any difference if they did. I only wished to show what the effects of the policy had been. I have shown that it has established a department of State for relief works; that money has been expended out of loan account to build a shelter shed on the Burrangong-road; that it has resulted year after year in the people being supplied with charity blankets by the State. I shall now show that it has originated a permanent soup kitchen, and many other institutions of that kind, to which the poor of Sydney can go at the expense of the State.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Was there never any distress in Melbourne?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Or in Adelaide or anywhere else? Digitized by Google

Mr. CHANTER.—I do not deny it. In all large communities there will be a certain amount of poverty under any conditions, but in proportion to the population there never has been during my political life, running over a considerable time, the same poverty in Victoria as there has been in and around Sydney.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—My experience is quite contrary to the honorable member's.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The poor do not get blankets here; that is the only difference.

Mr. CHANTER.—If my honorable friend can show that the policy of Victoria has resulted in permanent relief works, the issue of charity blankets, the erection of soup kitchens and shelter sheds for the poor, for whom the Government cannot find employment, he will break down my contention. The leader of the Opposition, in dealing with the Tariff, appeared to me to play the game of politics down very low. Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the question, and showing how the people, as a whole, would be affected, he picked out some miserable, insignificant articles, such as condensed milk and starch, and spoke in glowing terms of the poor unfortunate swagman, travelling 500 miles distant from a cow, who could not possibly go to his rest unless he had condensed milk, and said that we were going to put a tax of a penny or a penny halfpenny per lb. on that article. The right honorable member also spoke about starch. I have had a very large experience of people in all walks of life, especially country people. I have seen thousands and thousands of swagmen travelling, but I never saw one who used or carried condensed milk. Picture the position of the poor unfortunate swagman. He takes his "bluey" off his shoulder, puts it down, and lights his fire. He then has to have condensed milk, and he must starch his shirt and put on his dress suit before he can take his meal. The idea is so absolutely absurd that it is ludicrous to refer to it here. How can a swagman possibly be affected by duties on condensed milk and starch? The speakers from this side have always contended, with truth, that a duty is imposed for two purposes. When it is imposed for revenue purposes alone, and it is made low, it has no incidental protective effect; but when it is made reasonably high, it has a protective effect at once, and immediately brings about a benefit to the producer.

Mr. POYNTON.—It increases the price.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is where my honorable friend and I differ.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member admitted it a little while ago.

Mr. CHANTER.—For the time being. What has been the result of the proposed imposition of a duty on condensed milk in the electorate of the honorable member for Illawarra, who I am sorry is not here? There is a gentleman there, well known and well respected—

Mr. WILKS.—Mr. Fuller gave him a terrible beating.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is apart from this question altogether.

Mr. WILKS.—The same man and the same electorate.

Mr. CHANTER.—Whether he was beaten by Mr. Fuller or not does not get away from the fact that the name of Mr. Hay on the south coast of New South Wales is an honoured name. It is highly respected by those who differ from him in political views, and it has only to be mentioned in that part of the district—

Mr. WILKS.—And Mr. Fuller's also.

Mr. CHANTER.—I draw no distinction between the two gentlemen. I have not one word to say against the honorable member for Illawarra. I am speaking of the swagman's condensed milk, and I wish to show how Mr. Hay has promised to come to his succour by making arrangements with his tenant dairy farmers to provide the article. On the 24th of this month the following announcement appeared in the press:—

From Berry, the centre of the Illawarra dairying district, comes a report that Mr. A. Hay met about 300 dairy farmers this afternoon, and submitted to them important proposals regarding milk condensing and concentrating, which, if adopted, will be of advantage both to themselves and the dairying industry generally. The Federal Tariff, he said, would have a great influence on the dairying industry, and would stimulate the production of articles of which they did not produce enough. Few dairying districts would benefit more than the Shoalhaven district, because, being close to a market, it could make the most of its present opportunities. He desired to make a proposal to them for obtaining sufficient milk for condensing purposes, and before long they ought to produce enough condensed milk to supply the whole of Australia. Last year £63,000 worth of condensed milk was imported by New South Wales, and other States imported large quantities. The Federal Tariff, imposing a duty of 1½d. per lb., would be a great stimulus to the condensed milk industry. The Berry Estate did not intend to pocket the extra price that could be obtained for condensed milk through the Federal Tariff—

That is an answer to my honorable friend the honorable member for Robertson—

But would pay it to those who worked on the soil and produced the milk. First of all they wanted sufficient milk to supply the Australian market. He would like a guaranteed supply of 2,000 or 3,000 gallons daily to be condensed at Bomaderry. He would not ask them to observe any stricter conditions than were required in Victoria for butter-making purposes, namely, that only milk from healthy cows should be supplied. The cows should be milked with dry hands, the bails should not let in rain, and the milk be kept free from all noxious smells. He would pay for milk suitable for condensing at the rate of 1½d. per gallon over the rate realized for butter. He had faced many difficulties during the past five years in trying to raise the industry and the dairy farmers. China, Japan and other countries remained to be exploited, and offered large inducements for the expansion of the condensing industry, which should become one of the flourishing industries of the State. Mr. Hay's proposal was very favorably received, and the following motion was passed unanimously:—"That Mr. Hay's offer is a very reasonable one, and that farmers should give it their serious consideration."

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Does the honorable member contend that the pastures of Australia require protecting against the pastures of Switzerland?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Does the honorable member think that Australian milk will not agree with Australian citizens?

Mr. CHANTER.—I contend that when a gentleman who is a large landed proprietor, having a number of tenants in the south coast district, represented by the honorable member for Illawarra, shows that in the State of New South Wales alone £63,000 worth of condensed milk has been imported, and when he says to his tenants—"I want you to produce that £63,000 worth of condensed milk in New South Wales"—that man is a patriot, and a benefactor to the dairy farmers and to the whole of the people of the Commonwealth.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I contend that he could do it without the duty.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is the contention of an honorable member engaged in another industry, and the statement is made in the face of the words of Mr. Hay, that during the past five years without this protective duty he could not deal with it, and now that he has got the duty he can say to his tenants—"I can deal with it, and I do not want to put the money into my pocket, but into yours." I shall pass away from the apparition raised by the right honorable the leader of the Opposition of the unfortunate swagman

who is to be denied his condensed milk. It is proved conclusively, to my mind, that the right honorable gentleman has the same object in regard to the Commonwealth of Australia that he has had in regard to the State of New South Wales. He has had consideration only for one class, and that is the importing class. The right honorable gentleman has had great consideration for the poor importer. The cry now raised is that this industry, this ring, or whatever honorable members like to call it, is to be injured. It is not put in that way, but the people are told that they are to be injured. The real cry behind that, and the real fear behind it, is not that the people of Australia are to be injured, but that the importing ring of New South Wales, who have controlled the destinies of that State for so long, are to be injured. I have no hesitation in saying that that is my opinion of the right honorable gentleman's pleadings, and that those are the persons for whom he pleads. The right honorable gentleman quoted several matters to which I shall reply as quickly as I can. This is the kind of thing that we have to deal with in Sydney. Unfortunately, New South Wales is not favoured as Victoria is favoured by its press. In Victoria we have the *Argus* representing one party, and in New South Wales we have the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* representing the same party. The only corrective so far as the two States are concerned is the *Age* newspaper. I say all honour to it for the good it has done, and I sincerely wish we had an *Age* newspaper in New South Wales.

Mr. WILKS.—It would not get a single subscriber over there.

Mr. CHANTER.—If we had papers on each side in New South Wales, as we have in Victoria, we should never read such statements as appear in the Sydney press. I have in my hands an article headed—"The cost of living. Increased prices in Sydney." I do not intend to weary the House by going through all the items referred to, but I find that not one legitimate item is dealt with in the article. It says—

Investigations made in the suburbs of Sydney show that the cost of living amongst the working population has been considerably increased. Establishments here and there are still giving their customers goods at the rates which existed before the imposition of the new duties, but as a general rule the Tariff is in full force. In the populous suburb of Balmain the following details give a fair

idea of the advance which has taken place in the price of groceries—corn-flour 1d. per lb.

New South Wales is the home of the corn-flour industry; on the northern rivers of New South Wales is grown the finest corn in Australia. Although they grow it there, and make the corn-flour there, the traders of Sydney, in order to damage the Tariff and the present Federal Government, have raised the price of corn-flour by 1d. per lb.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The Tariff enables them to do it.

Mr. CHANTER.—Then they are absolutely dishonest in doing it. I think the trader is dishonest who makes a profit upon an article by raising the price in consequence of a Tariff when that Tariff does not make any such rise in price necessary.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—If the honorable member makes inquiries, he will find the reason for the increase in price.

Mr. CHANTER.—I do not need to make inquiries when I know what I am talking about. I know where the corn is grown and where the corn-flour is made, and in paying this extra 1d. per lb. on corn-flour the unfortunate customer is being gulled by the storekeeper. It is an absolutely dishonest transaction. They have no justification for doing it, as is shown by some of these items. I will now read honorable members a statement, of what is alleged to be a fact, that was published in the *Age* of the 23rd of this month, showing again how dishonest tradesmen are acting in collusion with those who want to damage the Government and the Tariff, by asserting that the prices of goods are increased, whereas in regard to many of the goods, no higher duties have been imposed—

Much discussion took place in the lobbies at the Federal Parliament House last evening with reference to the absolute dishonesty of certain importing tradesmen in Melbourne in connexion with the commercial changes wrought by the Tariff. The following illustration of the practices resorted to was much commented on:—A lady went into a boot shop recently, and asked the price of a pair of boots of a certain class. "Thirty-two shillings, madam," was the reply. "Why?" asked the lady, who happened to be the wife of a Federal legislator, "I have never been asked for more than 25s." "Oh, the Tariff, you see, madam," was the bland response. "But I happen to know," promptly answered the lady, "that the duty on this kind of boot has been actually reduced." There was a hasty consultation between members of the firm behind a screen, and a moment later the lady was informed that she could have the boots for 20s. *Facilis descensus*—32s. to 20s. The Government is powerless to prevent this sort of dishonesty.

It can only ask all citizens to possess themselves of a copy of the Tariff, and hand same to their wives, with an intimation that it should be consulted before starting on shopping expeditions.

Mr EDWARDS.—That was manufactured in the *Age* factory.

Mr. CHANTER.—And a very good factory it is.

Mr. EDWARDS.—Yes, it is; for that kind of manufacture.

Mr. CHANTER.—Now I will quote something from New South Wales which was not made in the *Age* factory. This statement, which comes from Sydney, shows that the same kind of dishonesty amongst traders is going on all round. It is stated—

Fresh evidence accumulates daily of the beneficial effects which the protective duties of the Federal Tariff will have in New South Wales. Already consumers are beginning to realize that they have been exploited by free-traders, and that they are now being charged excessive prices on goods imported prior to the imposition of duties. They also see that a Tariff addition has been added to goods which are on the free list. A well known business man, Mr. W. H. Soul, declares that more than one wholesale house has been guilty of this scandalous imposition.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Does Mr. Soul say that he is in favour of this Tariff?

Mr. CHANTER.—I cannot say anything about that, but whether he is a free-trader or a protectionist, Mr. Soul says that the free-traders, for their own dishonest purposes, are acting with the traders in Sydney in order to gull the people.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The *Age* says so, but no one in New South Wales believes the *Age*.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member for Macquarie will find that before the next elections come round, many thousands of people in New South Wales will believe the *Age*, and that they will have the *Age*, or a duplicate of it, in that State. The leader of the Opposition, in what I think was a very unfair way, dealt with the boot industry of New South Wales. He was very careful to quote three firms which he classed as manufacturers, whereas there is no honorable member in this House from New South Wales who does not know in his heart that they are more importers than manufacturers. I refer to Messrs. Enoch Taylor and Sons, McMurtrie and Co., and John Hunter.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—McMurtrie and Co. manufacture more boots than does any other boot manufacturer in Australia.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is another wild assertion on the part of the honorable member.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They are employing 300 men, and they turn out 8,000 pairs of boots every week.

Mr. CHANTER.—I am about to quote the statement of a legitimate boot manufacturer in Sydney who has never imported a pair of boots, Mr. J. Jackson, whose word I suppose will not be questioned.

Mr. WILKS.—They had a meeting last week to raise the price of their own boots.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is not correct. I do not object to interjections, but I strongly protest against the wild assertions that are made from time to time by honorable members. I will let the manufacturers speak for themselves. The statement I have here is as follows:—

Mr. J. Jackson, a prominent boot manufacturer, who does not import, writes to the Sydney free-trade press on the Tariff as follows:—"As one who has been in the boot making business for 30 years, I can safely say that the public need not be at all alarmed at the bogey raised by interested parties. I assert without fear of successful contradiction that the adoption of the Tariff as proposed will eventually reduce the cost of the article without any diminution in the value of the boots supplied. It is an acknowledged axiom that the greater the output, the less the price. To say that the working classes will suffer is ridiculous on the face of it, for it is only the higher and more expensive classes of boots that will be handicapped at the outset. Our imports in boots and shoes in New South Wales alone for the six months ended June last were over £275,000. Will any sane man venture to say the circulation of that money in our midst will not better the condition of the workers? So far as my own business is concerned, the effect of the Tariff has been an increase in the wages of my employés, and it is with confidence I state that the adoption of the tariff will result in great good to the community at large."

Multiply that by two and you will find that the State of New South Wales alone annually imports over £500,000 worth of boots. Now what about these great manufacturers at the honorable member for Macquarie speaks of? Here is a boot manufacturer who deliberately says that £275,000 has been spent in six months upon imported boots imported largely by the three firms who are quoted by the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Can the honorable member give the figures showing the boots manufactured in New South Wales?

Mr. CHANTER.—I have given Mr. Jackson's figures, and they are authoritative, because Mr. Jackson has signed his name to the statement.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—*Coghlan* shows that there are more boots manufactured in New South Wales than in Victoria.

Mr. CHANTER.—I do not think *Coghlan* does show that, but some honorable members may turn and twist the figures in *Coghlan* to show anything. The honorable and learned member for Indi was challenged upon the statements he made regarding the decadence of England's shipping, and I desire now to quote an article appearing in the *Daily Mail* which to a large extent supports his statement. The *Daily Mail* is not disloyal, but doubtless desires, as we all desire, to see England advance; but there is no use in shutting our eyes to the facts of the case.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—One would not think that some honorable members desired to see England progress, judging from the way they refer to her.

Mr. CHANTER.—I am simply quoting these remarks from the *Daily Mail* because the statements of the honorable and learned member for Indi were challenged. That journal says—

The supremacy of the British merchant service is even more unquestioned than that of the British Navy. We hold such a huge and preponderating lead in the shipping tonnage of the world that we can afford, so long as we maintain our lead, to look with equanimity on the enormous strides being made by other countries. No nation, however, can afford to burn the candle at both ends; and when we find, as we do in the shipping return just issued by the Board of Trade, that in every direction British shipping is losing ground, while our trade rivals are improving their position by leaps and bounds, it is desirable that we should not disregard the information. No matter how great our preponderance, if there is a steady decline on our side, and an equally steady increase on the part of other countries, this must soon begin to make itself felt. Last year the British shipping entered and cleared in our ports for foreign countries showed a decrease of considerably over two millions of steam tonnage. On the other hand, Germany alone showed nearly a million tons increase. The Suez Canal statistics, which are a capital index to foreign trade, tell the same mournful story—a huge British decrease and a large increase on the part of Germany and other maritime nations. Our figures are the lowest on record since 1890. In the same period Germany has jumped from hundreds of thousands to millions.

The figures dealing with the manning of British ships are not more reassuring. Excluding lascars and Asiatics, our vessels are now manned largely by foreigners. Last year over 1 per cent. of the crews were aliens. Nor are we training a new generation of British sailors? In 1870 we had 18,000 apprentices. To-day we have only 5,000. There is no necessity to be pessimistic, but these figures cannot be lightly dismissed by British statesmen. An effort must

be made to find a remedy. We cannot and do not wish to prevent other nations from increasing their trade, but there is no reason why we should allow the Empire to lose its place without a struggle, or abandon our ships to the foreign seaman who is fast displacing the genuine British tar.

That is a complete corroboration of the statement which was made by the honorable and learned member for Indi, and was challenged at the time. This information comes from no protectionist source, which some honorable members might regard as sullied, but from a well-known English journal.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What is the difference between the tonnage of British ships and the tonnage of other nations?

Mr. CHANTER.—I have given my authorities, and if they are challenged, honorable members must look to the sources of my information. The honorable member for Illawarra, in dealing with the dairying industry, had a good deal to say about butter boxes; and I want to remove a false impression which appears to prevail. First of all, I ask honorable members, and through them the people of the country, to really look at the Tariff list. The honorable and learned member for Illawarra said that the best timber which could be used for making butter boxes was Kauri pine; and if he had looked at the Tariff he would have found that Kauri pine comes in absolutely free.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—In certain forms.

Mr. CHANTER.—In the proper form. If Kauri pine comes in as planks it bears a duty, but if it comes in undressed, and gives employment in the way of cutting up, and making into boxes, not one cent. of duty is charged. Undressed Kauri pine is a raw material, which cannot be produced in Australia, and, in order to afford employment, it ought to be allowed to enter free of duty. I cannot see how an honorable member can say that the dairy farmer is burdened by a duty on butter-boxes, when the timber from which they can be made bears no duty.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The boxes will cost more to the consumer.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is an assertion with which I am constantly met. We are told that if the log is brought from New Zealand and cut up and made into boxes by Commonwealth workmen, the finished article will cost more to the consumer than if New Zealand workmen were employed. It is absolutely ridiculous to say that circumstances which are so nearly alike can

increase the cost in the absence of any duty on the raw material. The labour has to be paid for, in the one case in New Zealand, and in the other case, in Australia, but in the latter case the labour is that of workmen, who have to bear a share of the taxation of the country, and have money in their pockets with which to pay it.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member must see that we are paying on the waste.

Mr. CHANTER.—Where is the waste?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—In bringing the wood here in the log?

Mr. CHANTER.—If undressed squared timber is brought, there is no waste.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—There is the land carriage to and from the mills.

Mr. CHANTER.—If we want timber, we have to go to the forest, whether that forest be in the valley or on the hill; and really there is no waste at all. I venture to say that there may be classes of timber in Australia just as suitable for butter boxes as is kauri pine.

Mr. PAGE.—In Queensland.

Mr. CHANTER.—Queensland is, I believe, very rich in timber. If wood suitable for this purpose could be found in Australia, there would be no land carriage of the log, because those who desire to invest their capital in the industry would place the mills alongside the timber and there turn out the finished article, all the time keeping in view the fact that where we have the commodity—where the Almighty has favoured us as He has done, by giving us these great gifts—it is our duty to utilize it to the best advantage of our own people, and not to give to others what legitimately belongs to the Australian workman.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—A firm of butter box-makers had to pay £300 duty the other day.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—They brought the timber in cut up.

Mr. CHANTER.—If that firm have been so unpatriotic, as by giving employment to other people, to deny to our workmen their legitimate means of sustenance, I have no sympathy with them. The firm now have the opportunity of getting the same class of timber in logs without paying any duty, and of allowing Victorian, South Australian or New South Wales workmen to make it into boxes. The boxes are there for the dairy farmer, and they should not, and will not, cost him one solitary cent more than if they were

up in New Zealand. There has been strong criticism devoted to trusts, and the honorable and learned member who was speaking on the question, his arguments were challenged. In reply, I quote the following as corroborative of the honorable and learned member—

Indication of the determined resolve on the part of the American Tobacco Trust to spare no effort to gain control of the trade in Great Britain, is afforded by the statement made by W. Duke, the leader of the trust. Mr. Duke declares that the trust, which is composed of monopolies, is quite willing to lose £1,000,000 if necessary, in order to capture the English trade.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is an American trust under protection.

Mr. CHANTER.—If that fact affords satisfaction to the honorable member, it is welcome to it. But what of Great Britain under free-trade? We read—

A cable message received a few days ago stated that the American trust, in its endeavour to win the market, is spending immense sums in free gifts of cigarettes to the English retailers. The Americans' rivals, in reply to this attempt to capture the English custom, have promised to give the retailers, on condition that they do business solely with the British trust, a share in its profits.

What about Britain's free-trade in that case?

Mr. POYNTON.—Is that not very good?

Mr. CHANTER.—I say it is very good. I am very pleased.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The trusts in America do not give a share.

Mr. CHANTER.—But we have been told that England is so fast wedded to free-trade that she is going to adhere to that principle in all cases. Now we see, however, that she is to be driven out of her own markets unless she protects her own people. Another statement has been made in regard to the relative poverty existing in Great Britain and America. I am going to quote from Mr. A. M. Brice, who, I presume, will be taken as an acceptable authority upon the condition of affairs in England. Writing of old-age pensions, in *Temple Bar* magazine, he says—

If I take the total population of England—of all classes, be it marked—above the age of 65 years, and that three in every ten are permanent recipients of parish relief. If I deduct the upper and middle classes from this reckoning, I find that out of the working class residuum four out of every nine are hopeless paupers. Again, if I couple the whole population of all classes under the age of 65, I find that instead of 30 per cent. being wholly paupers, the proportion is reduced to 8 per cent. What would you infer from this? Obviously I think, that the sudden and enormous increase is the result of those impaired physical powers which make it more and more difficult for

men and women to obtain their ordinary work at a fair wage, and ultimately any work at any wage.

Roughly speaking, nearly one in every two of the wage-earning class becomes a pauper on passing the age of 65, and those who fear that a national scheme of pensions might impair the good done by friendly and provident societies would do well to remember that one out of every three of the total population of this country becomes a pauper at 65 in spite of all the help and encouragement to thrift which is provided by these societies; while if I take the lower-paid workers—like the agricultural labourers and unskilled workmen—I find that at the age of 65 two out of every three are paupers. Pauperism, in fact, is at present inevitable in certain classes of our industrious countrymen. Through no fault of their own, they have nothing but the workhouse to face them after a long life of honest labour. For it is practically impossible for a working man to put enough by out of his wages to create for himself an old-age annuity, and as a consequence, the prospect being hopeless, no incentive exists to thrift of any kind.

That is another corroboration.

Mr. McDONALD.—What does that prove?

Mr. CHANTER.—It proves the truth of the contention of the honorable and learned member for Indi, that there is a greater proportion of poverty in England than in America.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What happens to the workers in America before they reach the age of 65? Most of them are in their graves.

Mr. CHANTER.—I made a statement just now with regard to Broken Hill, and will give the House my authority for it. Here it is—

The mayor has telegraphed to the Minister for Works, suggesting several road works which might be undertaken in order to relieve the unemployed. He states that the practical solution of the difficulty is to grant assistance which will enable some of the unemployed to leave the district. Mr. J. H. Cann has written to the mayor, stating that Mr. O'Sullivan considers that matters are not so bad as represented, only 70 men having applied for work, and only ten being willing to start.

That is my authority for the statement I made.

Mr. POYNTON.—Only 70 men in a large town like Broken Hill!

Mr. CHANTER.—But that is a statement made to Mr. Cann, the member for the district, by Mr. O'Sullivan, in answer to a request from the mayor of Broken Hill that men might be put on to making roads to provide them with some employment. The mayor of the town ought to be the best authority for the condition of things there,

and he says that there is not sufficient work for the people in the mines.

Mr. POYNTON.—Because lead has fallen in value.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member may give the cause himself. There is also another matter to which I wish to refer before I bring my remarks to a close. Another statement made by the honorable and learned member for Indi has been challenged. He made one of the most valuable contributions to this debate, and it is my duty, supporting the same principles as he does, to bear out his statements as far as I can.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Which speech does the honorable member refer to—the 1892 speech or the one delivered last week?

Mr. CHANTER.—I am referring to a statement made by the honorable and learned member for Indi in this House during the present debate. The question I refer to was a comparison between the Canadian Tariff and this Commonwealth Tariff. The honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, also dealt with the matter from rather a different point of view. He challenged the statement of the honorable and learned member for Indi, and told the House what Sir Wilfrid Laurier had done for the Dominion of Canada. I hold in my hand the Canadian Tariff, as well as the Commonwealth Tariff. Perhaps honorable members opposite will be surprised to hear that as a rule the duties in the Canadian Tariff are a long way higher than those proposed in the Commonwealth Tariff. The duty on axles in Canada is 35 per cent.; in the Commonwealth Tariff the duty is 25 per cent. The duty on belting is 25 per cent. in the Canadian Tariff; in the Commonwealth Tariff, 20 per cent. The duty on chaffcutters in the Canadian Tariff is 20 per cent.; in the Commonwealth Tariff, 15 per cent. The duty on engines, portable, in the Canadian Tariff is 25 per cent.; in the Commonwealth Tariff, 15 per cent. The duty on hammers in the Canadian Tariff is 30 per cent.; in the Commonwealth Tariff, 15 per cent. And so on right through the whole list. I have quoted enough to prove my point.

Mr. McDONALD.—We saw that in the *Age*.

Mr. CHANTER.—Then the honorable member saw it in a good paper. If honorable members opposite would read the *Age* every day, they would derive a great deal of benefit from it. But it seems to me that any quotation from the *Age* newspaper,

which is a valuable journal, is always received with a certain amount of doubt by honorable members opposite, as though it were of an unreliable character. I read both the *Argus* and the *Age*, but my honorable friends opposite are so absolutely narrow-minded in their views on these points that they will not admit the truth of anything that happens to appear in the *Age*; they invariably refer to it as though it were a dishonest newspaper.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It only speaks the truth by mistake!

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member has not given us a quotation from the *Argus*.

Mr. CHANTER.—I have quoted from the *Argus*, and I will ask either the honorable member or the *Argus* itself to disprove what I have said, or to give a reason for it, namely, that under the New South Wales Tariff the farmer was robbed in respect of all his articles of production—wheat, bran, pollard, and everything else—whilst immediately this Tariff was imposed the prices received by New South Wales farmers were levelled up to the prices received in Victoria and South Australia, whilst in some cases higher prices are now being received in New South Wales.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member takes credit to this Tariff for getting rid of the border duties. It was federation that did that—the Constitution itself.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is all very well, but until the Commonwealth Tariff was imposed the old border duties had to remain in force.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They could only remain for two years.

Mr. CHANTER.—Would honorable members opposite like to keep on the border duties for two years? If I had my way I would have had them off earlier.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Did the honorable member always want to do so?

Mr. CHANTER.—I always wanted to take the burden off my brother, but I do not place my Australian brother in the same category as the kanaka, the black-fellow, the convict in an American prison, or the convict in New Caledonia.

Mr. POYNTON.—Or on the same level as the people of New Zealand and Canada!

Mr. CHANTER.—I would sooner relieve those nearest and dearest to me first. Comparing the Commonwealth duties with the Victorian duties, in many cases they are lower.

POYNTON.—And in some cases con-
sibly higher.

CHANTER.—I am about to quote
a letter written by a gentleman well
known to some honorable members—a
very esteemed man, who knows what he
is talking about, and who has backed up
his opinions by putting all the money he
has into the iron industry—I refer to Mr.
Sandford, of the Eskbank Iron Works at
Gow. He says—

On a basis of wages was from 50 per cent. to
over 100 per cent. over English rates. This was main-
tained until the arch-fiend to all progress in arts
and manufactures, the Hon. G. H. Reid, came
into power. He took the duty off at once, with-
out any notice. We were turning out about
100 tons per annum. Things were looking very
bright for the proprietor.

POYNTON.—I thought that the wages
were very low in New South Wales; those
on that side of the House say so.

CHANTER.—I could make a com-
parison between the wages earned by the
ironworks of Victoria and New South Wales,
but others have already dealt with the
question. As I have said before, there is
practically little difference between the
wages in respect to the rate of wages, but
the difference there is is in favour of
Victoria.

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—*Coghlan* does not
say so.

CHANTER.—Honorable members
remember what I have already said
about the attitude of the leader of the
Opposition in regard to the sugar duties—
he appealed to the Premier (which Mr. Cook
wishes) to serve me as he served the powerful
iron people, and allow three-fifths of the duty
to remain. No, he would not hear of it. I was a
body in the world of politics. As he served
others at the time, so he would serve all
industries of Australia to-day if he had the
power. And this cannot be too widely known.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—This must be the
letter published in the *Age*.

MR. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is a grossly
misleading letter.

CHANTER.—It is a truthful one.

MR. V. L. SOLOMON.—Then it is a novelty
in the *Age*.

CHANTER.—I have never spoken
disrespectful word of the Melbourne
news, but when I quote from the *Age*
honorable members continually refer to it
in a most contemptuous manner.

MR. V. L. SOLOMON.—It is a mendacious

CHANTER.— Before honorable
members have an opportunity to appeal

again to their constituents, the power of
the *Age* will have made itself felt. It is
fighting for the Australian people, instead
of for a few importers. Mr. Sandford con-
tinues—

I repeat that if "free-trade" was adopted in
this country the Eskbank Iron Works would
close, unless the men accepted the same wage
as is now paid in other countries supplying
this country with iron and steel. During the
last two years iron and steel have been very high.

MR. CONROY.—Is Mr. Sandford a friend of
the Prime Minister; is he getting some-
thing out of the Tariff?

MR. CHANTER.—I do not know whether
he is a friend of the Prime Minister, but he is
a friend of Australian progress. He repre-
sents £100,000 of capital which has been sunk
in an industry employing thousands of work-
men. The Minister for Home Affairs is the
only Minister who has done anything to
help that industry. When he was in office
in New South Wales I saw steel being
rolled out and other operations taking place
at these works. Everything was in a
prosperous condition then, but the leader
of the Opposition when he came into power
wiped the whole thing away, and put
scores of people out of employment.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—That is absolutely
incorrect. More iron has been made there
since than was made there before the
leader of the Opposition came into power.
Why does the honorable member make
such misstatements?

MR. CHANTER.—I take the statements
of the proprietor of the works.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—He never said any
such thing.

MR. CHANTER.—I am quoting from
his letter, published in the *Age* of the 25th
of this month. I am led to believe that
the Prime Minister has a copy of it.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable
member read that passage which states that
men were discharged when the duty on iron
was taken off?

MR. CHANTER.—I will read the
whole letter if the honorable member likes.
How could these works close without throw-
ing people out of employment?

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable mem-
ber said that when the duty was taken off
men were thrown out of employment.

MR. CHANTER.—I say so now. The
following is the last quotation I will
make:—

With regard to the other industries in the
Parramatta electorate the proprietors of the

Tweed mills at Lithgow have lost tens of thousands of pounds, and one man after another has worked them. They are going on well just now on account of a good supply of orders, and the output has very considerably increased. Why? For one thing they have Government orders, and the principal stimulus is that Barton's party is in power. Go from Lithgow Tweed Mills to Parramatta Tweed Mills, and I know the same conditions apply there.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They paid a dividend of 6 per cent. not long ago.

Mr. CHANTER.—Will the honorable member listen to me for a few minutes? I know that he does not like it, but he has plenty of time to refute my statements. The letter proceeds—

Reverting to Lithgow again. Why are the pottery works idle to-day? Simply because they stopped after the Dibbs Tariff was taken off, and will not be started again until there is a duty to keep out the surplus of other countries. Why were the copper works started at Lithgow? Simply on account of the cheap coal and water and special railway freights. Why are the collieries running? Simply because the railway commissioners take the bulk of the coal, and have given very low freights to Sydney. If the railways of the west were sold to a private syndicate, and they worked their own colliery elsewhere, what would become of the trade of Lithgow?

Where would the Esk Bank Iron Works be if Reid and his party got into power, and we had free-trade as proposed? In a very short time they would be in the position of the Clyde works, near Parramatta—works costing £300,000 sold for about £20,000, and the ordinary shareholders' money lost. This occurred not long ago. Take any other industry in New South Wales, and I say that no industry exists without protection of some sort.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All these works are doing well, and paying dividends.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The pottery works are closed.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They are not.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—How is it that the honorable member for Parramatta was returned for that electorate?

Mr. CHANTER.—Both my honorable friends know that there were other forces at work to secure the return of the honorable member for Parramatta. I desire to detain the House only for a few moments longer. I want to ask the people of Australia to consider the position. I claim that the promise given by the Prime Minister in his Maitland speech has been kept by him and all his colleagues. I claim that an honest attempt is being made by the Government to redeem the pledges they gave to the people on that occasion. The Treasurer has said he will be glad to have the assistance of the committee in

rectifying any anomalies in the Tariff that do not affect the principles of the policy laid down by the Government. When promises such as these are made by responsible Ministers, but are not accepted by the Opposition, it shows me, as it must show the people of Australia, that one motive only can be imputed to honorable members opposite, and that is that they have no regard for the people of Australia, or for the provisions of the Tariff itself, but that in their attack they are actuated solely by a desire to displace the Ministry. The people have to ask themselves this question: If the Opposition are successful, what will be the alternative scheme? If this Government were displaced, the leader of the Opposition would be sent for by the Governor-General, in the natural course of political events, and asked to form a Ministry. We have not yet had from the leader of the Opposition a solitary word setting forth his alternative policy for Australia. We have had from the honorable member for North Sydney, and the honorable member for Wentworth, certain proposals in regard to the finances of the Commonwealth, but we cannot take those as authoritative statements made on behalf of the Opposition. We have to deal only with the leader of the party, who, if this motion were successful, would become Prime Minister in succession to the right honorable gentleman now at the head of the Government. He has asked Australia to take him on trust. Is Australia going to take him on trust as against those who have been tried in the political atmosphere of Australia for 20 or 30 years, and who have given to Australia a policy, which even in our altered circumstances will be sufficient to obtain the necessary revenue without the risk of disaster. Are the people of Australia prepared to reject those men for the leader of the Opposition? If so, let it be stated as quickly as possible. Under this Tariff, three of the States will not receive as much as they raised from their former customs duties. A revenue of about £9,000,000 will be raised, and the circumstances connected with the allocation of that money are such that three out of the six States must suffer a decrease, and must impose taxation of some other kind. If we reduce that amount of revenue by any means to £8,000,000 or £7,000,000, in accordance with the various suggestions which have been made, then we

place these States practically in an solvent position, or force them to tax the people further.

Mr. THOMSON.—My proposal would make a difference of £35,000 to Tasmania.

Mr. CHANTER.—A difference of 5,000 might be more to the small State of Tasmania than £300,000 would be New South Wales.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It would mean a difference of £70,000.

Mr. CHANTER.—Tasmania has not large territory which she can slice up and sell whenever she requires money. She has to tax her people, and she does not go to the money market as New South Wales has done. I speak as one from New South Wales, possessing a love for that State, and I am sorry to have to say that many of my colleagues from that State cannot give a moment's consideration to any State other than New South Wales. They seem to think that Sydney is New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member does not think of New South Wales!

Mr. CHANTER.—I do think of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is a Victorian.

Mr. CHANTER.—I have not an interest in Victoria representing the value of the pair of spectacles which I hold in my hand. All my interests are in New South Wales. But, because I have a sense of fair play and justice, and because I have common sense sufficient to enable me to see what Victoria has done for her people, that offers a pattern for New South Wales to follow, I have to meet this miserable cry about disloyalty to New South Wales. The honorable member for Parramatta has been as loyal to New South Wales as I have been, that State would be in a very much better position to-day. This is a question for the people of Australia to decide. This attack is not what it ought to be. It is supposed to be an attack upon the Tariff. It is made on behalf of the wagman and his condensed milk, the wagman and his evening dress suit, and the washerwoman and her pound of starch. It is on behalf of such miserable little interests as these that this attack is made. The Ministry speak, however, on behalf of the great people of Australia; on behalf of the rising generation of Australia who are now employed in our manufactories; and on behalf of our industrial life. The Opposition

are speaking in favour of a policy which will throw people out of employment, and we shall hear the pattering of their bare feet on the sidewalk.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That expression is not even original.

Mr. CHANTER.—No; but it is true. I do not care a fig for originality. I have been at all times a student of this character, that if I am impressed with the thoughts of greater minds than my own I am ready to adopt them. It is, however, an original fact that we have now an Australian Parliament, and that the Australian people demand at the hands of Australian legislators that they shall legislate for the whole of Australia, and not for New South Wales.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—And not for Victoria.

Mr. CHANTER.—New South Wales has no right to demand—any more than has Victoria—that the policy which it has hitherto pursued, should be the policy adopted for the whole of Australia.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Who has made such a demand?

Mr. CHANTER.—It has been consistently made by honorable members upon the other side of the House, who have not scrupled to hurl the most insulting epithets against Victoria. Does that evidence a commendable federal spirit? Is it not rather out and out provincialism? This taint of provincialism was exhibited by the present leader of the Opposition when in my presence, in his capacity as Premier of New South Wales, he told a contractor who had submitted the lowest tender for the erection of a bridge in that State that he would not give him the contract because he was a Victorian.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Was the honorable member trying to get the contract for the Victorian?

Mr. CHANTER.—Undoubtedly I was. After we had invited people to lodge tenders for a contract, I should regard myself as one of the meanest individuals in existence if I refused to accept any man's tender, merely because he happened to come from another State. That, however, is what the honorable and learned member for East Sydney did.

Mr. CONROY.—The contractor had no property upon which to levy in Victoria, and he refused to make a deposit.

Mr. CHANTER.—I must resent the statement of the honorable and learned

member for Werriwa, which, I am sure, has been made without a full knowledge of the facts. I happen to know more about this particular case than does any other man.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I do not think that the reasons why any particular tender for a bridge was or was not accepted have anything whatever to do with this debate.

Mr. CHANTER.—That is true, Mr. Speaker, and I shall not discuss the matter. I am sure, however, that the House will permit me to say a word or two in explanation. It has been alleged by the honorable and learned member for Werriwa that the contractor in question, Mr. McKenzie, was refused the contract because he would not lodge the necessary deposit. I am in a position to say absolutely that he was not only willing to lodge the required deposit, but that the money was actually awaiting acceptance as a guarantee of his good faith. I went with this gentleman to the honorable and learned member for East Sydney, and I heard the latter's reply. I repeat that the statement of the honorable and learned member for Werriwa is grossly unfair to a man who is outside of this House, and cannot therefore defend himself. I have done my duty. I have given the reasons for the fiscal faith which is in me. I have spoken as a duty to myself and to my constituents, who principally comprise farmers and pastoralists. I intend adhering to my hustings pledges. I told the people of the electorate which I represent the sort of policy which I thought the Government would bring forward. They have done precisely what I anticipated they would do. They have submitted a Tariff which is a compromise, and which contains neither the high duties of the Victorian Tariff nor the low duties of that of New South Wales. They have done what circumstances forced them to do. I claim that what has been done in Canada, America, and other parts of the world can be done in, Australia, if honorable members opposite will permit the imposition of a Tariff which will encourage internal industries and give life and vigour to our own people. If they consider our own people first, they will be performing what to me seems an obvious duty, and Australia will be grateful to them for having assisted in the fashioning of a Tariff which makes for industrial expansion and for an abiding national prosperity.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—He is a most unobservant person who passes through

the world without learning something from everybody he meets, and so the last speaker has suggested to me some things which should be avoided. To my mind it is little short of an insult to the House for any honorable member to take up our time with a mass of details which are more or less irrelevant to the subject at issue. I hope I shall not imitate the honorable member for Riverina in other respects. I cannot understand the frame of mind of an honorable member who depreciates the great State of New South Wales which sent him here. As one who spent some years in that magnificent country—I suppose one of the most favoured lands of the world and one of the most prosperous—I repudiate his remarks concerning New South Wales. It was very bad taste on his part—and I am sorry he is not present to hear my remarks—to come here and disparage his own State. He stated everything he possibly could in disparagement of his own State, and concealed all the charges of provincialism which could be made against Victoria. Coming as I do from Western Australia, I have no interest in uplifting New South Wales or depreciating Victoria in the slightest way. But New South Wales has always set a magnificent example to the people of Australia. She has opened her ports to the products of every State, placing no restriction upon the free interchange of goods. Yet the honorable member forgot to tell the House that Victoria put on her statute-book one of the most barbarous imposts ever placed by one civilized community against the products of another. I was in Victoria when the honorable member for Gippsland succeeded in getting the stock tax imposed. I knew the condition of the people of Melbourne at that time, and I saw greater distress then in Collingwood and Richmond than I have seen in any of the great cities of the old world, taking even London into account.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—What year was that?

Mr. MAHON.—It was about the time of the bank smash.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Did the honorable member ever know meat to be cheaper in Melbourne than it was at that time?

Mr. MAHON.—Cheapness is a relative term. If a man has only 3d. to buy what costs 6d., he is of course worse off than if he had 6d. to buy what costs 6d.

in speaking of the general condition of people at that time, and of the effect on the stock tax had in intensifying misery of the community. I only refer this incidentally, to show that New South Wales has never treated Victoria in way in which Victoria has treated her, to illustrate the bad taste of a representative of New South Wales in concealing a point of such very grave importance. I do not intend to imitate him by troubling the House with details which are more or less irrelevant to the question. The issue raised by the leader of the Opposition is a very simple one. He has challenged this House as a protectionist one, and submitted that the true policy is a Tariff proposed for the purposes of revenue. I do not wish to go into an academic discussion of the rival fiscal policies of New South Wales and Victoria, because I find that argument is lost to a large extent on a great many persons. There are persons, even now, who say that the earth is a flat surface, and I have met men who were disposed to question the axioms of Euclid. Consequently, it does not surprise me to find persons who are disposed to hang on to the fallacies of protection. The arguments concerning New South Wales and Victoria, and all the particulars given as to the various trades and occupations of the people, go by the board in face of the important fact that New South Wales has gained population during the last ten years, while Victoria has lost it. A man may not be a fiscal expert, but he knows where his bread and butter can best be obtained. In the census period, 1891 to 1901, in New South Wales, the total increase of population was 227,709, and the natural increase 226,845, showing a gain of 864. In Victoria in that period the total increase was 61,101, and the natural increase 172,534, showing that she had lost population to the extent of 111,433. All academic arguments go by the board in view of these enormously important figures—figures moreover compiled not by the statist of New South Wales, but by Mr. Fenton, the statist of Victoria, the officer employed by the protectionist Government of Victoria.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But there is another little fallacy underlying it.

Mr. MAHON.—I am afraid there is a number of fallacies in the honorable member's position. Before I leave the

subject I wish to touch upon some remarks made by the Minister for Defence the other evening. The right honorable gentleman expressed surprise that the workers of Australia should be free-traders, and asked what is the minimum wage but protection, and what is the Factories Act but protection. Undoubtedly the minimum wage is protection, and so is the Factories Act, but the right honorable gentleman would find some difficulty in proving that they have any real fiscal significance. He might as well say that the Act passed some years ago to compel employers to place seats in shops for girls who served behind counters had something to do with the fiscal theory. None of these things have any true relevance to fiscalism. The minimum wage is simply a determination on the part of Parliament to do for a certain class of people what people in other walks of life are able to do for themselves. For instance, lawyers and doctors are able to keep up the fees they are in the habit of receiving; but the greater competition arising from the larger numbers of the labouring class, makes it necessary for society to step in and do something in a collective fashion, which these people are not sufficiently organized to do for themselves.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Why not free labour as well as free-trade?

Mr. PAGE.—No, we had quite enough of that in Queensland.

Mr. MAHON.—Free-trade seems to have a different significance to me from what it has to the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne. Free-trade in my opinion is freedom of effort, freedom on the part of each man to do the best he can for himself. I have not all the attributes of a free man and I do not consider that I am a free man, if somebody may come in at the end of the week and take away a portion of my wages.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is what the employers say.

Mr. MAHON.—A Government may have a legal right to do this, because anything is legal which is made so in the constitutional way by a majority of the people, but no Government ever had, or ever can have, a moral right to take away from me a portion of the money which I have honestly earned by my own industry and effort. I would be less than a free man if I did not have the right to do the best I could with the money I earn. I am quite

prepared to admit that every man owes a duty to society. That is to say, society discharges certain functions for every citizen in the community, and every citizen is bound to contribute in some form or other towards the expenses of those services. I say society has a right to exact payment for its services in any legitimate form it thinks fit. If it does so by Customs taxation upon commodities, it is exercising its rights; but when society goes further and takes more money from the pockets of the people and applies that money, not in maintaining order, not in protecting property, and not in carrying out any of the other legitimate functions of government, then, I say that society is doing the individual a great wrong.

Mr. ISAACS.—What are the legitimate functions of government?

Mr. MAHON.—If the honorable and learned member would allow me three or four hours, I might be able to exhaust the subject. At present I do not think I can enumerate all the legitimate functions of government. The education of the people, the maintenance of the peace the protection of property, and the conservation of the public health, are among the main functions of government. I do not consider that it is any function of government to rob me in order to put money into the pockets of capitalists. I do not consider it is any function of government to foster a factory in Footscray, and close down a mine in Western Australia.

Mr. MAUGER.—The Tariff will not do that.

Mr. MAHON.—It will do it, and I tell the honorable member that it will depopulate some of the districts of Western Australia.

Mr. HUME COOK.—We are afraid it will close down some of the factories, too.

Mr. MAHON.—It would be a very good thing for the people in some of the factories if it did close them down. It would be a very good thing for some of those unfortunate senemic people if somebody came in and closed down the factories and sent them out to earn their living in the open, under natural conditions.

Mr. MAUGER.—In a village settlement?

Mr. MAHON.—It would be far better for them and for the country also. I do not say that Customs taxation is an ideal form of taxation. Even for the legitimate purposes of government, I would not be altogether in accord with Customs taxation.

I think that a tax upon accumulated wealth is far preferable to this system of Customs taxation; but, so far, we have not devised a scheme of that kind, and nothing better has been presented, so far as I know, than the system of raising revenue through the Customs, to meet the legitimate expenses of government. I heard the right honorable the Minister for Defence make some remark about popularity. He said there were two kinds of popularity—one that came to a man legitimately, and the other that he ran after.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It was not an original observation.

Mr. MAHON.—Probably not. If the right honorable gentleman returned to Western Australia to-morrow, as an advocate of this Tariff, I think the popularity he would meet with would be of that sort which he would like to run away from.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We have had some of it before.

Mr. MAHON.—Yes, and I will do the right honorable gentleman the justice to say that I do not think he has always received justice from those who criticised him. But before I go into a discussion of the Tariff, I should like to say that there is, at any rate, one of the duties which I heartily approve of, and that is the duty on printing paper. I give the Minister for Trade and Customs credit for having the pluck to propose this duty. It is a duty which touches the pockets of certain persons largely responsible for placing the Ministry in their present position. I hope that when the critical time comes the House will carry this duty. I am sure the Minister for Trade and Customs will try to carry it, but will the Ministry as a whole be in earnest and insist upon their supporters voting for this tax? They ought to do so, for this is perhaps the only tax proposed in this Tariff which cannot be passed on to the public. The proprietors of the metropolitan newspapers enjoy a very large revenue. One in this State, I believe, enjoys a revenue of between £50,000 and £60,000 a year, and in some years even more. I think these gentlemen can well afford to pay this taxation.

Mr. MANIFOLD.—What about the country newspapers?

Mr. MAHON.—The honorable member for Corangamite has asked me what about country newspapers?

Mr. PAGE.—It would be just as well if some of them were squashed.

Mr. MAHON. — So far as the country press is concerned, the tax upon them would be infinitesimal. Taking the ordinary weekly newspaper with a circulation of 500 to 600, I should say that the tax would not, the outside, exceed 5s. or 6s. per week ; that the owners of country newspapers will not feel the duty, whereas the big newspaper proprietors who enjoy many monopolies and advantages from the State will pay enormously, some of them up to £3,000 or £5,000 a year. I think the division on this matter will be a good test of the democracy of some honorable members. From the country will learn the names of those honorable members who are sincere in their professions that those best able to pay taxation shall bear their proper share of it.

I strongly disapprove of one feature of the Tariff. The linotype, that will be used largely by large newspaper proprietors, is not allowed to come in without paying any duty, whereas the small printer, who is, perhaps, carrying on his business with one or two men and a boy, will have to pay a tax of 10 per cent. on his type.

Mr. MAUGER. — They can get any quantity made here.

Mr. MAHON. — I wish the honorable member for Melbourne Ports would keep his fallacies for Footscray. I know something of this matter, and I say with confidence that a duty of 10 per cent., or of even 100 per cent., would not enable the local manufacturers to turn out type equal to what sent out from Caslon's foundry or from some of the American foundries. The honorable member can take that from me. I know that interested manufacturers have poured their tales into his sympathetic ears, but the facts are as I state them. The local type founders may turn out type, but the printers will not get the same value for their money as if they buy their type from the American foundries, or even from the English foundries. I think the Government should show the same consideration for the poor printers that they show towards wealthy newspaper proprietors. If they allow linotypes to come in free, they should also allow type to come in without the payment of duty. The linotype is a machine which displaces labour, and that in itself is an important point.

Mr. KENNEDY. — Does not all machinery do that?

Mr. MAHON. — Well, yes ; and I am not making any objection on that ground

alone. In this case type is required by the poorer class of newspaper proprietors, who will never be able to afford to buy a linotype ; and if rich newspaper proprietors are able to get their machines in free, poor printers should not be compelled to pay duty on their type. This is an anomaly that I hope the Government will consider by-and-by. There are a large number of accessories which are included in the definition of type, and which are also taxed at the rate of 10 per cent. Some of these things are just as necessary to the printer as the tools of other trades which have been exempted under the Tariff. Now, I was rather interested by the statement of the Treasurer that this Tariff will reduce the taxation of Western Australia from £5 9s. 2d. to £3 17s. 7d. per head of the population. I thought when I first heard that announcement that it was rather a good thing for Western Australia, and as I knew that the right honorable gentleman had the reputation of being a very careful financier, as well as an economical one, I accepted his estimate in good faith. I took the trouble, however, to go through the Tariff in detail in order to discover the articles upon which remissions had been made, and found to my amazement that the only articles of any note upon which an appreciable remission had been made were spirits, the duty on which was reduced to the extent of 2s. per gallon, and opium, the tax on which was reduced from 30s. to 20s. per lb. I could see that there must be some mistake, and I then endeavoured to discover how the Treasurer came to say that the taxation under the head of Customs and Excise in Western Australia last year was £5 9s. 2d. per head. I eventually discovered that the Treasurer took the revenue for 1900, which amounted to £933,716, and divided it by the population for 1899, which was 171,030 ; whereas the population in 1900, the year in which the Treasurer's calculation was made, was 184,146.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — £944,000 was the amount of Customs and Excise revenue which the Treasurer adopted for his calculations.

Mr. MAHON. — I will give the right honorable gentleman the figures, from his own statistical register. I find that the total revenue in Western Australia in 1900 was £944,746 5s. 7d. The Minister is right, but there are certain additions to that, which bring the total revenue from Customs and Excise up to £987,000. If I

have made any mistake, it is in favour of the Treasurer, but I took the amount of £933,716 from the Treasurer's own Budget papers. However, working that out, and dividing the amount by 171,030, we get the figures £5 9s. 2d.; but if the revenue is divided by 184,146, which was the real population last year, we arrive at a taxation of £5 3s. 7d. per head of the population. So the Treasurer has overstated the taxation from Customs and Excise in that year by 5s. 7d. per head. That, of course, is not a very serious matter, but it does not explain the difference between £5 9s. 2d. and £3 17s. 7d. per head; and I find on investigating the matter further that the estimate of £933,716 included Inter-State duties, which I estimate amounted to £275,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We reckoned them at £256,000.

Mr. MAHON.—They did amount to £256,000 in the previous year—in 1899—when the revenue was very much smaller. I have the exact figures here, and I find that the revenue in 1899 from customs duties on British and foreign products, and from excise, amounted to £577,098; and from Inter-State duties to £256,060. That makes a total of £833,158. In 1900 the revenue from customs and excise duties was £944,746, or £696,746 from duties on British and foreign goods and excise, and £275,000 from duties on Inter-State imports. The total Inter-State duties for 1900 have not been officially published, but it is fair to take them at £275,000, since the increase in British and foreign imports for same year was about £90,000. It is, therefore, a fair thing to assume that the Inter-State duties were a few thousand pounds more than in 1899. But to come back to the point. The Treasurer, when stating that the taxation in 1900 was £5 9s. 2d. per head, includes the Inter-State duties, but excludes these duties later on when estimating the new taxation at £3 17s. 7d.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Treasurer will not get anything from Inter-State duties.

Mr. MAHON.—But the Treasurer concealed the fact that the Inter-State duties are still being collected.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not by the Federal Government.

Mr. MAHON.—I admit that, but the Treasurer, as a candid man, should have told us the fact.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He did not know.

Mr. MAHON.—He should have included the Inter-State duties when he alleged that we were taxed £5 9s. 2d. per head.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Treasurer did all the calculations for the other States in the same way.

Mr. MAHON.—I am not aware that two wrongs ever made a right. It has gone forth to the people of Western Australia that their taxes are being reduced by £1 11s. 7d. per head.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is for the State Parliament to remit the other taxation if they like.

Mr. MAHON.—The Government, according to their own estimate, are imposing £3 17s. 7d. per head; but as a fact they are not reducing the taxation at all; on the contrary, the taxation is being increased. On the Government's own estimate, I shall show that the taxation of Western Australia has been increased very considerably, leaving out of consideration altogether the Inter-State duties. The revenue from British and foreign imports and excise in 1900 was £658,716, not including Inter-State duties. Taking the Treasurer's estimate for a normal year, customs and excise, without any Inter-State duties, he is to collect £708,008; that is to say, there is an increase of federal taxation of £49,292 per year.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is only half the volume of trade.

Mr. BARTON.—In other words, if we relieve half the trade from taxation we must put a little more taxation on the other half.

Mr. MAHON.—I have the telegram of the Minister for Defence, and it is evident that he has not gone into the figures, or that message would not have been sent.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The figures are right.

Mr. MAHON.—The figures are right as far as they go, but they do not go far enough. The Government say to the people of Western Australia—"Why do you complain? We have reduced your taxation per head from £5 9s. 2d. to £3 17s. 7d." But the Government do not tell the people that this £5 9s. 2d. includes Inter-State duties, the abolition of which is not a matter for the Federal Government, but a matter for the Western Australian Government.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think I referred to that a good many times in the telegram.

r. MAHON.—I have the telegram here, should be glad if the right honorable gentleman would point out where that is said.

r. JOHN FORREST.—Do I say nothing of the sliding scale?

r. MAHON.—The salient paragraph is number 5, which reads—

gather, therefore, that it is the manner by which customs and excise duties are to be raised is objected to—

It is the telegram from the Minister for Finance to the Mayor of Perth. The message proceeds—

there cannot be any objection to the aggregate amount to be raised in Western Australia by the proposed taxation, which, as I have before, is £280,000 less than was raised last year, and is equal to 28s. per head less than that existing.

That is not a plain statement that the customs and excise taxation is reduced by 28s. per head to the people of Western Australia? The fact is that the taxation is not reduced. Again, in a letter to the *Argus*, the right honorable gentleman says—

his proposed Tariff and excise, high as they appear to them, would only realize £708,000 for Western Australia.

That is the right honorable gentleman did not tell the people that these same taxes last year only realized £658,716; and that is a material fact. The right honorable gentleman should have told the people that the taxation, which he now says is £708,000, was last year only £658,716. That is the right honorable gentleman goes on—

and consequently while there will be 28s. per head less taxation—

that is not less taxation by the Federal Government—

there will be a deficiency of £280,000 of revenue to be made up by the local Parliament, extra taxation, or arranged for by a reduction of expenditure.

The position is that the Federal Government have not diminished taxation. Nothing the Government have done has diminished the taxation of Western Australia; on the contrary, taxation has been increased by nearly £50,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Western Australia gets it back again.

Mr. MAHON.—Western Australia gets three-fourths returned.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Perhaps more. It is not enough; they want more, and that is the difficulty.

Mr. MAHON.—That is precisely the point. I know there is a difficulty, but I say that the taxes are coming out of the wrong pockets. My estimate works out in this way: the revenue from British and foreign imports in 1900 was only £3 13s. 1d., and on the Treasurer's estimate the same imports will pay £3 18s. 1d., or an increase of 5s. per head of the population. I wish the Treasurer were here, because, with all respect to the other Ministers, these figures, although they come from an unimportant person like myself, call for some notice and answer, especially the figures I am now about to quote. How does the Minister arrive at his estimate of £3 17s. 7d. per head? He naturally and properly excludes the Inter-State duties wholly, although these Inter-State duties are still in operation. I do not say that the right honorable gentleman made these calculations himself; but what really happens? Here is the great, salient, and extraordinary fact that the Treasurer discards the population factor, which he used in a previous part of the calculation, and makes his estimate, not on the population of 171,030 in 1899, but on the population of 182,315 on the 31st March, 1901.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was the census.

Mr. MAHON.—Whether it was the census or not, the calculation works very much to the Treasurer's advantage. If the £708,000 be divided by the population of 182,315, we get £3 17s 7d. per head, but if we divide the £708,000 by the population of 171,030 we get £4 2s. 9d. per head; and that is the Treasurer's proposed taxation. If we take the population of 180,146 on the 31st December, 1900, even that gives a total taxation per head of £3 18s. 7d. Here we have the Treasurer of the country using one population factor to inflate the ante-Federation taxation of Western Australia, and then using another and a different factor when he desires to show that under Federation taxes will be diminished.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think that is so. The revenue was £944,000, and dividing that by 180,000 we get £5 5s. per head.

Mr. MAHON.—I have passed away from the £944,000, and I am now dealing with the Treasurer's estimate of £708,000. Since the population in 1900 was 180,146, why did not the Treasurer employ that factor instead of the number of the

population in the previous year when making out the *per capita* taxation in 1900?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Treasurer took the population of 180,000.

Mr. MAHON.—The Treasurer took the population at 171,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No; £944,000 is shown in the public returns.

Mr. MAHON.—I can show the figures used in the Budget papers by the Treasurer. According to those papers the revenue for 1899-1900 from Western Australia was £933,716.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was in an abnormal year, or something of that kind.

Mr. MAHON.—Those figures are in the papers circulated by the right honorable gentleman's own colleague. If there is any error in them, it is the Treasurer's, not mine.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member has made a mistake. I have the papers here.

Mr. MAHON.—Apparently the right honorable gentleman does not comprehend my point. The figures for 1899-1900 are £933,716. As I have said, I take these figures from the Treasurer's own papers. However, the fact is that, using the Treasurer's population factor, his federal taxation is £4 2s. 9d. per head after federation, as compared with £3 13s. 1d. before federation. That is to say, the taxation, on that basis, so far as Western Australia is concerned, is increased by 8s. 8d. per head. But going back to the year 1889, and using the whole figures of that year to effect a comparison with the Treasurer's estimate for a normal year—and he has elected to stand on the figures for 1899—we find this interesting result:—

THEASURER'S ESTIMATE NORMAL YEAR, COMPARED WITH ACTUAL REVENUE, 1899.

| Treasurer's Estimate. | — | Per Head. | Actual Revenue. | |
|------------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | | 1899. | Per Head. |
| | £ | | £ | £ s. d. |
| From Customs— | | | | |
| British and Foreign products | 708,008 | 4 2 9 | 577,098 | 3 7 5 |
| and Excise | Nil | — | 256,000 | 1 10 0 |
| Inter-State duties | | | | |
| | 708,008 | 4 2 9 | 833,158 | 4 17 5 |

That is to say, on the basis of population, in 1899 the Treasurer's taxation will be £4 2s. 9d. per head, as against £3 7s. 5d. We see that in 1899 the actual revenue

from those imports which the Treasurer has power to tax, and is taxing to the extent of £708,008, was only £577,098, a total increase under federation of £130,910, or an increase per head of the population of 15s. 4d. I will just summarize for the benefit of the House exactly what the Treasurer has done. In the first case he has overstated the Western Australian customs and excise taxation for the year 1900 by 5s. 7d. per head by using as a factor a lower total population than existed at the period to which the calculation relates. Next he inflates the estimate by including Inter-State duties in comparing taxation totals. As the Federal Government collects no duty except on British and foreign imports, only the revenue from these imports should have been taken into account in comparing the rate of taxation per head under the old system and the new. The actual taxation per head on these imports was in 1900 £3 13s. 1d., not £5 9s. 2d.; and it is with £3 13s. 1d., and not with the higher figure that the Treasurer's estimate of federal taxation—that is £3 17s. 7d. per head—should be compared. The Federal Tariff, therefore, on those items alone, where it takes the place of the State Tariff, increases customs and excise taxation by 5s. a head, on the Treasurer's own estimate—or a total of about £49,292—instead of diminishing it by £1 17s. 7d. This fact is demonstrated by a comparison of the Treasurer's own estimate of revenue with the actual revenue collected in the year ending 30th June, 1901. As the Inter-State duties are still being collected, the amount of these—for next year they will be about £300,000—must be added to the total federal taxation. I know that these figures are rather wearying to honorable members, but it seems to me that there is a great deal of importance in showing that this factor, which has been used sedulously, has been used in error, and that the taxation of Western Australia under this estimate has not been diminished, but increased. It is most important that these figures should go forth to the people. No wonder that the Chamber of Commerce of Fremantle has telegraphed to the Minister for Defence to say that they could not follow his figures! I should think not! I wonder who could follow them!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why not?

Mr. MAHON.—Because they hide the true facts.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Western Australia to pay £708,000 instead of £980,000.

Mr. MAHON.—The fact is that the people are under the impression that they will be taxed £1 11s. 7d. per head less, whilst as a matter of fact, instead of paying 58,716, as they did in 1900, they will, according to the Treasurer's estimate, and I shall show later on, pay £708,008—it is to say nearly £50,000 more.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They paid £980,000 last year.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable gentleman is talking now about the period of the year ending 30th June, 1901.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Any year the honorable member likes.

Mr. MAHON.—I will come to that year good time, but will the right honorable gentleman allow me to finish with the year 1900. I am making a comparison between the revenue in 1900 and the Treasurer's estimated revenue; and if the right honorable gentleman will be good enough to allow me, I think I shall be able to make the meaning clear. There was collectable under the Western Australian Tariff in the year 1900 the sum of £658,716. Excise amounted to £31,664. The first mentioned item refers to British and foreign goods only.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why exclude Interstate goods?

Mr. MAHON.—I exclude the Interstate duties because the Federal Government will not collect them. The true comparison is between imports on which the Federal Tariff will be collecting duties, and the same imports which yielded duties before. Surely the right honorable gentleman cannot be serious in saying that we should exclude Interstate duties? Does he mean to tell us that he has a right to take into the comparison duties which the Federal Government are not collecting, and which they have no power to collect? What I want to show is that the Treasurer is increasing and not diminishing the taxation on the British and foreign imports.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is another matter altogether.

Mr. MAHON.—But that is the point. I want to leave the Interstate duties out of the question altogether, because the Federal Government has no power to collect them, and therefore we have no right to consider them in a comparison of this sort.

The following tables show the revenue obtained from imports during the three years, 1898-1900:—

REVENUE FROM IMPORTS.

| — | 1898. | 1899. | 1900. |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| British and Foreign | 621,000 | 577,098 | 669,746 |
| Australian States .. | 285,620 | 256,060 | 275,000 |
| Totals .. | 896,620 | 833,158 | 944,746 |

Mr. PIESSE.—Can the honorable member give us the value of the imports during these years?

Mr. MAHON.—Yes, here they are, with the population on the 31st December in each year from 1896—

VALUE OF IMPORTS.

| — | 1898. | 1899. | 1900. |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| British and Foreign | 2,408,204 | 2,161,175 | 3,218,676 |
| Australian States .. | 2,743,761 | 2,312,357 | 2,743,502 |
| | 5,241,965 | 4,473,532 | 5,962,178 |

POPULATION.

| | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---------|
| 1896 | - | - | 122,809 |
| 1897 | - | - | 155,749 |
| 1898 | - | - | 169,271 |
| 1899 | - | - | 168,879 |
| 1900 | - | - | 177,480 |
| September 1901 | - | - | 191,576 |

Let me deal now with the statements which have been made as to the benefits which the proposed Tariff would confer upon Western Australia. I admit that the year 1900 was a good year, just as the year 1899 was a bad one, but for the purposes of my calculation I have assumed that the consumption of goods in Western Australia during the present year will be on a par with the consumption in 1900, and I have taken from the Western Australian statistical register the quantities consumed in 1900, and applied to them the rates of duties provided for by the Federal Tariff. The Federal Tariff places duties upon many articles imported from the United Kingdom and foreign places which were formerly admitted free, and they will return a revenue amounting to £161,896. The revenue from duties upon British and foreign imports which have been increased will amount to £86,026, and excise duties—taking the Treasurer's own estimate for this—to £111,727, or

£359,649 in all. That is to say, the Federal Tariff will produce £900,000 of revenue in Western Australia, upon a consumption equal to that of the year 1900.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Some doubt as to figures.

Mr. MAHON.—Well, I am corroborated in this estimate by the views of no less an authority than the present Treasurer of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not consider him a great authority.

Mr. MAHON.—He happens to be the Treasurer of the State, and, as the right honorable gentleman's successor, we must assume that he is to some extent worthy of his position. My estimate is below his.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He probably took in the Inter-State duties.

Mr. MAHON.—I expect that he did, but I shall give the right honorable gentleman the benefit of them. Mr. Illingworth, in delivering his Budget speech in the Legislative Assembly of Western Australia on the 9th October, 1901, is reported in the Western Australian *Hansard* to have said that, after studying the Federal Tariff, which was laid on the table of this House the day before, he expected next year to obtain £1,084,500 from customs and excise duties. That amount is very nearly arrived at by estimating the revenue to be collected under the Federal Tariff at £900,000, and subtracting one-fourth, the amount retained by the Commonwealth. That leaves £650,000, and, adding £350,000 for Inter-State duties, a total of £1,000,000 is obtained.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Treasurer says that the Tariff will produce only £708,000.

Mr. MAHON.—Well, if I err, I err in good company, and my estimate is considerably under that of the Treasurer of Western Australia. I put down £350,000 for Inter-State duties. So that the people of Western Australia may understand what this Tariff means to them, I have taken the trouble to make out a list of household commodities which hitherto were imported into the State free of duty, but are now taxed. It was the strong hope of the people of Western Australia that federation would make life on the gold-fields a little less expensive, and a little more tolerable. Why, I have known a working miner to tramp 20 miles through the sand to record his vote in favour of the union of the States.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He knew that tea and sugar would be taxed under a Federal Tariff.

Mr. MAHON.—Did he imagine that arrowroot, sago, tapioca, cornflower, maize, cocoa, chocolate, coffee, oatmeal, rice, tea, kerosene, farinaceous foods, blankets, rugs, blanketing, stearine, and paraffine, which have hitherto been free of duty, would be taxed?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was done by a good and paternal Government.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What would the honorable member do?

Mr. MAHON.—I would not impose a Tariff that presses on the man who turns his back upon the sea coast and goes into the bush to face the hardships to be encountered out there. For the purpose of starting a factory at Footscray I would not close down a mine in Western Australia, nor would I impose such duties as these for the purpose of coddling artificial and anæmic industries in the towns and big cities. I would not for the same purpose hamper the men who have the pluck to go into the interior of the country to endeavour to do something to redeem it to civilization. The Prime Minister and his colleagues have spent the greater part of their lives pleasantly in the eastern cities. If they had lived in the back country, if they had ever travelled 50 miles on a dry track without a drink of water, if they had undergone the perils and hardships and sufferings of the men in the back country, they would not be so ready to tax every little commodity which they use.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Why, we have two explorers in the Ministry.

Mr. MAHON.—I have recognised always that the Minister for Defence is a man who has done the best he could for his own State and for his country. I believe that right honorable gentleman's desire has been always to do the best he could, according to his lights, for the people of Western Australia.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The Minister for Home Affairs was at the top of Capricorn when he was a boy.

Mr. MAHON.—I am glad to see that the honorable member has got into a more congenial atmosphere. The Minister for Defence has been a good friend to the farmer, and rightly so, because the agriculturist is the backbone of every State. Can the right honorable gentlemen show me in

Tariff a duty which will be of any advantage to the farmer? Here is a list of—

SH AND FOREIGN HOUSEHOLD COMMODITIES
HERETO IMPORTED FREE INTO WESTERN
AUSTRALIA, BUT NOW TAXED BY THE COM-
MONWEALTH—

| Commodity. | Value of Imports in 1900. | Revenue. | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | Treasurer's Estimate. | Estimate based on 1900 Consumption. |
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Wheat ... | 175 | 800 | 924 |
| Oats ... | 345 | | |
| Maize ... | 2,180 | 417 | 1,415 |
| Flour, maize, &c. ... | 2,545 | | |
| Sugar and chocolate ... | 11,913 | 2,292 | 3,260 |
| Wool (raw) ... | 3,869 | 1,125 | 1,424 |
| Wool (scoured) ... | 934 | 9,375 | 3,855 |
| Wool (fined) ... | 14,174 | | |
| Wool (other) ... | 70,334 | 22,000 | 28,982 |
| Wool (other) ... | 46,744 | 15,625 | 16,065 |
| Wool (other) ... | 5,699 | 1,500 | 1,500 |
| Wool (other) ... | 11,959 | ... | 2,391 |
| Wool (other) ... | 24,434 | ... | 11,328 |
| Wool (other) ... | 1,911 | | |
| Total ... | 197,216 | 53,134 | 76,674 |

* Not otherwise enumerated.

SUMMARY.

| | £ | Total £ |
|--|---------|---------|
| Value of foregoing commodities ... | 197,216 | |
| Value of 8,727 tons of sugar, imported in 1900 free of duty, but now taxed by Commonwealth ... | 128,889 | 326,105 |
| Treasurer's estimated revenue— From household commodities hitherto free ... | 53,134 | |
| From sugar—Customs £6,200, excise £19,134 ... | 25,334 | 78,468 |

| | |
|---|---------|
| Estimated revenue, based on consumption for 1900— From household commodities ... | 76,674 |
| „ sugar at £3 per ton ... | 26,181 |
| | 102,855 |

Revenue on above commodities under-estimated by Treasurer 24,387
If any one of these articles was admitted into Western Australia free of duty by the Minister for Defence when he was at the disposal of the Government of that State, and give him every credit for his action. If any one of these articles is of almost equal consumption in the homes of the people. In 1900 their value amounted in aggregate to £197,216. The Treasurer's estimate is that the revenue from

the duties on them will be £53,134, and that sum is to be raised by taxing a small population of 191,000 in respect of articles of household use. I have applied the Federal Tariff to the consumption of these commodities during 1900, and I say that the true revenue which is to be expected from them if the consumption continues as it was during 1900, is £76,674 per annum. That is not what the people of Western Australia expected when they made sacrifices for federation. As I have stated already, the tables compiled show the value of these commodities to be £197,216, and I have added to that amount, although I do not know whether I am right in doing so, the value of 8,727 tons of sugar imported into Western Australia, free of duty in 1900, but now taxed by the Commonwealth, at £128,889. That gives a total value of £326,105 in respect of goods hitherto imported free into Western Australia, but now taxed. These are all new duties on goods consumed in every little home, in every hamlet and village and town in Western Australia, and, according to the Treasurer's own estimates £78,468 is to be raised in this way. That is a nice tax to be placed upon 191,000 people. Yet we are told that this Tariff has reduced taxation in Western Australia to £1 11s. 7d. per head. Is this Federal finance? I think that it looks more like "Federal Bank" finance. I am not referring to any honorable member of this House, but we cannot fail to remember the statements which were published in 1893, when people were robbed by unconvicted thieves who are still at large, and who paid a farthing in the pound.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. That matter has nothing to do with the question before the chair.

Mr. MAHON.—I bow at once to your ruling, Mr. Speaker, but I think my remark can be connected with the question before the chair. I wished to show that this sort of statement is on a par with the statements which deluded the people in 1893, and led to their being robbed of the hard-earned money which they had placed in the banks. That is an argument in support of my contention that those who compile these statements should be careful to place accurate figures before us. However, I do not wish to pursue the matter further. Here is a list of British and foreign commodities, used in mining and other industries, which hitherto have been admitted free into

Western Australia, but are taxed now by the Commonwealth Government. If I have made any mistake in regard to these items, which I have taken from the Tariff, Ministers will be able to explain them—

COMMODITIES USED IN MINING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES HITHERTO FREE IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA BUT NOW TAXED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (ALL BRITISH AND FOREIGN PRODUCTS).

| Commodity. | Value of Imports in 1900. | Revenue— | |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | Treasurer's Estimate. | Estimate based on 1900 Consumption. |
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Gelatine, blasting | 18,385 | | |
| „ dynamite | 23,798 | | |
| Dynamite ... | 350 | 5,626 | 13,899 |
| Gelignite ... | 86,479 | | |
| Powder, blasting* | 7,181 | | |
| Rackarock ... | 804 | | |
| Fuse ... | 9,193 | 83 | 919 |
| Coke ... | 10,093 | not given | 1,246 |
| Belting, machinery | 12,562 | 400 | 1,884 |
| Oils, mineral, n.o.e.† | 18,979 | 2,625 | 2,704 |
| Wire Rope ... | 11,187 | not given | 2,237 |
| Steel‡... .. | 316,600 | ... | 63,320 |
| Lead, sheet, pig, scrap, and piping | 5,482 | not given | 710 |
| Iron—§ | | | |
| Bar and rod ... | 24,440 | | |
| Galvd., plain sheet | 121,345 | | |
| Hoop ... | 875 | not given | 15,883 |
| Pig ... | 8,596 | | |
| Plate ... | 1,060 | | |
| Sheet ... | 2,520 | | |
| Hose ... | 6,957 | 375 | 1,043 |
| Forges, anvils, &c. | 882 | not given | 132 |
| Iron and steel wire standards and staples for fencing | 19,894 | „ | 3,978 |
| Metals, n.e.i.¶ ... | 5,521 | 10,000 | 1,380 |
| Nails, tacks, bolts, rivets, spikes, and washers | 21,678 | 627 | 627¶ |
| Screws** ... | 2,785 | not given | 557 |
| Solder ... | ... | „ | 77 |
| Timber in short lengths | 2,582 | 6,418 | 852 |
| Paper for printing | 37,747 | 600 | 3,774 |
| Totals ... | 789,975 | 26,754 | 115,222 |

* Exemption: Blasting powder of which 20 per cent. passes through 8-inch sieve.

† Not otherwise enumerated.

‡ Exemption: Steel for band saws and knives, also for chisellers and other knives.

§ Duty to be imposed by proclamation at any time the Minister may elect.

¶ Not elsewhere included.

** Treasurer's estimate taken.

*** Screws for tables and music stools exempt.

Mahon.

SUMMARY.

The Totals are as follow :— £

| | |
|---|---------|
| Value of commodities imported free in 1900, but now taxed by the Commonwealth | 789,975 |
| Treasurer's estimated revenue therefrom | 26,754 |
| Estimated revenue based on consumption in 1900 | 115,222 |

I will admit that there is an exception in regard to certain classes of blasting powder. Coke, which is included in this list, is used in almost every mine. Wire rope is used also in every big mine, and is absolutely necessary for the protection of the lives of those who go down the shafts. The tax on galvanized iron is a scandalous one. Men going into the back country and in opening up the interior they must have some kind of hut in which to house themselves and their goods. Galvanized iron is the material used in all such buildings.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Galvanized iron was admitted free into Western Australia at one time, but a change was made, and a duty of £7 10s. per ton placed upon it.

Mr. MAHON.—I have endeavoured to identify the items appearing in the Treasurer's papers, but it is a very difficult matter to do so, as the Minister for Defence will find if he goes through them. I know there were certain kinds of galvanized iron that were admitted free into Western Australia prior to the composition of the Federal Tariff. Sheet iron, and galvanized plain iron are free. Last year 6,361 tons 10 cwt. of galvanized plain sheet iron were imported into Western Australia, representing a value of £121,345. The whole of that iron was admitted free of duty. But under this Tariff galvanized plain sheet iron, hoop iron, plate iron, pig iron, and sheet iron are taxed.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Pig iron is free of duty.

Mr. MAHON.—Then a mistake has been made in the Minister's "Comparative Tariff." All these figures are taken from the beautiful comparative Tariff which has been compiled by the Minister for Trade and Customs. Of course I can make an allowance for errors representing a few thousand pounds, and still the position will remain a very serious one. Hose, forges, anvils, iron and steel wire standards and staples for fencing—articles which are very much used in dry country—are all taxed although they were previously free under the Western Australian Tariff. Metals, nails, screws, solder, timber in short lengths,

and paper for printing are also taxed. Thus, the total value of the imports which are taxed for the first time is £789,975. These new duties upon mining and industrial appliances are estimated to yield a revenue, so far as the Minister for Trade and Customs has thought fit to enlighten us—because he will not inform honorable members how much cash he expects to extract from coke—of £26,754. But I calculate the amount at £115,222. I come now to the British and foreign commodities, upon which this beneficent Government, which was to do so much for Australia, has actually increased the duties. I heard the Minister for Defence say that the Tariff framed by his Government in Western Australia was a revenue tariff with incidental protection. I could never see any protection (except as regards foodstuffs) in the Western Australian tariff, because the duties were about 5 per cent. *ad valorem* all round.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; 20 per cent. *ad valorem* was the highest.

Mr. MAHON.—I am sorry that 20 per cent. *ad valorem* is not the highest duty under this Tariff. The right honorable gentleman did a lot for the people of Western Australia, but I regret to say that he has not been able to prevent the Federal Government from increasing the duties upon further commodities which are used in the bush. The Western Australian duty upon coffee roasted has been increased by 2d. a lb.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—What about the Queensland coffee?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Is it the swagman who sells roasted coffee?

Mr. MAHON.—The swagman uses preserved vegetables, anyhow. Yet this turdy democrat, the Minister for Trade and Customs, this rising star of Australian democracy, who, according to the gospel of a Sydney print, is the only man fitted to be Prime Minister of Australia, has increased the duty on preserved vegetables by 10 per cent. Formerly there was a duty in Western Australia of about 10 per cent. upon this item, but the Minister has increased it to 20 per cent. The right honorable and learned gentleman is thus going to collect as duty upon preserved vegetables from the men who go out into the bush to open up the country an additional sum of £1,236. Then I come to jellies and preserves. Upon this item I

could not work out the difference between the duties imposed under this Tariff and the imposts which formerly prevailed in the State from which I come. Almost the whole of the jellies and preserves which enter Western Australia are British and foreign.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I will guarantee that South Australia sends some.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Hundreds of pounds worth go from Victoria.

Mr. MAHON.—It is immaterial where they come from; the point to be considered is where they are produced. According to the document which I have in my hand, they are British and foreign produce, and produce of other States is given separately. Of course the honorable member for Bourke may know more than is contained in this book. Possibly he does. Upon hops—out of which the poor man's beer is made—this great democrat, the Minister for Trade and Customs, has increased the duty by 2d. a lb. He will thus take an extra amount of £1,121 out of the pockets of the poor man. The right honorable gentleman has also increased the duty upon potted meat by 5 per cent., upon extract of meat by 5 per cent., and upon preserved meat by 1½d. a lb. Thus another £1,000 is to be taken out of the pockets of the men who go out in the bush to develop the country. Then there is the item of milk.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I suppose that they take their milk with potted meat?

Mr. MAHON.—The Minister makes merry about this milk question. But he should not sneer at the man who opens up the country.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not, and well he knows it.

Mr. MAHON.—It sounded a little like it. I know that the Minister would not do him any intentional damage, except to help the factory at Footscray or to assist the Richmond bootmakers or the Collingwood hat-makers. The right honorable and learned gentleman has increased the duty upon preserved milk, which was previously 15 per cent., in Western Australia by about 18 per cent. The unfortunate people in the bush will therefore have to pay, on the assumption that they use as much condensed milk this year as they did in 1900, an additional £12,300.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely Western Australia can condense its own milk?

Mr. MAHON. — Does the honorable member really know what he is talking about? I do not think that he does. Let me tell him that it is not possible to condense milk in Western Australia, because there is scarcely enough fresh milk there.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is possible to condense it here?

Mr. MAHON. — Will the honorable member allow me to assure him that there is no milk condensed in Australia that is capable of withstanding the Western Australia summer climate. That is an established fact. The honorable member may be an authority upon hats, but I have a circular here from men who know more about this milk question than does he.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Are they importers?

Mr. MAHON.—Undoubtedly. They are importers of Nestle's milk. The climate of Western Australia is very hot in the summer.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The condensed milk will stand the climate of New South Wales and Queensland.

Mr. MAHON.—These gentlemen, who have a very large business in Fremantle, stake their reputation on this statement—

Owing to the high temperature of the climate, the want of grazing country, and absence of rainfall in our most thickly-populated districts, condensed sweetened milk, as an article of diet, is an absolute necessity. We refer to sweetened milk more particularly, because the consumption of unsweetened milk, or, concentrated milk or cream is comparatively small, and does not equal a sixth part of the total quantity used in the State. The reason is that sugar being a preservative, sweetened milk will remain of good quality in the opened tin for a week or fortnight, while unsweetened or concentrated milk must be used at once. Condensed sweetened milk has never been successfully manufactured in Australia to stand a hot climate.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not correct.

Mr. HARPER.—It is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. MAHON.—Of course the honorable member for Mernda may be an authority.

Mr. HARPER.—I am, and I shall convince the honorable member that I am correct.

Mr. MAHON.—I would like the honorable member to go into the interior of Western Australia for a week or two, and use this milk in a tent, when the heat is about 165 degrees outside and about 120 degrees inside. If the milk will keep I should say that the industry is a very good one, and ought to be able to get on without any Tariff help. With the 15 per cent. duty

already in Western Australia, why does it want an extra duty of 18 per cent? Let it be remembered that this tax will fall upon a small population of men who are taxed up to the hilt, and are living under very hard conditions. Why should the Government want to take £12,300 extra from them? Taking the 15 per cent. duty in Western Australia now, and the 25 per cent. for the cost of importing the foreign article, is not 40 per cent. enough for the colonial manufacturers of condensed milk? If it is not, I think this industry is an exotic one. Evidently this sturdy democrat does not want the people to have carpets; he taxes carpets and floorcloths, and even hats and caps. He also taxes kerosene, and then he proceeds to increase the duty on lamps and lampware. A 20 per cent. increase on machinery is a nice tax to impose. The duty on iron tanks is so fixed up that I cannot find out what the increase is *ad valorem*. Again, he will not allow us to have pure water, for he imposes a tax on filters. Cement, too, is taxed, and even disinfectants, so that the Tariff even assails the public health. And coming down to the household, we find a fresh tax levied on matches and vests. We have a total increased impost of £76,136—worthy effort of the great democrat, the rising star of Australia! I now come to boots and shoes; but I shall not weary the House with long details. In 1900 Western Australia imported £9,343 worth of boots and shoes of British and foreign make, and £5,189 worth of Australian make. Under the increased duties of the Federal Tariff, the British and foreign imports of boots and shoes will yield £19,233. Where is that increase of £10,000 per annum going? Is it to go into the pockets of the eastern manufacturers? Is that what this sturdy democrat is going to do for Footscray, Collingwood, and Richmond? The people of Western Australia are to be penalised on their boots and shoes to the extent of £10,000 in order that things may hum in Collingwood.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Are there no boot factories in Western Australia?

Mr. MAHON.—I can get the production. The Treasurer's estimate of total revenue from imported boots shows what he means to give local manufacturers. Instead of £19,233, he expects to get only £4,500. Where is the £14,733 to go? Or is it that the Tariff will reduce the purchasing power of the people to the extent that

v will have to go bare-footed? We are told that the tax on mining machinery is a small matter, since it can be manufactured here. I have the testimony of a gentleman known to the Minister for Defence as one of the first men in the mining world of Western Australia. He is a member of

Legislative Assembly, and occupies absolutely the first position in the State. What does Mr. Morgans say? He objects, of course, to the tax on mining machinery, but he says—

The erection of machinery is a thing that has to be done only once, but the purchasing of stores must go on continuously.

Then, on the point which the honorable and learned member for Bendigo brought up the other night, that this mining machinery could be manufactured in Australia, and that the people in Western Australia would not have to pay any more for it, let us hear what Mr. Morgans, who has had practical experience, says—

It will be argued by some people who believe in the principles of protection that the manufacturers of machinery in the eastern States will be able to supply all the needs of Western Australia. Such a proposition I am prepared to question. But even supposing they are in a position to supply our requirements, will they, as astute men of business take advantage of the Tariff, and raise their prices to the limit to which the Tariff gives them protection? I think we can show that they will do this. This afternoon was shown a telegram from a firm of manufacturers in the eastern States who had quoted certain mining machinery to be supplied to a Western Australian company. The telegram announced that the former quotation had been cancelled, and that the manufacturers could supply the machinery only on the basis of an advance of 18 per cent. on the old quotation.

That the Tariff does increase the price. I might mention that the price first quoted was from 6 to 9 per cent. in advance of the cost of a similar article in England.

That is the testimony of a man who knows what he is talking about, and the Minister for Defence knows that there is no shrewder and able man in Western Australia than Mr. Morgans.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I know that when he was asked to give his figures, which somebody had quoted, he would not do it.

Mr. MAHON.—A good deal depends on how he asked him. I have no doubt that if the right honorable and learned gentleman had asked him for his figures he would have given them.

Mr. KINGSTON.—He was asked by the collector of Customs of Western Australia, and he could not give his figures.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—There is not much doubt about there being a heavy advance.

Mr. MAHON.—Of course, I would not accuse the Treasurer of having presented any deliberate misstatement in the tables laid before the House. But it is quite evident that somebody has taken advantage of a lower population in former years in Western Australia to increase the estimate of the total taxation per head of the people, and now uses a different population factor to show that the new taxation proposed will be very much less. As the Treasurer is now present I may briefly repeat what I said. I find that the right honorable gentleman has used the population at the end of 1899 to ascertain the taxation per head for 1900.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—For 1899—Yes.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable gentleman has used a population estimate of 170,000 roughly speaking, instead of 180,000, and by that means he has increased the figures representing the taxation per head of the people by several shillings. On the other hand when he comes to estimate the taxation per head under the Federal Tariff the right honorable gentleman uses a different population factor altogether.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is right.

Mr. MAHON.—Surely the sacred cause of protection does not depend upon cooked accounts? Surely protection is not dependent for its success upon deluding the House by statements compiled in that fashion? There is no necessity at this stage to further dwell on the injustice which this Tariff will effect. But I do say most emphatically that every honorable member who desires fair play for the great natural industries of the Commonwealth, by which alone their stability and permanence can be maintained, will vote for this motion.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume—Minister for Home Affairs).—I did not intend to have taken part in this debate. I have been sitting quietly here for a very long time listening to the numerous speeches that have been made, and hoping to derive some information I was not already in possession of. I should not have arisen at this late stage in the debate had it not been for deliberate and determined misrepresentation by honorable members opposite in reference to myself, and had it not been also for the statements which have been made by the

leader of the Opposition regarding myself. Having been in opposition to the right honorable gentleman for so many years, I am not much surprised at anything he says; and the public, when they know him as well as I do, and most of them do in New South Wales, will not pay much heed to the assertions he makes.

Mr. WILKS.—Yet 40,000 went to hear him the other night.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — Make it 100,000 at once. I would go for 200,000 if I were the honorable member, as he would then be certain that he would not be under the mark. The right honorable gentleman and honorable members opposite have referred to an assertion which was circulated that I said that the Federal Government would bring in a Tariff of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. In the first place, I never said anything of the kind. What I did say—and it was not said in a public place, but in a private room while I was chatting with some friends of mine—was that setting aside narcotics and stimulants, and putting them in a special list, as we all know that they are dutiable articles which will stand, and always have to stand a very heavy duty; and allowing no free list, a Tariff averaging, if reduced to *ad valorem*, from 10 per cent. to 16 per cent.—not 15 per cent.—would be all that would be required. That is very different from the statement that a Tariff of 15 per cent. was going to be brought in and placed on the statute-book by the Federal Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman was not reported in that way.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Perhaps I was not. I did not follow exactly what the report was. It was the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* that reported me, and it does not generally report what I say.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is the best friend the honorable member ever had.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has been a good friend to me because he has always been opposed to me. I have taken a little trouble to analyze the position we are in now regarding this Tariff. It is estimated that the total value of taxable imports—including the Inter-State imports—would be between £63,000,000 and £64,000,000. In the first place, £29,000,000 of that is lost altogether to taxation.

Mr. POYNTON.—How does the honorable gentleman account for that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — I say that £29,000,000 of that is lost altogether in consequence of our not charging Inter-State duties. There is a little over £2,000,000 lost for specie and Government stores, and there is a free list of over £6,000,000. The increased internal production is set down at £5,000,000; and that is an estimate, I think, which is generally agreed to. That brings the total of taxable imports down to £21,000,000.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—I wonder the honorable gentleman did not bring it down to £10,000,000.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member is gifted in such a way that he could do anything of that magical kind. However, these figures can be followed, and can be upset, if it is possible to upset them. After taking the revenue from narcotics and stimulants, as given under the Tariff, we have a balance of Customs revenue to find, as the Treasurer has stated, of £4,300,000, and if we do not allow for a free list, it would take just about 17 per cent. upon the balance of taxable articles to produce this sum of 4,300,000. Now, I want to know how far I was out in the statement I made, and what is the difference between that statement and the Tariff submitted by the Government?

Mr. THOMSON.—It is a good deal out. The statement was 10 per cent. to 16 per cent.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Well, it is 1 per cent. out—that is, 1 per cent. above the 16 per cent. named. I said that it would range somewhere between 10 per cent. and 16 per cent. As I say now, that statement was privately made in an ordinary conversation, and I had made no very detailed calculation at the time. So much for the charges hurled at me of not adhering to the statements I made to my constituents when seeking election. When certain of my constituents asked me whether I had made the statement, I wrote to them on the subject, and they have my letters now in which I informed them that I made the statement as I have made it here. Those letters can be produced, and I simply mention this because I think it manifestly unfair that such assertions should be made. From the speech delivered by the honorable member who has just resumed his seat, one would imagine that those who voted for the federation of the Australian States thought that we should

eve ourselves of all the customs taxes that existed in the past, and that we would be in the splendid position of being able to carry on the government of the Commonwealth without any taxation at all, or with taxation of very little consequence. Honorable members must be reasonable—believe that a few of them have common sense. It is not to be supposed that, in view of the States requiring as much as they have had in the past, we could have provided for much less revenue. In dealing with the Tariff, the greatest trouble the Ministry had was to insure that the various States should not be prejudiced, from a financial point of view. That was the understanding which was entered into as between the States and the Federal Government at the time the Commonwealth Bill was before the people. What was the object of the Senate? What was the object of giving the States power? What is the object of giving the States representation either in the Federal Government or in the Convention? Was it not to insure the stability of the States? Supposing the Government had brought down a Tariff which ignored the position of the various States? Would not honorable members on the Opposition side have been louder—if that were possible—than they are now in denouncing the Government? Would they not then have taken the part of the States, and desired to know how it was that some consideration had not been given to them? The Ministry, however, have done what they were called upon to do, and that was to see that there was as little risk as possible of financial trouble so far as the States were concerned.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member does not believe in this Tariff himself.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If I had an opportunity of constructing a Tariff free from the restrictions imposed by the Commonwealth Act, I should not frame a Tariff like this; but I have assisted in framing a Tariff which is a compromise, and which contains a very large number of free-trade revenue duties. It is these very duties that the free-traders are attacking. They have scarcely attacked one protectionist duty.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Does the Minister call the duty on starch a revenue duty?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member for South Australia, as a free-trader, has attacked the duties on rice and

on tea, and on many other articles which are purely free-trade revenue duties.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—The duty on starch is not a revenue duty—it will bring in only £3,000 now, as against £15,000 last year.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is the revenue duties which have formed the principal subject of attack on the part of honorable members on the opposition benches, and I should like to know whether, if they had the opportunity of framing a Tariff, they would impose protectionist duties, or free-trade revenue duties such as are included in this Tariff. How would the members of the Opposition raise the revenue necessary, if they did not impose such duties as are included in the Tariff.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the Minister say that this is the best Tariff that could be framed under the circumstances?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I believe this Tariff is a fair compromise. I believe it will preserve the State finances as well as they can be preserved. But I do not say—and I do not think any member of the Ministry will say—that this is an ideal protectionist Tariff. I think it is ridiculous to imagine anything of the kind. It is a compromise Tariff, with the object to which I referred just now. I would not put any of these revenue duties on if I had my way and could act free from the restrictions of the Commonwealth Act. I said all through the electoral campaign that the Tariff would not be a free-trade Tariff, or a protectionist Tariff, but that it would have to be a compromise, and it is a compromise.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the Ministry stick to it in committee?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not like the honorable member, at one time a protectionist and at another time a free-trader.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Like the Minister's leader.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have been a protectionist all my political life. But the honorable member twists about just as it suits him.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Like the Minister's leader.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Honorable members opposite, after attacking the free-trade revenue duties, have complained of the Tariff as being too high, and as being a Victorian Tariff. I have just made a few comparisons between items in the Victorian Tariff and the Federal Tariff, and

I am rather surprised that those honorable members who have made statements against the Tariff have not taken the trouble to analyze the duties.

Mr. McCAY.—They could not have made the statements if they had made the comparisons.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The following table shows some of the items on which duties are reduced under the Federal Tariff as compared with the Victorian Tariff:—

COMPARISON OF VARIOUS ARTICLES—FEDERAL AND VICTORIAN TARIFFS.

| Article. | Federal Tariff. | Comparison with Victorian Tariff. |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | Federal, per cent. less. |
| Arrowroot - - | 1d. per lb. | 50 |
| Candles (lard) - - | 1½d. " | 25 |
| " (refined) - - | 1½d. " | 25 |
| Currants - - | 2d. " | 33½ |
| Grain or pulse, n.e.i. | 1s. 6d. per cental | 25 |
| Oatmeal - - | 8s. 4d. " | 7½ |
| Rolled oats - - | 8s. 4d. " | 7½ |
| Maizena - - | 1d. per lb. | 50 |
| Cornflour - - | 1d. " | 50 |
| Bran - - | 1s. per cental | 80 |
| Pollard - - | 1s. " | 80 |
| Sharps - - | 1s. " | 80 |
| Jams - - | 2d. per lb. | 33½ |
| Jellies - - | 2d. " | 33½ |
| Hops - - | 6d. " | 25 |
| Linseed meal - - | 4s. per cental | 20 |
| Macaroni - - | 1d. per lb. | 50 |
| Vermicelli - - | 1d. " | 50 |
| Preserved milk - - | 1½d. " | 25 |
| Peel preserved in brine | 1d. " | 66½ |
| Soap, n.e.i. - - | 1d. per lb. | 50 |
| Apparel, woollen, silk— —not piece goods | 25 per cent. | 10 |
| Apparel—not woollen, silk, or piece goods | 20 per cent. | 15 |
| Pastes for leather - - | 20 per cent. | 5 |
| Polishes - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Stains and varnishes for leather | 20 " | 5 |
| Paints—Dry white lead | 1s. per cwt. | 50 |
| Patent driers and putty | | |
| Bricks, glazed and fire, fire lumps | 15 per cent. | 5 |
| Fire clay manufac- tures | | |
| Asphalt and roofing files | 20 per cent. | 10 |
| Glass—bent, bevelled, heraldic, sand- blasted, enamelled, embossed, etched, silvered, cut - - | 2d. per lb. | 66 |
| Gelatine sheet - - | 1s. per cwt. | 50 |
| Soda crystals - - | 1s. per cwt. | 50 |

COMPARISON OF VARIOUS ARTICLES.—
FEDERAL AND VICTORIAN TARIFFS.—continued.

| Article. | Federal Tariff. | Comparison with Victorian Tariff. |
|--|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | Federal, per cent. less. |
| Picture frames - - | 20 per cent. | 5 to 15 |
| Mirrors - - | 20 " | 10 |
| Wicker, cane, bam- boo, or wood articles, n.e.i. | 20 " | 5 to 25 |
| Casks and shooks - - | 20 " | 15 |
| Timber, bent, n.e.i. | 20 " | 5 |
| Axe handles - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Leather manufac- tures (not elsewhere included) | 20 " | 10 |
| Leather cut into shapes | 20 per cent. | 10 |
| Harness, razor strops, and whips | 3d. per lb. | 33½ |
| Paper manufactures for advertising | 7s. 6d. per cwt. | 25 |
| Paper bags - - | 25 per cent. | 10 |
| Stationery, manufac- tured advertise- ments, &c. | 25 per cent. | 10 |
| Stationery—blotters, billheads, &c. | 25 per cent. | 10 |
| Rugging - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Carriage mats - - | 20 " | 10 |
| Cosies and cushions - - | 20 " | 10 |
| Frillings, ruffings, pleatings, ruckings | 20 " | 5 |
| Hats and caps, sewn | 3s. per doz. | 62½ |
| Hats, caps, and bon- nets, n.e.i. | 20 per cent. | 5 to 15 |
| Piece goods, woollen | 20 " | 5 |
| Feather trimmings - - | 15 " | 10 |
| Ammunition (shot, bullets, and slugs) | 7s. 6d. per cwt. | 20 |
| Lamps, n.e.i. - - | 20 per cent. | 5 to 10 |
| Lampware, n.e.i. - - | 20 " | 5 to 10 |
| Mangles - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Clothes-wringers - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Washing machines - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Horse gears - - | 15 " | 10 |
| Weighbridges - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Cash registers and computing machines | 20 " | 5 |
| Blacking for leather | 20 " | 5 |
| Dressing for leather | 20 " | 5 |
| Oils for leather - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Inks for leather - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Books:—Account, cheque, copying, drawing, &c. | 25 " | 10 |
| Net and nettings - - | 20 " | 5 |
| Bags, baskets, boxes, cases or trunks, &c. | 20 " | 5 to 25 |

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Now give us the increases.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There are very few increases, except in the form of free-trade revenue duties. There are, from a

rotectionists' point of view, no increases, but there are increases where raw materials are not taxed under a truer protectionist tariff than this is.

Mr. WILKS.—What about the increases upon the New South Wales Tariff?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Of course, there are large increases upon the New South Wales Tariff, because New South Wales is one of the freest Tariffs in the world. But is it to be supposed that New South Wales is to dominate the whole of the Australian States where industries have been started and are now in existence? Honorable members in opposition accused the Prime Minister of belying the words he delivered at Maitland, but I say that this Tariff is truly what was indicated by the Prime Minister when he spoke at Maitland.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What does Mr. Thompson—Mr. Barton's chairman—say?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We all know Dick Thompson, and know that, like some of my friends opposite, he is a very nice fellow. I have known him for a great many years, and I like him, but I do not place very much reliance on his opinion as to the Tariff or any other matter, except law.

Mr. THOMSON.—The revenue that is to be raised is nearly a million more than was stated at Maitland.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not a million more, but it is a larger amount than was then stated. At that particular time we did not know exactly what the requirements would be. Is it to be supposed that the exact amount could be stated by the Prime Minister before he had the report of the Minister for Trade and Customs—before he had the figures given to him? Is it to be supposed that he could definitely fix what the Tariff would be?

Mr. THOMSON.—He had those.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has no right to make a statement of that kind. It is only very lately that the Prime Minister had the figures supplied him by the Minister for Trade and Customs.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Prime Minister in his speech at Maitland gave the revenue up to the end of last year.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the honorable member had any experience of Cabinet work and of getting the foundation for framing a Tariff, he would know that it is not until the minutest details of every kind

are at hand, that it can be said how much revenue will be required.

Mr. FISHER.—And even then it is not known.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Just so. But supposing the Prime Minister did make a statement that less would be required, we find now that the Tariff, higher as the amount is, is not sufficient for the needs of Western Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania. When the Commonwealth Bill was submitted to the referendum, I took an early opportunity of making a speech, in which I expressed my opinion as to the amount of revenue that would be required, and on that occasion I said that there would have to be about £9,000,000.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What did the Prime Minister say?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Never mind what the Prime Minister said; I can answer for myself in this. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in a leader on that speech, said—

What was in Sir William Lyne's mind—and as a Minister he is in the confidence of the Federal Cabinet—was clear enough, when he told his hearers, at Adelong, that under a free-trade Tariff they could only raise £5,000,000, while it would be necessary to raise £8,500,000 or £9,000,000 every year.

I find now that that leader was on a speech which I delivered during my election campaign. That is another proof my constituents knew what my opinion of the Tariff requirements was. It is a fact, however, that at a meeting in the New Masonic Hall, Sydney, in the first speech I made in reference to the Commonwealth Bill, I stated that £9,000,000 would be required. Events have borne out that statement, and even with £9,000,000 we have not sufficient to keep certain of the States in a proper financial position. If we are to throw these States on one side, and let them drift with all their financial troubles on their shoulders—if the Federal Parliament take the customs and excise as they are empowered to do under the Constitution—then we can do with a lower Tariff. But we cannot allow these States to drift, unless we belie what has been said to the people of Australia.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Does the honorable gentleman not think that the anti-Billites should have told the people that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member should not drag in side issues. He knows there were certain provisions of the

Commonwealth Bill in which I did not believe, and I fought the measure at the risk, perhaps, of my political extinction. Now that the Bill is law, and we are an accomplished Australian federation, it is my duty, and the duty not only of every one in the Federal Parliament, but every one who wishes well for the future of this country, to sink past differences, and do the best they can for the Commonwealth as a whole. No one can accuse me of not endeavouring to maintain New South Wales in a proper position. When I was in political life in New South Wales, and while I was Premier, I did what I conceived to be my duty to that State; but now that we are a Federal Parliament, it is our duty to treat every State alike. Indeed, if it were possible, it is our duty to scarcely know one State from another, should that course be for the common good. I am afraid, however, that honorable members on the opposition benches have been trying to keep up the State as against the federal feeling. As a Federal Parliament, if we are true to our oath, we must help the Government and the Commonwealth to move along as swiftly, strongly, and as fairly as possible. I do not intend to deal with many figures, because of these we have had a deluge—an avalanche. I desire, however, to say one or two words in reference to the leader of the Opposition. I did not expect that right honorable gentleman to be present to-night, because I know from my experience of him of old that when anyone is replying to statements of his, he is generally absent. I regret his absence.

Mr. WILKS.—It is the other way round.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—When I have had to reply to the leader of the Opposition in the New South Wales Parliament, I have known him quietly get up and walk out, refusing to “take his gruel,” as he should. But the public inconsistencies of the right honorable and learned member can scarcely go further than they have now gone. I notice from statements in the press that the right honorable and learned member delivered a speech in Sydney the night before last to a large audience, and then practically told the people of New South Wales, and especially of Sydney, that they were going to be ruined—that the Tariff was going to destroy Sydney and the people of that State. I was in Sydney on Monday morning, and I saw in the *Sydney Morning Herald* a report of a press interview with

the right honorable gentleman. Amongst other things, he said—

In Victoria, the feeling amongst the housewives is very strong against the Tariff. It is also very strong amongst the workmen, because wages and salaries in most industries over there are very low indeed. The federation, which the workers of Victoria looked forward to as the beginning of a new era of prosperity, has grievously disappointed them. Instead of Victoria overrunning the markets of Australia, as they expected, the result has been the very opposite. The people of Melbourne are trembling at the prospect of the free competition of Sydney, hence the large firms in Melbourne and Adelaide are establishing branch factories in Sydney. And it is becoming too evident to Melbourne people that the effect of federation will be to transfer a large portion of their manufacturing pre-eminence to the mother colony, thus making things worse than ever in Victoria.

That report appeared in the newspapers on Monday morning, and on Monday night the right honorable gentleman delivered a speech at a public meeting, telling the people of New South Wales that under the Tariff they would be absolutely “wiped out” of existence. I do not think any one could go further in inconsistency than is shown in the instance I have cited.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Is the honorable gentleman going to quote from the speech of the leader of the Opposition?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall quote some of the speech presently. The horror with which the leader of the Opposition, and others to whom I shall refer regard the Tariff, is extraordinary as will be realized, when I read two or three extracts from speeches made by those gentlemen, during the last two years or two years and a half. The leader of the Opposition, speaking at Goulburn on the 13th of May of this year, said—

We do not need the committee, in order to know that the Customs Tariff of this Federation must be enormously higher than any Tariff needed to place us in the same position as we would be in before federation.

He also said on the 30th May, 1898—

I am bound in honesty to tell you that this union will involve, owing to the absolute financial necessities of the other colonies, a larger burden of taxation through the Custom-house than has ever been known in the world.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—How does the honorable gentleman know that the leader of the Opposition said that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is reported in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. On the 16th January, of this year, speaking at

ceston, the right honorable member

was essential in framing the fiscal policy to order the other States, and so far as Commonwealth politics is concerned, I am not pledged to free-trade Tariff.

is what he said of the financial position when he was addressing an audience of the smaller States. In the Parliament of New South Wales—I heard this reference myself, and I take the quotation from *Hansard*—he said—

“We all know that whatever Government is in or there must be a high Customs Tariff. I only admit that. If I stood up here before the House and said anything else I should simply be lying against my own knowledge.”

could like to know how often the right honorable member has sinned against his knowledge!

“I admit it, and give it to every one for what it is worth, that there must be a high Customs Tariff under federation, and that it is one of the offices that some of us are prepared to make under federation.”

Mr. THOMSON.—A high total.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Oh, no! that I cannot do at all. Now, sir, I should like to quote another honorable member who is opposite to me. When I first knew that he was a protectionist, and made some very vigorous, and, to my thinking, pleasing speeches, in favour of protection. I am not sure that he did not to some extent induce me to be a more ardent protectionist than I otherwise should have been.

Mr. ISAACS.—Who is this?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—He is sitting opposite to me at this moment. On one occasion, in 1887, just after he had returned from England, he was so imbued with what he had seen of the low wages and the pauperism of the people under free-trade, that he wrote a letter in which these statements appear—

“I have seen with my own eyes men, with pretty constant work, die like rats from sheer starvation, and all because of the decline of the export trade, and the increase of the imported article. Let me give one more fact to show what is transpiring every day in free-trade England.”

When he goes on to say—

“We sell at the lowest analysis our flesh and blood, our independence, our credit, and persistence in this time of banter will lead to ruinous results. The *Herald* writer alludes to “the generosity,” “loss of independence,” of the English workman. Here is a tacit admission of the baneful effects of the fiscal policy upon the welfare of the nation. There is a loss of independence, and why? The soul of the worker is ground

completely out of him by the competition to which he is subjected.

It was the honorable member for Parramatta, Mr. Joseph Cook, who wrote that! He said also at Lithgow, on the 14th of May, 1898—

“Mr. Coghlan’s figures would mean probably a Tariff of 25 per cent., and then New South Wales would have to find £800,000 or £900,000 from direct taxation. He would not object to this heavy taxation if it was guaranteed that the large colonies would have a fair voice in the distribution.”

In June, 1899, he said—

“A Tariff similar to South Australia was sufficient. He hoped the Treasurer would not impose enormous taxation to finance the small States.”

These are three extracts from speeches delivered by the honorable member opposite, in reference to the policy of protection. He said that he would be satisfied with a tariff of 25 per cent. The Tariff of the Government is not 25 per cent. on an average.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is the honorable member quoting from?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—From the Lithgow paper.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is the honorable gentleman’s point? That is my position now.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then, does the honorable member say that he would vote for a 25 per cent. Tariff?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then what is the honorable member’s position?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is described in the last part of the quotation.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—He has no position.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We say that this Tariff is too high.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member distinctly said that a 25 per cent. Tariff would be needed. Now, sir, I will refer to another honorable member, who, I am sorry to say, is not present to-night. Amongst other things, he said, referring to the Tariff—

“Did they know that there were five countries outside New South Wales in which there was a distinct tendency to protective principles, and that there had been no diminution of that feeling during the last few years? Was it likely that the policy of those colonies was going to change all in a moment, and that the people of this colony were going to retain absolute free-trade as they had it now, when they joined hand in hand, their 1,250,000 of people, more or less, in a mass community representing 3,500,000? Those men who now denounced federation on the free-trade basis, and who, at the same time, said

that this Constitution denied the rights of the majority, were talking the most absolute and sheerest nonsense.

The same honorable member said—

There should be a uniform Tariff instead of a local Tariff. The Federal Parliament would have to bring out a Tariff to meet the whole of the condition of the various colonies.

Again he said—

He believed the ultimate fiscal policy of the Federal Government would be intercolonial free-trade and protection against the outside world.

Those quotations are from speeches by the honorable member for Wentworth, Sir William McMillan! He said further in 1897—

Instead of a local Tariff the Federal Parliament will have to bring out a Tariff to meet the whole of the conditions of the various colonies.—A Voice: Protection.—Mr. McMILLAN.—Incidentally so. . . . No Tariff can be framed to meet the immediate exigencies without being more or less protective in its incidence.

Those statements were made at different times.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We will quote the Prime Minister on the honorable gentleman now speaking, directly!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I can stand all that. I have not done with this honorable member yet. He said, speaking on the Tariff on the 19th of January of this year—

I think Mr. Barton's speech was one of the ablest and most comprehensive that he has ever delivered. On all the questions touched upon, except the fiscal question, nothing could be clearer or more explicit, and even on the fiscal question, from his point of view, he probably said as much as can be said until the details of the Tariff are ready for publication. He made it clear that the chief object was revenue.

I say that this Tariff in its object is revenue-producing.

Mr. WILKS.—The Minister for Trade and Customs says it is otherwise.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No doubt there is a strong protectionist incidence in the Tariff, but there is also a strong free-trade incidence in it. The part that has been attacked by honorable members is the free-trade—revenue part. The honorable member for Wentworth (Sir William McMillan) also said—

But he very candidly admitted that it would not be a Tariff purely on revenue lines; in fact, that it would be framed so as to disturb as little as possible the so-called vested interests of manufacturers living in a hitherto protected colony.

I think that the Tariff proves that we have gone as far as it is possible to go. In another speech he said—

It means that whether we like it or not we must create a federal Tariff protectionist in its character.

Mr. HARPER.—What is the date of that? Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The 12th March, of this year. On the 27th November last he said—

No Tariff can be framed to meet the immediate ends of the various States without being more or less protectionist.

Mr. THOMSON.—He did not approve of it.

Mr. MCCAY.—No; but he was prepared to accept it then, and he is not now.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The following extract is from a speech delivered by an honorable member, and reported in the *St. George's Advocate*, 16th July, 1898:—

He remembered when Sir Henry Parkes brought forward in the House the question of federation, and he also remembered having heard Mr. Reid deliver a scathing tirade against it. But by-and-by Mr. Reid advocated federation, not because he believed in it, but because he thought it was a good thing for him to take up. Mr. Reid was the best wind and weather watcher in the colony.

Now this colony had elected to the Convention ten men, who were as great, intellectually, as any other ten men the colony could find. They went into the Convention untrammelled, unfettered, by any condition. They helped to frame the freest, purest, and best Constitution the world had ever seen, and had helped to complete as sound and honorable a compact as could have been entered into by any number of States. That was Mr. Barton's view. Mr. Reid also said so. But how did Mr. Reid act afterwards? He spoke against the Bill, and then told the people he was going to vote for it. What was this compact the Premier at first admired and then afterwards condemned? It was a deed of partnership among a number of peoples, therefore, a transaction of compromise. Mr. Reid said at first it was a fair and honorable compromise, and afterwards declared it to be unfair. Why was he trying to block the Bill? Because he was not elected leader.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member to connect the passage which he has read with the question before the Chair, which is the fiscal and financial proposals of the Government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have read those remarks as a preliminary to certain statements with reference to the Tariff which have been made by the honorable and learned member for Parkes (Mr. Bruce Smith). On the 14th February of this year he stated, when speaking at Petersham—

Victoria had been running so many years on protective lines, and they could not now ask her to adopt direct taxation and do away with her Custom-houses. All Commonwealth revenue must of necessity come through the Customs.

Referring to the leader of the Opposition he made this remark—

They knew there was a musical instrument called the æolian harp, an instrument which they

n the window, and which played tunes according to the direction whence the wind played it. Although he had not yet applied it to one, he knew that they would "see it." It is the very best illustration that could be given of Mr. George Reid as a politician.

honorables and learned member said last night that he had not been supported by the Protectionist Union in Sydney; but when he was nominated for the Glebe electorate he was supported by that union, and he wrote the following acknowledgement—

I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 24th inst., in which you convey to me the resolution of our union to support me, as the selected candidate of the Federal Association of New South Wales, in the forthcoming political campaign. I desire to express my appreciation of the confidence your union has thus reposed in me.

It was his reply to a letter from the Protectionist Union conveying to him the following resolution:—

That as the success of the federal party under the leadership of Mr. Barton insures the realization of the hopes and aims of the protectionists of New South Wales, viz.—intercolonial free-trade protection against the outer world, this union pledges itself to support the candidate nominated by the Federal League to contest the Glebe electorate at the next general election.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He was a strong protectionist then, which the honorable member is not.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—On the 26th of July, 1898, the leader of the Opposition

told this audience that the Federal Tariff would produce £2 5s. 5d. per head of the population.

He made this statement in order to show that the right honorable and learned gentleman had a fairly good idea of what the taxation would be.

Mr. WILKS.—What is the Federal Tariff head of population?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It amounts to about £2 7s. per head. Three years have passed since the leader of the Opposition said that it would take taxation amounting to £2 5s. 5d. per head of the population of the Commonwealth to keep these States as they were, and that that amount would have to be raised through the Customs.

Mr. WILKS.—On a population 200,000 more than at present.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The requirements are proportionately much heavier now than they were.

Mr. WILKS.—They have not increased in the same ratio.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; the ratio is still larger.

Mr. WILKS.—Owing to the action of the honorable member's Ministry.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Nothing of the kind. I have before me a copy of the New South Wales *Hansard*, containing a report of the speech made by the honorable and learned member for Wentworth when he attacked the right honorable the leader of the Opposition in the New South Wales Parliament. That report has been published in the press, and therefore it is unnecessary for me to read it. I have also a report of the reply to that speech by the leader of the Opposition. It deals with the attack made upon him on 30th June, in the most unmeasured terms, by the honorable and learned member for Wentworth. In making that attack upon the leader of the Opposition, the honorable member used language which at the time I thought to be extreme, but which was substantiated subsequently. The leader of the Opposition, as reported by the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 4th August, 1896, said—

The historian will easily lay bare the petty feelings which have impelled some of the foremost leaders upon our side to endeavour to destroy their party. The last has shot his bolt. As leader of the party and head of the Government, I feel infinitely relieved. Most of my bitterest trials have been manufactured for me by pretended friends, and now that the last of the doubtful band has thrown his mask aside and avowed his hostility, my fear of a fatal thrust from behind, or in the flank, has disappeared. I spoke so late on Thursday that my reply could not be full.

I will now make a more leisurely exposure of the deliberate unfairness of the honorable member for Burwood, chiefly from his own utterances.

and so on.

Mr. WILKS.—That was in 1895.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That attack was made upon the leader of the Opposition, then Premier of New South Wales, in regard to the financial proposals which he had placed before the Parliament of that State. The leader of the Opposition has stated that he would be able to carry on the Federal Government with a Tariff considerably below that submitted by the Ministry. I am going to show that if he attempts to do anything of the kind, the result will be a repetition of that which took place in regard to the finances of New South Wales. For years the revenue under the free-trade policy has not been sufficient to pay the interest on the national debt. The leader of the

Opposition knows well that that is the case. When the right honorable and learned gentleman commences to make promises such as he made previously in regard to the finances of New South Wales, he is trying to mislead this House. What was the result of that speech? It is shown in the report of the Finance Commission.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I rise to a point of order. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that on at least half-a-dozen occasions you have prevented honorable members on this side of the House reading from the same report. Is it in order now for the Minister for Home Affairs to read an extract from it which has no relevancy to the question before the Chair?

Mr. SPEAKER. — I will not permit reference to be made to any matter which cannot be closely associated with the financial and fiscal proposals of the Government. If I find that the honorable the Minister goes beyond that rule I shall certainly call him to order.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think I will go beyond it. I am simply quoting from the report to show that the honorable member for Wentworth referred to this particular matter in the speech made by him in the New South Wales Parliament. I want to show that the leader of the Opposition stated that he had a surplus for each of the three years following; but that the finance commission stated most emphatically that that was incorrect.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable the Minister is decidedly going beyond what I have permitted other members to refer to, and I cannot allow it. It would be grossly unfair to other honorable members whom I have checked.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Do I understand you to say, Mr. Speaker, that you will prevent me from showing that this is an attempt on the part of the leader of the Opposition to repeat what took place under his Government in New South Wales, and that the finance commission stated that for the three years to which I have referred there was a deficiency of over £1,000,000?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable the Minister must see that it would be unfair to allow him to take up grounds which I have refused to permit other members to take up.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I was not aware, Mr. Speaker, that you had refused to permit this report to be referred to. I look upon it as an extremely necessary document,

which cannot very well be passed over in view of what took place in New South Wales when the leader of the Opposition in this House was at the head of the Government of that State. I have quoted really all that I desire to put before the House, but surely I can refer to it in reply to the question raised as to the finances of New South Wales. The statement has been made that New South Wales had plenty of revenue. This document proves that there was a deficiency of over £1,000,000 of money during the three years to which I have alluded. The speech made by the honorable member for Wentworth, to which I have referred, indicated beforehand what was coming, and it was clinched and proved by the report of the finance commission.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable the Minister would be quite in order in following a line which was intended to prove that owing to free-trade or protection, or owing to any principle included in a policy advocated or condemned, a certain result had accrued; but, unless the honorable member can show that, he will be out of order in attempting to deal with the report of the commission.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think I have shown that fairly well. I have listened to the lecture delivered by the honorable member for Coolgardie to the honorable member for Riverina, in which he accused that honorable member of failing to uphold New South Wales, as he ought to do as a representative of that State. Did he wish the honorable member for Riverina to state what was not the truth? Much as I support and have fought for New South Wales, I think I should belie my trust if in this debate I allowed statements to go forth which were absolutely incorrect. I hold in my hand a document which covers the period ranging from 1884 to 1893. It shows that during that period practically £5,265,364 of borrowed money was used in order to pay the interest on loans.

Mr. WILKS.—Prior to the institution of the free-trade policy.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; it was from 1884 to 1893. This document proves that the same state of affairs has continued year after year until the present time.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Who prepared that document?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is an extract from the official records of New South Wales.

r. JOSEPH COOK.—Another of Martin's s.

r WILLIAM LYNE.—It shows on its what it is. When under free-trade in South Wales we have had to borrow ey to pay the interest on our debts, I k it shows that free-trade does not lue a wholesome or a healthy state of gs. New South Wales in herself is ug. She is rich in minerals, she is rich und—certainly for her size she is the est of all the Australian States. If it not been for her store of natural wealth her vitality she would have gone down low before this. It is only because of her lity that she has been able to keep up er the weight placed upon her shoulders he fiscal policy in force in that State.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable nber mean to say that money has been rowed deliberately in order to pay rest on the loans of New South Wales?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I say that over 000,000 of borrowed money has been d for that purpose.

Mr. WILKS.—That was up to 1893.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That was up 1893. I have not had time to obtain remainder of the figures. This docu- nt shows that during the first three years which the present leader of the Opposi- held office he had to borrow £1,000,000 re.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is a monstrously orrect statement.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is absolutely rect. I want to see this condition of ngs altered. As a matter of fact New th Wales has not had a fair and legiti- te revenue in any one year. The 000,000 which is annually derived m land sales should have been expended er in carrying out the public works of t State or in reducing its public in- tedness. The New South Wales Govern- nts have sold £44,000,000 worth of land, ich money has gone to swell the revenue hat State instead of being devoted to er of the purposes which I have just icated. That is not a healthy or whole- ne state of things, and until the finances he mother State are placed in such a ition that she has a legitimate revenue h which to meet her true expenditure, a lthy condition of affairs will not be ablished.

Mr. WILKS.—The Minister knows very well that New South Wales cannot sell more than 200,000 acres annually.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I know that the State in question annually receives £2,000,000, partly from land sales and partly from rent. At the present time there is £11,000,000 owing to that State by the conditional purchasers. But I wish for a moment to direct attention to another matter. The leader of the Opposition and the honorable member who immediately pre- ceded me attacked the Tariff in reference to the duty which is placed upon iron. But the honorable member for Coolgardie forgot that there is no duty upon the class of iron to which he referred. A duty upon that class of iron can be imposed only by pro- clamation. We must have a bonus first, and then a duty.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why did the Govern- ment not have the pluck to put a duty upon it?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If we had had the "pluck," as the honorable member puts it, he would immediately have said that we had done what was wrong.

Mr. WILKS.—Does the Minister believe in the system of imposing duties by pro- clamation?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do. To my mind we should do everything that we can to establish industries in the Commonwealth. We have an abundance of coal and iron, and yet we do not produce one horse-shoe from our own iron ore.

Mr. WILKS.—If the Ministry believe in it, why did they not impose a straight-out protective duty?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—When I was assisting to frame the Dibbs Tariff, the Government put a duty of 10 per cent. upon raw iron. This duty was to take effect twelve months after the introduction of the Tariff. The step was taken in the hope of inducing a company to erect iron works before the expiration of the period mentioned. But at the end of that time the works had not been erected, and the 10 per cent. accordingly went on to the raw material, despite the fact that it was not manufactured in the State at all. The present Government wish to avoid a repetition of that experience. We therefore propose on this occasion to grant a bonus to encourage the development of the iron industry until it has been firmly established, and then by proclamation to impose a duty which will protect it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There was never a duty upon iron in New South Wales.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member is absolutely wrong. What I am stating is perfectly accurate, and the honorable member is mistaken. The leader of the Opposition has attacked the Government for putting a duty upon raw material in the shape of iron. Probably honorable members will be surprised when I tell them that the Government of which the right honorable and learned member was the head offered to pay a higher price for the manufacture of iron by 10s. to £1 per ton than has been offered by any other Government in New South Wales. In attempting to start iron works in that State, the right honorable and learned member offered to contract for the supply of 150,000 tons of steel rails. To this end he negotiated with Mr. Mitchell, who, I regret to say, has since died. The late Mr. Eddy, who at that time occupied the position of Railways Commissioner in New South Wales, wrote a minute to the effect that the right honorable and learned member was offering a great deal too much for the iron—more than it would cost. When I invited tenders for the supply of steel rails I offered to give the f.o.b. price with insurance added, and to take the price in America or England as the standard. But the right honorable and learned member, when attempting to enter into negotiations for the establishment of the iron industry in New South Wales, wrote—

As several overtures have been made to the Government with the above object in view, I have to state that the Government is prepared to encourage the venture in the following way:—

By giving the promoters a Government contract for 150,000 tons of steel rails, &c., manufactured in the colony from native ores, and deliverable at the rate of 15,000 tons a year; also, supply of all iron work required by the Government. The Government will be prepared to pay £6 a ton for the steel rails, with a range to £6 5s. if prices go up, and £5 15s. if they go down; the exact increase or reduction to be calculated each year upon average prices for that period.

That minute was written in 1898. The late Mr. Eddy then wrote a note saying that the present leader of the Opposition was offering too much, and the difference between the amount which Mr. Eddy said the rails would cost and that which Mr. Reid was offering, ranged from 10s. to 20s. per ton. Seeing that the right honorable and learned member was prepared to take this action in New South Wales, I ask whether

he is prepared now to stifle the iron industry in Australia?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Why does the right honorable and learned member attack the Government, not for having placed a duty upon iron, but for having made provision under which a duty can be levied after the payment of the bonus has ceased when there will be no increased cost in its manufacture, and when employment will be given to our own people? The position is absolutely inconsistent. The right honorable and learned member is the most extraordinary leader of a Government of whom I have ever had any knowledge. One cannot bind him down to anything. In the one instance it will be seen that he offered to give 10s. to £1 per ton more than I offered to give, and yet he now says that the Government have no right to make any provision for the encouragement or protection of the iron industry. I think we have made provision for dealing with that industry in a manner more equitable than that which he proposed. I notice that in one of his recent speeches he says it is not the foreign exporter who pays the duties which are imposed, but the local consumer. If that be so, how is it that during the past few days we have had such an outcry against the Tariff from New Zealand, Fiji, Germany, and other places? If the people within the Commonwealth pay the duty upon New Zealand produce, what does it matter to New Zealanders? If we pay the duty upon Fijian bananas, how are the Fijians prejudiced? Also, if we pay the duty upon goods made in Germany, why should the Germans object to our Tariff?

Mr. BROWN.—If they pay the duty what does it matter to us?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then the honorable member should not object to this Tariff. When we impose a duty upon any article for purely revenue purposes, and do not expect its manufacture within our borders to increase, the consumers have to pay the duty, but when we levy a duty for the purpose of protecting our industries and thus get increased competition, that increased competition keeps down the prices so that the people do not pay the duty.

Mr. WILKS.—Will this Tariff do that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It will in a great many instances.

r. WILKS.—Then it is a protectionist F?

r. WILLIAM LYNE.—No doubt in cases it is, and as the Prime Minister at Maitland, he was not going to allow industries to be destroyed by taking off protection which they had had.

r. WILKS.—There will be some industries destroyed in New South Wales by imposing protection on them.

r. WILLIAM LYNE.—They will be few and far between, because there are many of them.

Mr. WILKS.—I know one that employs 100 hands.

r. WILLIAM LYNE.—Is that one which is going to pieces now?

Mr. WILKS.—No; it is Mort's Dock and Engineering Company.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It will not go to pieces.

Mr. WILKS.—It is a most substantial industry.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The coal industry will go down, too.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not want weary the House, but I desire to read a few letters which bear on this question. The three boot manufacturing firms to which the leader of the Opposition referred are the largest importers in New South Wales, and perhaps some of the largest in Australia, and the slipper importer, Mr. Solomon, is the largest importer in that line. Seventy boot manufacturers met and approved of the tariff. It was only the importers who objected to it; and they bring in the product of cheap labour to compete with the manufacturers, who employ our own labour.

Mr. WILKS.—Is it not a fact that the same meeting increased the prices of boots?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member allow the Minister to make his own speech?

Mr. WILKS.—I am helping him.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not aware that that is so. Mr. Jackson, a large boot-maker—and the statement is true for I saw him—has, in consequence of the Tariff, increased the wages of every one of his employees. The Sydney Soap and Candle Company are in full work again, and an increase has been given to the whole of their hands. In other industries the same thing has been done. I propose to read a letter, which I think is an important one, from a large business man who is living in my electorate. He went to New South Wales

a year or two ago, and when he was here he was a strong free-trader. This is what he writes to one of my colleagues—

I would have written you before, giving you some experiences gained on this side of the river, but that I thought the debate would have been sooner ended. The free-traders are attacking the Tariff, that is the protection portion of it, but the consumer objects most to the revenue duties. Most articles that are produced in Victoria are still the same retail price, but we hear the most grumbling at the rise in price of sugar, tea, kerosene, and tobacco, and rice. I came here a strong free-trader, but let me give you some results of my business experience which made me a protectionist. Starch first. We paid 26s. 6d. per cwt. for Harper's Silver Star starch in packets, and 27s. 6d. per cwt. in 1-lb. packets, and 28s. per cwt. for Colman's in packets. We sold Colman's at 4d. per lb., net weight, and Harper's at 4d. per gross weight. Yet the public have preferred Harper's, as we have sold ten times as much as Colman's. The increased price we shall have to pay for Harper's is consequent on the revenue duty on the raw material, rice.

Reaper and binder twine.—We have used colonial (Miller's) for the past two years, although we were free to buy the imported without duty. This year, before the Tariff, we had an offer of Italian hemp at special prices and terms, 6½d. per lb., gross weights, for twine 600 feet to the lb., free on rails Spencer-street, for net cash, as against 7d. per lb., less 5 per cent. and 2½ per cent. for pure Manilla twine 650 feet to the lb., free on rails Spencer-street. The farmers on this side who have used colonial twine are thoroughly satisfied with the quality, and this year before deciding to buy the colonial twine, we submitted the sample of Italian hemp to several of the best farmers in this district, who, on quality, pronounced in favour of the colonial. This was before the duty of 8s. per cwt., and our price to the farmers is still the same. If of any use to you, I can send you the correspondence.

We have sold and are selling, in competition with the imported, or rather in preference to the imported, colonial jams, blue, soaps, baking powder, blacking, lemon peel, canned fruits, meats, sauces, &c., and at the price the public prefer them. If the imported were relatively cheaper or of better quality, of course, as business men, we would prefer them, but as they are not we are protectionists.

Then, in drapery, we sell Victorian-made shirts, ties, collars, moles, umbrellas, clothing, underclothing, blankets, flannels, boots, &c. In Sydney, last winter, a firm were making a special line of Victorian blankets and flannels.

We find, as with the groceries, that at the relative price, compared with imported goods, the above colonial lines are the better value. The test is the public here prefer them, and we can invariably buy cheaper from the colonial manufacturer than from the importer.

The importers have their associations—I will not say rings—and regulate their terms, and discounts and prices—protection for them while the discounts from the manufacturers, trade as well as cash, vary with nearly every one of them. We have to pay for our goods and so have the public, and it is immaterial to either whether

the profits enrich the importer and the foreign manufacturer, or the colonial one. But most Australians will prefer to enrich their own. Are the public of Victoria—the bulk of them—worse dressed, wearing Victorian clothing, hats, shirts, ties, and boots than their brothers in New South Wales? We venture to say no, and at no greater cost. The so-called “bogus” duties have raised the price of oats in New South Wales, by shutting out those from New Zealand. The American flour and the Chinese eggs have also been shut out to the benefit of the local producer.

Mr. WILKS.—Who says that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall not mention the name, because it may do the writer harm. It is a very large firm.

Mr. WILKS.—I thought it was a political writer to the *Age*.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall now read a letter which is addressed to myself by a gentleman in the farming districts, and which refers to the speech of the honorable and learned member for Illawarra—

I have been reading a report of Mr. Fuller's speech on the effect of the Tariff on the dairying industry. I hope it will not be allowed to go unnoticed, and that some member will go into the matter vigorously in refuting his statements. If there is one of our primary producing interests more than another that will benefit by the Tariff, it is the one followed by such a large number of his electors. It is true in a sense that the butter producer will not benefit to the same extent as others engaged in the dairying industry, but even he will in a measure obtain advantages, for even now, if there is any scarcity, and when he hopes to have the market for himself for his reduced supply, it is denied him, and butter rolls in from New Zealand and America. It may be true that the dairy farmers in the northern portion of Illawarra, who supply Sydney daily with fresh milk will not benefit, but those who are now engaged in parts more remote and apply their attention to cheese-making, condensing, and the bacon industry, must benefit in a very large measure. It is wise, too, to consider the other important branches of the industry, for I am of opinion, in a very short while, if we do not turn our attention to other branches, and use our largely increasing milk supply for other purposes than butter, we shall not only have a surplus in the spring and summer months when we export to meet the shortage in the old country in their winter, but we shall have a surplus in the winter also, when individual supplies are limited, and when they have, up to the present, obtained fair prices. Should this prediction come true, our farmers will cry very loudly when, in winter, they have to export a surplus to meet the spring supplies of the United Kingdom and the whole of Europe in London. It is true, as he points out, that we started the industry; but it was in Victoria it became developed while we were sleeping. It was the policy of Victoria which produced an article fit for export, and it was Victoria that established the market for our surplus in London. We followed.

Mr. WILKS.—Who is “we”?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am speaking of Mr. Hay.

Mr. WILKS.—That was Mr. Fuller's political opponent.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The letter continues—

But it was the Victorian policy which awakened our energies. Even at this early period, and before the Tariff has actually passed, there is sterling evidence of increased activity in the other branches of the industry. In Saturday's *Daily Telegraph* you may have noticed that at Singleton a meeting was held in order to pave the way for cheese-making and condensing.

The honorable member for Coolgardie said that the milk could not be kept in Western Australia.

I know of other centres where steps are being taken to do likewise. At Berry, this week, I met about 300 farmers, and submitted proposals to pay them 1½d. per gallon for milk for condensing over that which they could, under the most economic management, obtain for the same milk made into butter. By way of illustration, let me put it roughly to you, in order to convey the advantage of condensing, instead of butter-making: At our factory at Berry we turn out about 900 tons of butter yearly. 1½d. per gallon increase for milk is equal to about 3d. per lb. on butter, and 3d. per lb. is equal to about £27 per ton; and that, on £900 tons, is equal to about £24,000.

That amount will be distributed from this one factory. Honorable members opposite know the Messrs. Hay. They know that they have spent a great deal of money on their property, and that they have been most liberal to all their farmers. They know that they have established these butter-making works, and they know also that the proposal now made will be carried out. The Messrs. Hay can carry it out, and they are taking steps under the Tariff to do it. The writer adds—

This is a large benefit, and there is every evidence of its being readily accepted. I need not go into the other advantages which are likely to accrue to those engaged in the industry.

Those are two letters which prove once more that an ounce of fact is better than a great amount of theory. Those are letters I have received from stable men. Now, I have another letter here from Parsons Brothers, of Sydney, and I was surprised at what they had to tell me. I have heard it said that it is impossible to grow coffee in Australia, but I find that since the Tariff was put on they have been offered three tons of coffee from Cairns. They are negotiating at the present time to get this coffee, and the sample is as good as

anything they require. If the Tariff remains in force they are prepared to get the whole of their supplies from Queensland.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has the coffee been grown since the Tariff was put on?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No, it was grown before under the Queensland Tariff, but they had no market for it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman said that they got it from Cairns under the Tariff.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No, it is there, and since the Tariff has been announced offers have been made to go into this industry on a large scale. I stated that I was not going to weary the House any more than I could help in quoting

figures. I have a large quantity of matter here which, I think, would show clearly, as has already been shown, that where an article is worth protecting the duties imposed do not ultimately increase the price to the consumer. That is absolutely true.

Mr. WILKS.—This Tariff is not protectionist enough for the honorable gentleman.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I should like to see it still more protectionist, but I cannot have everything I want. I have a paper here which gives a list of articles which were protected under the 15 and 10 per cent. duties of the Dibbs Tariff, and the prices of which were cheaper during the existence of that Tariff than they were during the existence of free-trade. This is the list—

| | | Free-trade, 1891. | | Protection, 1895. | | Free-trade, 1897. | |
|--------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | | Price. | Duty. | Price. | Duty. | Price. | Duty. |
| | s. d. | | | s. d. | | s. d. | |
| Butter, - - lb. | 1 1 | 1d. per lb. | - | 1 0 | 2d. per lb. | 1 0 | Free |
| Cheese, - - " | 0 9 | " " | - | 0 8 | 2d. " | 0 8 | " |
| Potatoes, - - cwt. | 5 0 | Free | - | 4 3 | 6d. per cwt. | 5 3 | " |
| Maize, - - bushel | 2 11 | Free | - | 2 9 | 10d. per cental | 2 3 | " |
| Bacon, - - lb. | 0 10 | 2d. per lb. | - | 0 7½ | 2d. per lb. | 0 8 | " |
| Eggs, - - doz. | 1 6 | Free | - | 1 0 | 10 per cent. | 1 0 | " |
| Rice, - - lb. | 0 3 | 60s. per ton | - | 0 2½ | 60s. per ton. | 0 2½ | " |
| Oatmeal - - " | 0 2½ | Free | - | 0 2 | 40s. " | 0 2½ | " |
| Salt, - - " | 0 1 | 20s. per ton | - | 0 0½ | 20s. " | 0 0½ | " |
| Soap, - - " | 0 3½ | Free | - | 0 2 | 60s. " | 0 2½ | " |
| Starch, - - " | 0 5 | Free | - | 0 4 | 1d. per lb. | 0 4 | " |
| Sugar, - - " | 0 3½ | 100s. per ton | - | 0 2½ | 100s. per ton. | 0 2½ | 80s. per ton |
| Bread - - - loaf | 0 3½ | Free | - | 0 2½ | { Wheat 10d. per cental } | 0 3 | Free |

I know that before the Sydney Soap and Candle Company, and Arnott's Biscuit Company were in existence the prices for these manufactures were from 7d. to 8d. per lb. under the rings of the importers before the articles were protected—this and protection and the internal manufacture cut the prices of those articles down to 4½d. and 5d. per lb.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Nonsense!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is an absolute fact, and the honorable member cannot deny that it is quite true.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I know the contrary.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is also true that when the right honorable the leader of the Opposition took off a portion of the duties, the price went up again under the importers' rings, and now the prices are coming down again.

Mr. WILKS.—Does not the honorable gentleman know that Mr. Arnott is a great free-trader?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, but he takes advantage of every protectionist Tariff that is brought in, and I do not know that he is now quite such an ardent free-trader as he was formerly. I wish to say now that the right honorable the leader of the Opposition in his speech in Sydney, made an attack upon myself. He said that I will never go before the electors of New South Wales again, that I am going to take some snug billet, and that Mr. Barton is going to do the same thing. I hurl that insinuation back at the right honorable gentleman, and I say that if he waits until I take a billet, he will wait until he is a very much older man than he is now. I intend to go back to the people of New South Wales. I have lived my political life

amongst them and I shall see the right honorable gentleman out of it so far as politics are concerned. His assertion was an insult, and I take it as an insult. That I came here for the purpose of accepting a billet of any kind is an absolute untruth. I have followed on the track of the right honorable gentleman for the last twenty years and I beat him at last. I shall follow his track if I live so long and beat him and stop him from hoodwinking the people of this community.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable gentleman read what was said? I do not think it bears the interpretation he has put upon it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable gentleman is reported to have said that—

He would take level betting that Sir William Lyne would put himself where he would not have to face the electors.

What does that mean? There can be only one meaning to it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Read on.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall not read any more. I have read it, and it is insulting enough. As to the effect of this Tariff, I say that if I had the framing of the Tariff I would do without the revenue duties. As a protectionist, I do not approve of them, but when we are forced into the position that we have to raise money, we must adopt these duties, and we must raise the money in the best way we can. I venture to think that unless this Parliament adheres to a combined Tariff, a Tariff that will not be absolutely protectionist or absolutely free-trade, it will do a gross injustice to a number of the smaller States. I am quite satisfied that that is not the intention of the people of the community who entered into this bargain, whatever the intention of honorable members sitting on the opposite benches may be. It is all very well for the honorable member for North Sydney to say that he could do with a Tariff of—I think it was £7,500,000.

Mr. THOMSON.—No, it was over £8,000,000.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—But the honorable member must know that by his proposal Tasmania, Queensland, and Western Australia would be thrown deeper into the financial mire than they are now, and would have thrown upon them the responsibility of imposing direct taxation

I say that is not fair. If we return a large sum of money to New South Wales, they have use for the whole of it, and they can apply some of the money they are getting from their land sales to a redemption fund, to pay off a portion of their indebtedness.

Mr. THOMSON.—They ought to do so.

Mr. WILKS.—They have already anticipated it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is a very good thing, because, as I think I showed before, they have never had a legitimate revenue in New South Wales, and they never will have until they get the advantage of a Tariff such as we propose.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member declared a surplus under the same policy.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I declared a surplus after the right honorable gentleman had borrowed nearly £2,000,000 of money, and put it to the credit of revenue.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member did the same thing.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not borrow one penny and credit it to revenue, but I did devote some money to a debit fund in connexion with the contingent expenditure caused by the outbreak of the plague. Neither the people of New South Wales nor the people of any other State can expect to be more lightly taxed than their neighbours in the Commonwealth. Under the peculiar circumstances in which we are now placed, we have to depend on one general uniform Tariff. It occurs to my mind just now that the honorable member for North Sydney, who the other night was deploring the fact that the Tariff was too high, last week signed a contract for the building of a large clothing factory in Castlereagh-street, Sydney.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Suppose the honorable member did, what of that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member for North Sydney signed a contract last week for the building of a big clothing factory, which would never have been thought of but for the fact that there was to be a Tariff something like this.

Mr. THOMSON.—The honorable member evidently knows more about the matter than I do myself.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do know something about the matter, because I happen to have seen the contract.

Mr. THOMSON.—Will the honorable member allow me to say—

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for North Sydney may explain later on if he so desires.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I mention this matter in order to show what is being done at the present time under this dreadful Tariff, at which the Victorians are trembling—the Tariff under which New South Wales is going to be ruined, and wages are to be reduced to the lowest possible depth. Indeed, it would appear from some statements that are made that under this Tariff we are not to have prosperity of any kind. At the same time, the honorable member for North Sydney is assisting in starting industries under the Tariff, as any man with his wits about him would do, because I have no doubt that New South Wales, with its coal-fields, will be the great manufacturing centre of Australia. Victoria can supply some things which New South Wales cannot produce, and Tasmania can send her barley, oats, and potatoes, while other States can provide what New South Wales cannot grow for herself. Taking Australia as a whole, I think the Tariff will do great good, and that the people of New South Wales will realize that that State will prove to be the great commercial centre of Australia.

Mr. WILKS.—How will the Victorians like that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — Victoria is more self-contained at the present time than is New South Wales.

Mr. POYNTER.—The honorable member's anti-federal speeches were very different.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—My anti-federal speeches were not different, and the honorable member has not read them, or he would not say so, or would not have played such antics as he has since he came into the House. The accusations made against the Prime Minister are uncalled for, ungenerous, and unreasonable, as are the accusations made against the Ministry for bringing in a Tariff which should receive the support of the gentlemen from whose speeches I have quoted. It ill becomes those honorable members to now make an attack which may possibly mean the striking out of the revenue-producing duties, or some of them, thereby making the Tariff still more protective. The leader of the Opposition said in Sydney that he would put duties of 7½ per cent. on all necessaries, and 15 per cent. on all luxuries without a free list; but such a Tariff, without a free list, would bear

more heavily on the poorer people than the proposals of the Government.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What did the Prime Minister say?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Never mind what the Prime Minister said. The proposals of the leader of the Opposition would be no relief to the poor man. A Tariff, with a free list of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 in value, and with, in some cases, duties of only 10 per cent., is much easier for the poorer classes. I shall not detain honorable members longer. Had I spoken earlier I should have gone into the question of wages and two or three other matters, but at this late stage, when the debate is pretty well exhausted, and when we desire to bring it to a conclusion to-morrow night, I have contented myself with exposing the inconsistencies of honorable members opposite, who have ventured to hurl at us the accusations with which I have dealt, although they themselves live in such flimsy glass houses.

Mr. THOMSON.—In making a personal explanation, I can only deprecate the introduction of private affairs into a debate of this sort. I have already said that the honorable member apparently knows more about the transaction to which he has referred than I know myself. It is quite true that, with others interested, I did sign a contract for the erection of a building to be leased to a firm in Sydney, though I think the statement that that building would not have been leased but for the Tariff is altogether incorrect. I do not know absolutely, but I think such a statement is altogether incorrect, because the negotiations began many months ago.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—How long ago?

Mr. THOMSON.—I cannot say, but it was a number of months ago. I may further tell honorable members that the tender for that building was submitted before the Tariff was declared, and if the contractor had not been able to get his supplies without the advanced prices under the Tariff, the work would not have been undertaken. I make this explanation as much for the others interested as for myself, but I do deprecate the introduction of these private matters into an important debate on the finances and federal Tariff of Australia.

Mr. E. SOLOMON (Fremantle).—At this late hour I do not intend to take up

much time. I have listened very attentively to the many speeches on both sides, which have been of an educational nature, and from which I have gained a good deal of information. More particularly would I mention the speech the other evening of the honorable and learned friend for Indi, who dealt with the subject of liberty. To my mind, liberty is expressed in two words. I take it that liberty is embodied in that glorious institution under which we have the honour of being gathered here—an institution of the most democratic nature, namely, that of responsible government.—government, which is carried on for the people by the people. Therefore, we should certainly show a large amount of liberality in dealing with a question such as this Federal Tariff, and should so arrange the duties that they will not press more heavily upon one class than upon another. We should deal with the question of free-trade and protection in a national spirit, and should treat all the States with liberality. As far as Western Australia is concerned, it was understood that there would be scarcely any difference between the policy of the Federal Government and free-trade principles as understood in that State. It was expected that the Tariff would be of a uniform character, and that the duties would not be more than 15 per cent. all round. I appeal to the Minister of Defence, who was in Western Australia at the time that State was being urged to join the federal union, to bear me out in saying that the impression there was that the Federal Tariff would be of such a character as would insure a sufficient amount of revenue for carrying on the Commonwealth, and at the same time not press too heavily upon the taxpayers. The honorable member for Gwydir stated last evening that there were only 2,100 persons engaged in connexion with the mines of Western Australia.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—I meant 21,000.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—I think it is a pity that honorable members, when dealing with figures of this kind, do not make themselves acquainted with the facts beforehand. I have looked up the matter, and I find that instead of there being 2,100 persons employed on the mines of Western Australia there are 21,836. The total number of persons engaged in mining throughout the whole of the Commonwealth is something like 118,898. Turning to factories we find

that the males employed in Victoria number 44,041, in New South Wales 47,063, in Queensland 27,200, in South Australia 12,941, in Western Australia 8,641, and in Tasmania 3,438, making a total of 143,234. The females employed in Victoria number 16,029, in New South Wales 8,538, in South Australia 2,214, in Western Australia 768, and in Tasmania 191. The total number of females thus employed is 27,785, and the grand total is 171,109 males and females. Out of the above numbers in New South Wales and Victoria 36,395 are under the age of twenty. The honorable member for Richmond stated that the Government of Western Australia had imposed certain taxation within the last few days. That is perfectly true, and that action has been rendered necessary in order to make up the amount which will be lost to the State as the result of entering the Federation. The Government of Western Australia have now put on the duties that were taken off some time ago. The people of that State are very much disappointed with the Tariff, and I feel sure that if it had been known before we entered into the Federation that such a Tariff would have been proposed, that State would not have joined the federal union. It was under some degree of pressure that that State entered the federation, but it did so on the understanding that it would receive special consideration in connexion with the Inter-State duties. There was also an implied promise, of which, I am sorry to say, no notice has been taken, with regard to surveys being made for the construction of a transcontinental railway line. No provision is made in the Estimates for the expenditure that would be incurred in carrying out this work, and thus an implied promise has, so far, remained unfulfilled. Western Australia stood out of the federal movement for a considerable time, and it was only on the understanding I have mentioned that the State came into it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The people on the goldfields threatened separation.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—I desire to give a résumé of the good that has been done in Western Australia since we commenced reducing the customs duties there, with the object, ultimately, of approaching as nearly as possible to free-trade. The first move in the direction of reducing the Tariff was

made in 1893, and in 1895 and 1896 further reductions were made.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—All of them on items that free-traders wish to get revenue out of.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—This action was taken to a certain extent under pressure from the people on the gold-fields, with a view to secure what was called a free break-fast table. Western Australia has progressed in every way—in the way of population, and in exports and imports, owing to the reduction of the duties and other causes. The opening of the gold-fields, of course, had a great influence in this direction, and our object in reducing duties was to make living as cheap as possible, and thus offer inducements to our present population to remain with us, in the event of the mines becoming worked out. The population of Western Australia in 1890 was 70,000; in 1901 it was 190,000. So that it will be seen that in ten years we had an increase of population of 120,000 people. Our imports in 1891 were £1,280,093. In 1900 they had risen to £5,962,178. The exports in 1891 were £799,466, and in 1900 they were £6,852,054. The total trade in 1891 was £2,079,599. In 1900 the total trade was £12,814,232. So that honorable members will see that the total trade had risen from £2,000,000 in 1891, to over £12,000,000 in 1900. In respect of gold, we exported in 1891 the small amount of £115,182. In 1900 our gold exports had risen to £6,007,610. So that nearly the whole of the total gold exports for one year were 6,000,000, as against only £115,000 ten years before. Our timber exports in 1891 were £89,176, in 1900 they had risen to £458,864. Our exports of wool in 1891, were 8,783,073 lbs. In 1900 they were 9,743,743 lbs. Thus I have mentioned our three principal exports. It will also be noticed that there has been a great increase in the Customs revenue. In 1891 our Customs revenue was £237,686. In 1900 it was £978,170. I should like to mention the amount of the trade between Western Australia and Victoria, to show that to a certain extent we have assisted this State. In the course I mention Victoria because the greatest volume of trade between Western Australia and any other State, is done with Victoria. The imports from Victoria between 1895 to 1900 were £34,664. Those six years show a yearly average of trade of £1,639,110. At the

same time we exported to a large amount. Our exports to Victoria from 1895 to 1900 were £8,257,952—an average of £1,376,325—showing a difference in favour of imports to Western Australia of £262,785 per year for six years. So that the average per year in favour of the imports from Victoria into Western Australia was to the tune of £262,785. That shows the dimensions of the business between Victoria and Western Australia. I mention these figures to show what has been the effect, so far as Western Australia is concerned, of the repealing of the duties. I do not think it is necessary to go over the Western Australian free list, because that has been done sufficiently by the Minister of Defence and the honorable member for Coolgardie. According to a section in the Commonwealth Act, when Inter-State free-trade came into force we were not able to increase our duties but had to make a reduction of 20 per cent. every year, so that at the end of five years we shall be on an equal footing with the other States of Australia. I should like to mention that our shipping has increased to a very large extent. The total shipping inwards to Western Australia in 1891 was 1,045,555 tons. In 1900 it was 3,232,028 tons. Our revenue from all sources in 1890 was £414,314. In 1899 it was £2,633,081. The surplus revenue over expenditure for the year 1899 was £236,633. So that we could have still have increased our free list as our population increased. Our land settlement on the 31st December, 1899, was as follows:—There was in process of alienation or absolutely alienated, an area of 96,793,881 acres. The selection in agricultural areas amounted to 333,447½ acres. Our progress in agriculture was also very defined.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There were protective duties to assist it, though.

Mr. WATKINS.—Western Australia has not been doing badly under protection.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—We were reducing the Tariff.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—On things which we did not produce we reduced the duties.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—It was a very low Tariff on articles which we did not produce. I do not think our highest duty was more than 15 per cent.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There was a duty of £1 a ton on flour, and there was a duty on potatoes and other articles of food which we could produce.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—I will show what the duties were on things which we did not produce. Take wheat first of all. For 1890 to 1891 our production of wheat was 465,389 bushels. In 1899-1900 it was 966,600 bushels.

Mr. WATKINS.—That was protected, was it not?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; there was a duty of 6d. a bushel on barley.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—That duty has always been on, and yet we have had to import. As to maize: in 1899-1900 we produced 1,526 bushels, and in 1899-1900, 2,263 bushels. Of oats, in 1899-1900 we produced 38,791 bushels, and in 1899-1900, 73,555 bushels.

Mr. WATKINS.—Evidently Western Australia was doing very well under protection.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—No doubt we have done very well, owing to the increase of population, and we have endeavoured to keep our people there by making articles of consumption as cheap as possible, so as to make up for inconvenience in other directions. In Western Australia we have been giving land away to induce people to settle upon it, and now that it is proposed to put duties upon implements, I have received letters from all parts of the States, protesting against their imposition as a hardship upon those who have just settled upon the soil, and are only commencing to feel their feet. I have also other letters in regard to the Tariff, some of which I shall read. The following is a letter, dated 11th October, from a chemist in Fremantle, who says:—

I take the liberty of writing you on one gross piece of flagrant jobbery which is evident in the proposed Tariff, although it may very likely escape the notice of the ordinary lay mind.

Glassware N.E.I., 8d. per cubic foot outside measurement, and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*.

This includes bottles, and will bring the cost of ordinary 8 oz. bottles, which is the size generally used, from 17½d. per dozen (1s. 5½d.) to 5s. in Western Australia, 5d. each. Before the Tariff was tabled they came in here free. Therefore you will see what an enormous impost they have put on this line, which so far as I know will benefit the Melbourne Glass Bottle Company only, the principal shareholders of which are Messrs. Felton and F. S. Grimwade, M.L.C. The freight on this sort of goods is in itself a good protection, and say 10 per cent. duty would perhaps be reasonable, but the 8d. per foot outside measurement of case, straw, and package is an imposition. Granted that competition in the manufacture may bring down the price, but in the meantime we are being victimized, and will press hard not only on the chemists, but public

and friendly societies. On fancy glassware it would be perhaps justifiable, but on bottles, which are so largely used in this country, it is outrageous. If a person had to buy, say 1s. worth of any article, and had to pay 5d. for the bottle to put it in he would object very strongly. There are several other lines which are protected over 300 per cent. on their cost in England, which I could point out, only the necessary technical details would take too much time. Most of them are manufactured in Melbourne, such as acetic acid. The present Tariff is over 300 per cent. on the cost of the article at home. I am not alluding to vinegar, but the acid itself. The Tariff is purely protective, and not revenue; and will take away population from Western Australia to Melbourne, and depreciate household property here. So far as can be seen here the general opinion is that it will lead to an agitation for the removal of the five years sliding scale which we have, and if that goes, we will have to cease public works, and the people will have to leave here for the East.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Where does the jobbery come in?

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—I suppose that is the way he expresses his opinion that the duty is altogether too heavy, as it will almost make it necessary for him to close his business. With regard to the duty on milk I have a letter which concludes with this remark—

With the usual increase in trade next year, Western Australia in its small population would contribute in duty, collected on condensed milk alone (at 6s. per case), a three-hundredth part of the total revenue required for the purposes of federation.

The following letter is from the Secretary of the Perth Chamber of Commerce:—

Perth, 23rd October, 1901.

I have the honour by direction to inform you that at a special meeting of this Chamber held last night the following resolution was carried, and I was instructed to transmit same to you:—"That in the opinion of this Chamber the Commonwealth Tariff as framed, is not calculated to serve the best interests of this State, it being absolutely essential that foodstuffs and machinery and mechanical requisites be admitted free in order to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and the prosperity of the people."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Foodstuffs never have been free there.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—Complaints against this Tariff come from all the States, and though I know from experience that a Tariff never gives universal satisfaction, yet, as we are now framing duties to apply to the whole Commonwealth, we should try to make the Tariff such as will satisfy the majority of the population. As it is now, the majority have to pay for the up-keep of the industries in, at least, one of the States.

The following extract from the *Age* of 17th September, 1897, in regard to the American trusts may prove interesting in this connexion :—

Every now and then there is a violent ebullition of public wrath in America (writes our New York correspondent) against the exactions and tyrannies practised by the trusts, and an attempt, generally futile, is made to curb their voracity. The Tobacco Trust is a particularly malign institution, and recently it has been put through the trying ordeal of a criminal prosecution. The District Attorney of New York took action, much to the delight of the public, against the directors and officers of the American Tobacco Company for conspiracy to restrain trade. This company practically controls the huge cigarette business of the country. It attempted to crush independent manufacturers in the most shameful manner. It just said to the retailers, "If you deal in other people's cigarettes at all, we will not supply you with ours, and you must have ours or cease to exist." After a long hearing, the jury failed to agree on a verdict; ten out of twelve were for a conviction.

In the *Age* of 28th June, 1899, the following statement appears :—

Unless something is done, and promptly, economic liberty will be extinct in the American Republic. The *New York Journal of Commerce* says that the total capital in trusts and combinations, held in the form of stocks and bonds, now reaches the enormous sum of 5,832,882,842 dollars, and that the trusts embrace close on 90 per cent. of the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the United States. It has become practically impossible for any private individual in America to commence business, either as a manufacturer or producer. He must enter through the gateway of a trust, or keep out of it altogether.

Then, in the *Age* of 6th September, 1899, it is stated that—

There are signs that the democratic party in the United States will make the abolition of trusts the principal plank in their platform for the next presidential campaign. The operation of the trusts is beginning to be felt very severely, for more than 25,000 commercial travellers are, or are about to be, dismissed from their employment. Where there is no competition there is no need for "drummers," as the ambassadors of commerce are termed in the United States, and all the touting for orders can be done by letter.

I find that the following are put forward as some existing Victorian trusts, which will, to a certainty, cover all Australia, and others, besides the flour trust, the formation of which can be foreseen :—

Nail and barbed-wire works, comprising all such works in Victoria.

The Australian Paper Mills Company, which owns all the paper mills and the strawboard mill in Victoria.

The American Tobacco Company, which in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, has cigarette factories, 60 per cent. of the share capital of each being held by the American Tobacco Trust. These three establishments will certainly be combined into one, and two of the factories closed.

Reaper and binder twine factories (two) act under agreement to quote the same price.

Shot manufacturers (two) act under agreement to charge the same price.

Candle factories (three) act under agreement to charge the same price.

Colonial Sugar Refining Company owns refineries in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, and has only two small competitors. Gives discounts to buyers who bind themselves to deal exclusively with company. Has absorbed competitors in the past, and will probably absorb its present competitors if protection be given.

There is only one other matter which I desire to mention, and it has reference to our national system of education. It is an item of duty that possibly may have been overlooked. We know that the States have done everything within their power to provide free education all over Australia. Schools exist throughout the country and in some cases children are required to walk several miles in order to attend them. I find, however, that under this Tariff a duty of 25 per cent. is imposed upon exercise books and copy books used in these schools.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — They are made here.

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—That is immaterial. This duty means an increase perhaps of 1d. in the price of a book, the cost of which is usually 3d. While the States on the one hand are providing free education, the Commonwealth is imposing this duty on school requisites. Pencils and pens and slates are admitted free, but the Government have omitted to place exercise and copy books on the free list.

Mr. BARTON. — Does not the honorable member think that exercise books can be produced where the children are produced?

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—We might as well say that they can produce the money required to give free education to the children. I do not intend to take up the time of the House any longer. In supporting the leader of the Opposition, I feel that he was in honour bound to take up the stand which he has adopted. It was promised throughout the States that the Tariff would to a large extent be on revenue producing lines and when it is found that it is of a protective character, the leader of the Opposition

could not honorably adopt a course other than that which he is now pursuing. It is far better that he should come here with a straight-out vote of want of confidence than haggle about the matter without any definite object.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Tariff will not produce enough as it is. What are we to do in regard to the deficiency if it is reduced?

Mr. E. SOLOMON.—I have no doubt from the figures which have been quoted by honorable members on this side of the House that the deficiency could be made good. It has taken the Government a considerable time to prepare the Tariff, and every credit is given them for the work they have had to perform. At the same time a principle is involved in regard to the way in which the Tariff has been framed, and it is necessary for honorable members on this side of the House to take up their present position.

Debate (on motion by Mr. WATKINS) adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

VICTORIAN FIFTH CONTINGENT—MINERS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Motion (by Mr. BARTON) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether the following report, which appears in the *Age* of this morning's issue in regard to the Wilmansrust disaster, is correct:—

The Prime Minister yesterday made public property certain sections of the report of Major McKnight to the Victorian Military Commandant, supplied on 21st October, giving an account of the Wilmansrust disaster and the alleged mutiny in the Fifth Contingent. The document supplied to the press is an emasculated one, passages relating to the alleged mutiny being cut out. Ministers justify this course by saying that the information given is not over pleasant, and is only second or third hand. "Seeing," adds Mr. Barton to this explanation, "that General Beatson has been removed, it does not seem fair to publish hearsay evidence."

Mr. BARTON.—I did not say that the information given was not pleasant.

Mr. PAGE.—It would have been better if the Prime Minister had published nothing rather than have allowed such an emasculated report to be given to the press. I thought also that honorable members of this

House would have seen the report before any portion of it was handed over to the press. Now that a portion of it has been put before the public I should like to see the whole report. I know why it has been emasculated. I am so accustomed to military arrangements that I feel as confident as if I had seen the report itself that there is something in it which is derogatory to the Imperial officer, and that it is owing to the influence exercised by Imperial officers in Australia that portion of it has been kept back. I should like to ask the Prime Minister if he intends to lay the full report on the table of the House. As soon as the want of confidence motion has been disposed of, I propose to move that the whole of the correspondence relating to the Wilmansrust disaster be laid on the table of the House, so that honorable members and the public generally may be able to judge for themselves.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK (Gwydir).—As reference has been made on one or two occasions to the figures which I quoted last night in my speech to the motion of censure, I should like to set myself right with the House. In dealing with the number of miners and persons employed in factories in Australia, I quoted certain figures. I should like to explain that in preparing my notes I marked certain passages in Mr. Coghlan's *Seven Colonies*, and requested my clerk to type-write the figures given there. In doing so, however, he inadvertently set forth that the number of miners employed in Western Australia was 2,100, instead of 21,000. I read out the figures as they were given to me, and thus the error in question occurred. I stated that the figures were taken from Mr. Coghlan's *Seven Colonies*. I thought at the time that some mistake had been made and accordingly looked the matter up. I should, like, therefore, to correct my statement as it appears in *Hansard*.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I think there is a great deal in the remarks of the honorable member for Maranoa. The custom appears to be growing up in regard to federal matters of giving official correspondence to the newspapers before Parliament has had an opportunity of perusing it. That is a course of action which is very much to be deprecated. Parliament has the first right to see documents of public interest which are in the possession

of Ministers. It is not for the representative of the *Age* newspaper to go to the Prime Minister and obtain official information which Parliament has been denied an opportunity of seeing. All correspondence relating to matters of public importance should be laid upon the table of this House, and all newspapers should have an equal opportunity of obtaining the fullest information regarding it so that the public may be able to judge of the merits of any particular case. In one newspaper to-day it is stated that the Prime Minister yesterday made public certain sections of the official report dealing with the matter mentioned by the honorable member for Maranoa. The honorable member has stated his belief that there is something of importance in this connexion to which publicity has not been given. There should be no suspicion of anything of that kind. The fullest information should be given to Parliament in regard to that matter so that honorable members may be enabled to judge whether any wrong action has been taken. Upon several occasions I have noticed that one newspaper has published information which has apparently been denied to others.

Mr. BARTON.—There is no favour given to one newspaper over another. Any one who says that there is—a thing which the honorable member will not say—is stating what is untrue.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It appears to me that a number of inspired paragraphs regarding the intentions of the Government appear in a certain newspaper. I think that that paper receives its information from the members of the Ministry.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It is a protected factory.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It may be. All I wish to point out is that in matters of this kind, Parliament should have an opportunity of reading official correspondence before certain newspapers are allowed to publish portions of it.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I am the first to acknowledge the right of Parliament to information upon all matters of public interest where the papers are of sufficient importance to warrant them being laid upon the table. There are, however, a number of documents which pass through every department from day to day, and in

regard to which, as it is not advisable to lay them upon the table and print them, it is only right that information should be given to the public through the press, so long as that is fairly done. The honorable member for Macquarie is labouring under a very great misapprehension if he thinks that any distinction is observed between the newspapers in this particular. No member of the Government desires to give one section of the press an advantage over another. The fact of the matter is that I am either the happy recipient or the victim of two daily visits from representatives of the press. They all come at the same time, and receive the same information. If they differ in their statements it may be because there is more ingenuity in that portion of the press which supports the honorable member than there is in any other portion. We know that news must be given, but we do not always know how it is made. The honorable member for Macquarie may be able to tell me a good deal about that, but I shall not cross-examine him. Upon the general question, all I have to say is that a report came in from Major McKnight which told us about the affair at Wilmansrust, in which he was a participator. He also made statements about the other matter, but not one of those statements was made by him from his own personal knowledge. In one case the statements had value because they came from a man who had seen what took place; but, in the other case, they had no value whatever, because they consisted only of what he had heard.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—And were second-hand, too.

Mr. BARTON.—Yes; second-hand and sometimes third-hand. I drew the dividing line by giving to the press what had some authentication from this gallant officer's own observation, and by not publishing, what he had simply heard, because what he had heard was subject to all the variations of opinion as to whether it was authentic or not. At the time that I received and read this report a matter which had agitated Australia very considerably had been dealt with, and dealt with in a manner which, I think, all will acknowledge was a happy termination to a most unpleasant incident. That is to say, the men who had suffered the condemnation of very severe sentences, and whose sentences had been commuted had, upon a

further investigation—which investigation was, I think, very largely due to the action of this Government—been released, whilst at the same time the officer whose conduct had been complained of, had been superseded in his command. The matter had, therefore, come to a happy termination, and I did not think it right that the whole incident should be opened again on a mere hearsay report. I shall not have the slightest objection to lay the whole of the correspondence dealing with this matter upon the table, if only because of one remark by the honorable member for Maranoa, who has stated his belief that some influence on the part of Imperial officers has been brought to bear upon the Government. I can assure him that this Government is not subject to the influence of any Imperial officer in any of its actions, and is not likely to be. I shall lay the entire report upon the table, so that any suspicion of that nature may be promptly set at rest. I could, of course, show the document privately to any honorable member, and that might be an advisable course to take in the case of those who would like to see it, because they might agree with me that there are some terms used in it which it would be better not to publish. But in my judgment those terms have no reference whatever to the merits of the trouble which has occurred, which merits have been so amply met by the decision that has been arrived at in England. There is no desire on my part to give official correspondence to the press before it can be given to Parliament. Generally speaking, it is only in minor matters—where it is not necessary to lay documents upon the table—that I do that. Where documents are of sufficient importance to justify Ministers in laying them upon the table, I think honorable members will say that I have generally recognised my duty to Parliament. If any honorable member asks to see this report it will be placed at his disposal, and he can read it for himself, and then exercise his own judgment as to whether it should be laid upon the table or not. With that end in view, I shall keep it back for a few days, and if there be then any general desire that it should be laid upon the table I shall adopt that course.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 11.30 p.m.

Mr. Barton.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 31 October, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—When I was addressing the House on Tuesday night, in the middle of a lengthy passage, which required some observance of continuity in its delivery, the honorable member for Eden-Monaro made an interruption, which was entirely irrelevant, to this effect—“Were you not a protectionist in 1898?” to which I gave the flattest denial. He then said—“Were you not nominated by a protectionist association?” to which also I gave the flattest denial. Last night the Minister for Home Affairs, notwithstanding these denials, again brought the matter before the House—with characteristic magnanimity, in my absence. He affected to be unable to quote from a letter—

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I quoted it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member made a very short quotation from it, but never quoted the answer.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, I did.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The letter and the answer together contain a full explanation of my attitude. The election took place in 1898. It was a question between the right honorable gentleman leading the Government and the right honorable member leading the Opposition in this House. The question was one entirely of federation—whether the movement should be pushed on or whether it should be left *in statu quo*. I stood for the Glebe electorate, and I supported the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, because I recognised in him the one man upon whom the federal cloak of Sir Henry Parkes had fallen. The question of free-trade or protection was never raised. A protectionist association wrote to me to inform me that they intended—not to nominate me, but—to give me their support on federal grounds. I wrote back acknowledging the offer, as I was bound in courtesy to do; taking care that I should not be associated in any way with the protectionist cause. I lost that election, but I can say safely that the question of protection or free-trade never

came before the country in any way. Therefore I say to the Minister for Home Affairs, who is familiar with the history of political questions in New South Wales, that it was a most unbecoming and most unjust thing to have said, especially in my absence. I am not anxious about his good opinion, but I am anxious that the very large number of honorable members who are not familiar with my political career should not be left under the impression that I have ever wavered on this question—even one hair's breadth—in 30 years. I can challenge any one to produce any sentence which I have ever uttered or written in that period which involves the slightest qualification of my adherence to free-trade principles. I wish the House to know that I invite the Minister for Home Affairs, or any other honorable member, or any member of the public outside, to quote any sentence ever uttered or written by me which in any way qualifies my adherence to the cause of commercial freedom.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is like all the rest of his tortuous statements.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I take no notice of the honorable member for Parramatta, because he is beneath it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I must be pretty low down.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I regret that the honorable and learned member for Parkes was not here last night, but, because he was away, I was not going to curtail my remarks.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable gentleman did tell me that he was going to quote something, but he did not tell me what it was.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member stated that I did not read his answer. If he will read the report of my speech he will see that I read the letter from the Protectionist Union and his reply.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The whole of it?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Then it explains itself.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member has dropped into an error in thinking that I wished to take any advantage of him. I stated that he had been supported by the Protectionist Union in the election for the Glebe.

Mr. WILKS.—That his how he lost the seat.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is what the honorable member said last night. I read in justice to the honorable and learned member the letter from the Union to him and his reply. I could not do more or less.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Debate resumed (from 30th October), on motion by Mr. REID—

(1) That this House cannot accept the Financial and Tariff proposals submitted by the Government—

(a) Because they would place the finances of the Commonwealth and the States upon an unsound and extravagant basis.

(b) Because they fail to adjust the burdens of taxation and the advantages of the free list in an equitable manner, revealing a marked tendency, which this House regrets to observe, to press upon necessities of life and appliances used in our farming, mining, and pastoral industries more heavily than they do upon many articles of luxury.

(c) And because they would, in their operation, destroy the stability of the revenue by making imposts for national purposes a source of undue profit to a few individuals, and a few favoured industries, at the expense of the whole community.

(2) That the foregoing resolutions be conveyed, by address, to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Mr. WATKINS (Newcastle).—I trust that the few words I intend to contribute to the debate will be accepted as the opinion of a man whose desire is to see a Tariff constructed that will suit the whole of the requirements of the Commonwealth, and bear the least heavily upon the producers. I am quite willing to admit that those honorable members who hold opinions different from mine on this all-important subject are equally honest in their intention to do likewise. I recognise the all-importance of this occasion when it is the desire of the members of this Parliament, if possible, to frame a Tariff which, we trust, will last for some years to come. Accepting that as the intention of honorable members—

Mr. CONROY.—Never.

Mr. WATKINS.—Of course I cannot accept the opinion of one honorable member. I believe that the opinion of the majority of the Opposition is that we should endeavour to do so.

Mr. CONROY.—Not a Tariff in which such injustice prevails!

Mr. WATKINS.—I view the position to-day in just the same light as that in which it appeared to me prior to federation. I recognised then, as I recognise now, that it will be necessary for us to have a Tariff perhaps somewhat higher than some of those which have hitherto been in operation in one of the States. I did not stand alone in that opinion. When we were opposing the Federal Enabling Bills—and I say candidly that I opposed both—we had on our side, in connexion with the opposition to the first Bill, the leader of the Opposition, and the majority of honorable members who are supporting him. These honorable members pointed out that a higher Tariff would have to be imposed upon the imports into New South Wales, and their opinion was exactly the same as our own. Before, however, the second Bill was submitted to a referendum of the people of New South Wales, many of these honorable members altered their opinion and supported the second measure, although it did not differ in its financial aspects from that which was first submitted. I now tell these honorable gentlemen with all candour and all respect that, if I could believe that the State to which I belong had been placed in a bad position by joining the Federation, I should not take any responsibility myself, but should throw it upon those who upon one occasion pointed out the dangers that were to be apprehended, and on the second occasion lulled the fears of the people, and asked them to join the Federal Union. These are the men who must be blamed if blame is to be attached to any one. I do not go so far as to say that the State of New South Wales will suffer to the extent that some honorable members predict. I had other reasons for opposing the Federal Constitution, which I shall not disclose now. The position in which we stand to-day is that we have a Tariff before us which is intended to provide for the wants of the whole of the States of the Commonwealth. I am not altogether satisfied with it, but up to the present time, although I have listened anxiously, I have heard nothing proposed by the Opposition that could take its place. I admit that during the late federal elections the free-trade party—as we knew them in New South Wales—acknowledged that it would be necessary to impose customs taxation; but they indicated that their taxation would differ in its incidence from that which they

expected to be proposed by the Government. That is the position that they then assumed, but we have not had any form of taxation suggested by any one who has spoken on the Opposition side—in fact, we have heard nothing but declamation against the way in which the Tariff now before us would press upon the producing classes. The *Daily Telegraph*, a free-trade journal in New South Wales, has proposed a Tariff which, in my opinion—bad as this Tariff may be—would in some respects press more heavily upon the producing classes of the Commonwealth. If we take another organ which has supported their policy, a paper called *Our Country*, we find that whilst they have declaimed against the duties on tea, coffee, chicory, and cocoa, their own proposal is to derive an average revenue from these articles of at least 4½d. per lb. I am willing to join hands with the members of the Opposition if they will join with me in lightening the burdens upon the people; but at the same time I recognise that a purely revenue Tariff of the old free-trade type would involve higher taxes upon the articles which cannot be produced within the Commonwealth than upon those which could be produced here, so as to insure revenue easily. To say that that form of taxation will press less heavily upon the people is to tell me something that I cannot understand and cannot agree with. I cannot conceive how a purely revenue tax upon those things which cannot be produced within the Commonwealth is going to lighten the taxation upon the poorer classes of the community. The members of the Opposition who have come from New South Wales have accepted the position that the Tariff must necessarily be protective in its incidence, and I should like to quote a passage from a manifesto that was issued by the right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon. The right honorable gentleman put the position very clearly when he asked the people of Tasmania to join the federation. The statement I am about to quote was not made during a public speech, but is taken from a carefully considered manifesto published in the two leading newspapers in Tasmania on behalf of himself as the Premier of that State. He pointed out—

What will Tasmania's position be? She would be then a small fragment of that outside world against which the Commonwealth would set up its Customs barriers. The market of New South Wales, now free to us, would be barred against

us by the Federal Tariff; and instead of that wider market which intercolonial free-trade would give for our fruit, jam, timber, oats, hay, straw, potatoes, woollen manufactures, &c., we should have a market even more restricted than that which now blights many of our industries. Whereas, New South Wales now imports large stocks of wheat, duty free, from India and San Francisco to replenish her stores, and so reduces her demand upon Australian granaries, she will under federation only receive that foreign wheat on payment of duty, and by so much the wheat exporting States will be protected. So will they be against New Zealand.

If that was the position at that time it is equally the position to-day. A great deal has been said in the course of this debate by way of comparison between the various States. I do not propose to follow the example of other honorable members in this direction, because I think that such comparisons are not only unreliable, but distinctly unfair. I have lived in Australia long enough—all my life—to know that to compare the populations of the various States from time to time affords very little guide as to their relative prosperity. Rushes of population take place from State to State as gold-fields break out, and men follow them up in order to take advantage of any temporary improvement. That condition, I believe, has obtained in every State of the group. I refuse, therefore, to follow in the footsteps of some honorable members who have indulged in the practice of pitting one State against another. It is not to the advantage of federal union that we should set State against State at this particular juncture. Some honorable members who represent New South Wales have been called the enemies of that State because they have freely criticised its position under a free-trade policy. I have too much respect for New South Wales to compare such a large State with any of the small States of the union. All my life I have been associated with the industrial classes, and I think I can fairly claim to view this question from their standpoint. To my mind the ultimate emancipation of the working classes does not depend upon the fiscal policy of Australia. At the same time I freely admit that the fiscal system which we adopt must exercise a potential influence upon their position, whilst we live under present conditions of trade and commerce. But that they can get absolute emancipation from the adoption of either one policy or the other I absolutely deny. It has ever been my endeavour to secure the best possible

conditions from the employers of labour for the working classes generally. In this connexion I have assisted to pass many reforms which impose certain conditions upon the employers of New South Wales. How, therefore, can I consistently advocate the throwing open of our home market to the employer of sweated labour abroad? I have always been, from the workman's standpoint, a protectionist, and I should not be logical if I did not protect the producers of this country generally against the unfair competition of foreign countries. That is the position which I take up in regard to this Tariff. I recognize in it many items with which I cannot agree, and it will be my duty to assist, as far as I possibly can, in the reduction of those imposts which, I think, will press most heavily upon people who have to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. I believe that the Government will have to go short of the amount of revenue which they estimate is required for the needs of the various States, but we shall be acting wisely, if, instead of attempting to return to them the amount of Customs revenue which they have hitherto received, we permit them to make up their deficiency by other taxation. I think that they can perform that task better than can this Parliament. I have already said that the workman's emancipation does not depend upon the adoption of either one fiscal policy or the other. I believe that he can be boiled by the importer just as readily as he can be roasted by the manufacturer. From time to time during this debate our attention has been drawn to the British worker, whose condition has been cited as one to which the workers of other countries might well aspire. It has been urged that fiscal freedom has practically emancipated the British workmen, and that they can win their strikes, when, according to the leader of the Opposition, the workmen in protected countries never win a strike. All my life I have lived in a free-trade State. I have engaged in a good many industrial troubles from time to time, but even there I have had to contend with the same difficulties as those which confront the workers in America, which has been held up as the country where in times of industrial trouble the soldiers are called upon to preserve order. But I have met the soldiers in a free-trade country. I have seen them with their cannons and small arms. I have

also beheld an army of police, which by the way, the workmen view with infinitely more distrust than they do a regimental corps. I merely emphasize this point to show that the same conditions prevail in free-trade countries as obtain in protectionist countries. Indeed, all my reading of the progress of the workmen in other countries does not enable me to conceive of any civilized people who have descended to the depths of degradation which have been reached by the people in the midland counties of England. My reading has not been confined to the works of those who may have been biassed in their judgment. I have carefully studied the works of those who have investigated the position in England, and I defy any man to affirm that any condition could be worse than that which obtains in some of the manufacturing centres there. On the other hand, we are told that much the same condition of things prevails in America. I admit that perhaps in the manufacturing centres of America some of the evils which I mentioned do obtain. In this connexion I wish to quote, not an American, but a representative of the British artisan, who made a thorough research into American conditions. I refer to Mr. H. J. Pettifer, the secretary of the Workmen's Association for the Defence of British Industry. The extract, which I wish to read, is as follows :—

Last night the executive committee of the Workmen's Association for the Defence of British Industry held their first meeting since the return of their secretary from the United States. That gentleman gave at considerable length his experience of that country, where he addressed thirty large meetings. Amongst other things, he stated that it was very hard to make American working men believe that their English brothers had any voice in the government of this country, as the first question he was invariably asked was, "How is it possible for English working men to have control of the laws that regulate the Tariff, and yet continue to admit the productions of other countries duty free?" This was a question which he was unable to answer. He said he did not believe the Sackville incident had much to do with the result of the presidential election.

After this secretary of British workmen had made this tour, and addressed 30 large meetings throughout the States—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Secretary of what? British workmen?

Mr. WATKINS.—The Secretary of the Workmen's Association for the Defence of British Industry.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is a sham working men's organization—a pettifogging protectionist association. There is no such *bond fide* society in Great Britain.

Mr. WATKINS.—It is most remarkable that every quotation made by those who differ from the honorable member for Perth is questioned. I recollect that in the case of the quotations given by the honorable and learned member for Indi exactly the same doubts were expressed. Every authority is bogus and a sham, even if it be a free-trade authority, if it does not agree with the opinions of the honorable member. At any rate, this man went to America as a free-trader, and gave a faithful report of the condition of affairs.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does he say he went to America as a free-trader?

Mr. WATKINS.—He was a free-trader before he went. Perhaps honorable members would be satisfied, if I gave them a quotation from Morley or John Ruskin as to the condition of the people. The report from which I have quoted proceeded—

He also gave the average earnings of twenty girls taken haphazard from the wage-books of Goff and Sons' braid works, Pawtucket, R.I., showing that they average 35 dollars per month, or 35s. in English money per week, these young women being able to earn enough in one week to keep themselves in board and lodging over three weeks. He also stated, on the authority of Mr. Conat, superintendent of Messrs. Coates' thread works in the same city, that they paid double wages in their American factory to what they paid in Paisley, Scotland.

I have another authority here as to whether some of the people of England are not even now beginning to see that they are being pushed out of the markets of the world, particularly out of their home market, by other countries. In the last issue of the *Contemporary Review*, an article by Mr. E. Cook deals with the question as follows :—

In our ambition to be the cheap John of the world, we have developed some of our resources abnormally and neglected others. To foster foreign trade we converted a large part of our island home into black country, we have been prodigally wasteful of our mineral resources, and have neglected our agriculture. In striving for foreign markets we have neglected the best market in the world—the home market—and left ourselves miserably dependent on the foreigner. This is really incipient heart disease of the Empire.

At a meeting of the collective Chambers of Manufacture of England recently, the Nottingham delegates submitted a motion with a view to the consideration of the

present industrial position of the old country. That motion was not proceeded with, because some of the delegates were afraid of the dislocation of trade temporarily, but all the delegates admitted that the Nottingham representatives were correct in their contention that something should be done, and advised that the motion should be introduced later on. In my opinion, as I stated before, the salvation of the working man does not altogether depend on the settlement of the fiscal system. In the discussion of that question we have to take a hand, but we have to be guided, not only by what is best for ourselves but by what is best for the whole of the producers of the different States which comprise the Commonwealth. We have no right at this juncture to advocate a Tariff which will suit one State alone—we have no right to consider the interests of one industry and neglect others. I will go so far, by way of admission, as to say that we have no right to give consideration to the manufacturer and neglect those who engage in natural production. We must strive to study the interests of all alike, and endeavour to settle the Tariff on a basis satisfactory to all concerned. If I am asked to believe in a revenue Tariff, I say absolutely—"I do not." I do not believe in obtaining much revenue through the Custom-house, because I am with those who advocate direct taxation, if direct taxation is practicable. But it would be a vital mistake for the Federal Parliament to propose direct taxation at the present time, because, in my judgment, we could not deal out justice to the various States—we could not tax them in a fair proportion *per capita*. A better way would be to dispense with, or reduce a number of the revenue duties, which in many cases are imposts on the raw materials of manufactures, and leave the States to make up their deficiencies by way of direct taxation after we have left them with a shortage. As one who believes in, and has from time to time endeavoured to extend trades' unionism, I am not afraid of carrying the principle to its logical conclusion. I hope the final arrangement of this Tariff will be of such a nature as to give some inducement to production in the Commonwealth, as against the importation of goods manufactured by cheap labour elsewhere. I have never been able to see the difference between attempts to keep out the black man, and attempts

to keep out goods made by the black man in other parts of the world; and, in advocating protection for the working man, I have always been prepared, as I am prepared now, to go to the logical conclusion. I am not with those who believe in a protective Tariff at the Custom-house, but who do not attempt to protect the working men within the Commonwealth. We ought to go in the direction of uplifting the people who work in our midst, but, on the other hand, in attempting to impose conditions on employers, I am prepared to go to the extent of saying that we ought to protect the latter from unfair competition which comes from abroad. If we are to provide a market for the producers of the Commonwealth, we must, at least, look after the home market. That is the view which I hope honorable members on both sides of the House will take in dealing with this Tariff. I hope they will see that it is their duty to fix, if possible, a Tariff which will suit the requirements of the people who inhabit the different States.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—A high or a low Tariff?

Mr. WATKINS.—A low Tariff or a high Tariff might be particularly bad or good for the people of the country; it all depends upon the manner in which the imposts are arranged. I have stated that I am in disagreement with the Government in the incidence in some respects of the proposed taxation. We were told by the honorable member for Parkes that we could have a low Tariff, but I did not hear him state that he was prepared to let the different States go short; which meant that while he would have a low Tariff, he would practically knock out the free-list altogether. Now, sir, I believe that the problem can be solved, and I am prepared to take a hand in solving it. I am prepared at least to fix a Tariff that will, as far as lies in our power, suit the different producing interests of the whole Commonwealth of Australia. Because I desire, as I think other honorable members desire, that the Tariff framed at this juncture, should be the settled policy of Australia for a considerable time to come. I have always thought, and think now, that what this country wants is a settled fiscal policy. It was the idea of those who promulgated federation that such a result would follow; and I hope that when this Tariff is determined it will be one that will bear equally

upon all classes within the Commonwealth, and that it will remain the settled policy of the country.

Mr. HUME COOK (Bourke).—The wish that has been expressed by the honorable member who has just resumed his seat is one which I think might be very well echoed by all sections of the House. That is, that whatever policy is finally determined upon in connexion with the Tariff, that policy, for a considerable time at least, shall be the fixed policy of Australia. Nothing can do more harm than a continuous tinkering with Tariffs. Nothing can be more injurious than the upsetting of business by unnecessary legislative interference. Therefore, I hope that both sides of the House will join with me, and with the honorable member for Newcastle, in that particular wish. One thing that has struck me more than any other, in connexion with this debate, is the wonderful earnestness with which honorable members on both sides have addressed themselves to the subject matter of it. Whatever may be the verdict of history on the ultimate result, credit must at least be given to honorable members for the careful preparation of their utterances, for their earnestness in advancing their arguments, and their industry in collecting their facts. Further, I believe that honorable members on both sides have been honest in trying to arrive at a proper conclusion. I am not one of those who would suggest that a man who is in opposition to my views takes up that stand because it suits his pocket or his politics. I prefer to believe that he is guided by honest purposes, and is really endeavouring to do what he conceives to be right and proper. One other result which must inevitably follow from this debate is, that though some honorable members will have gone from this side of the House, others will have come over from the Opposition. Speaking as one of those who sit behind the Government, and support them, I am strongly of opinion that it will be all the better for the Government that the debate has taken place; because I am inclined to think that the views of honorable members who sit together after the division will be much more in accord than they were prior to the division. Those whom we have lost from this side will find greater sympathy and support amongst those with whom they are about to sit, and those who come to us will find honorable members behind the Government more in accord with

their opinions. If no other result followed, that at least would be a good one. The honorable member for Flinders, who has announced that he will take his seat with the Opposition after this debate is concluded, has told us that he leaves the Government party because he is a moderate protectionist. He has assured the House that he has had numerous letters from persons throughout his constituency, congratulating him upon the step he has taken. I have no doubt that it is true. I fancy that if I were to make up my mind to go over to the opposition side at the conclusion of this debate, I should receive quite a number of letters from persons who would be delighted to find that I had changed my views. But I am afraid that those letters would not be from people who voted for me at the last election, and I very much doubt whether the letters received by the honorable member for Flinders were written by electors who voted for him. I should like to direct attention to the state of affairs existing in the electorate of Flinders at the time the honorable member was seeking election. It appears from the press that the honorable member stated on the 7th March—I quote from the newspaper which favours his side, the *Argus*—that he made the following statement:—

I belong to a third party, who want moderate protection of from 20 to 22 per cent. to protect those industries that are worth protecting.

He now says that he has to leave the Government because their Tariff is one above 15 per cent. I also find this honorable member classed by the *Argus* as a low Tariff candidate. He was opposed by two who were set down as high Tariff candidates. Those two gentlemen polled 3,288 between them, whilst the honorable member who was elected polled 2,154 votes. So that, at all events, he represents merely a minority in that constituency. Probably those who are now congratulating him on going over to the opposite side belong to the minority. However, I am not here to criticise, at very great length, at any rate, the actions of individual members. We all hope, I am sure, that those who have changed sides will find more congenial company. One of the remarkable things connected with the arguments of the free-traders—or, as I suppose we ought now to call them, the revenue Tariffists—is the wonderful amount of logic they bring to

bear on the subject. It is almost impossible, from a logical point of view, to upset the free-trader. But I am reminded that there are quite a number of things that can be set out logically as quite practical, but which in actual experience will not exactly "pan out," to use an Americanism. Those who have read the writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes will recollect the story of the deacon who built "the wonderful one-hoss shay." They will remember how beautifully every part was related to every other part, its constructor claiming that when, in the course of time, it became worked out, it must inevitably burst like a bubble. The story tells us that that is just what happened. Yet every one knows that no such thing could have occurred. It is very much the same with the arguments of the free-traders. Though, from a logical point of view, they are beautifully constructed, they will not, in the light of ordinary work-a-day experience, bear the scrutiny which logically they seem to be able, and ought to be able, to bear. That has been the case with many arguments used in the course of this debate, and I need not therefore further refer to them. Before proceeding with my arguments I should like to say that I think sufficient credit has scarcely been given to the Ministry, and more particularly to the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs, for the immense work they have done in preparing this Tariff. When one takes into consideration the magnitude of the work, it is really remarkable that so few faults, taking them in detail, have been found in it. For my own part, I am surprised that two or three men should have been able to construct a Tariff in which a critical assemblage such as this has discovered so few flaws. Personally, I desire to congratulate the Government upon the very successful way in which they have framed the Tariff. It is true that in many respects alterations will have to be made. The Treasurer has admitted in one of his speeches that the Ministry, unlike Lord Bacon, do not assume "all knowledge to be their province," and they are prepared to make alterations where the weight of evidence will justify alterations. For my own part I think that, contrasting their work with that of the Opposition, the responsible Ministers are deserving of more praise than I can find words to express. I have not counted them, but I should

say that at least 40 speeches have been delivered on this motion. With the exception of one solitary member of the Opposition, however, no one on that side of the House has yet attempted to put forward a policy, to frame a Tariff, or even to suggest an outline of one to take the place of that proposed by the Government. As shown by the Treasurer, the one scheme put forward from the opposite side of the House will not stand the test of criticism. One would imagine that, if there is so much brains, skill, and ability on the other side, honorable members of the Opposition would have given us at least something constructive. The reverse, however, is the case. They have given us nothing. It is true that we have had tirades of abuse against protection, and it would appear that Victoria is a veritable *anathema maranatha* to honorable members on the other side. We poor Victorians have a number of industries that we are told in one breath are so weak and anæmic that they are tottering to the ground, while in the next breath it is said that the proprietors are making enormous fortunes, and that they are so rich that they are plutocrats. How it is possible to make these statements agree I fail to understand.

Mr. McCAY.—Surely the honorable member does not expect free-traders to want them to agree?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I suppose I should not expect them to be very careful after the exposure which some of their leaders suffered last night at the hands of the Minister for Home Affairs. One of their chief objections to the protectionist policy is that it leads to the formation of rings and trusts, and other unholy business combinations. They would lead us to believe that that is a state of affairs peculiar to a protectionist country. It happens, however, that this is not the case. It was brought under my notice recently that a very substantial ring had been formed in Great Britain with the object of controlling the wall-paper trade of the world. For years English manufacturers had had practically the entire control of the world's market; for wall-papers, and so successful had they been in their operations that they determined to form a combination or ring and in that way secure better prices. According to the information I have received the ring was formed something less than three years ago, but with a very

startling result to the English manufacturers. The Germans had been endeavouring for some time to get the colonial markets for wall-papers, with paper somewhat smaller in the average size than that of English manufacture. But when they found that the British ring had put up prices in the way I have described they altered the whole of their machinery, and they are now ready to supply orders for wall-papers of English pattern and size for the Australasian market. I have no doubt that they will do a large business here. A friend of mine has found himself forced to give an order to a German firm, notwithstanding that he is one of the sturdiest of Britishers. He was led to do so, because the English ring have entered into an arrangement whereby they will supply only five houses in Victoria, and unless my friend buys from one of these he cannot obtain the English wall-papers. These houses demand middlemen's profits, which he does not feel inclined to pay, and thus, in spite of his British predilections, he has been compelled to place a very large order for wall-papers with a German firm.

Mr. FOWLER.—That proves how very foolish it is to attempt to form a ring in a free-trade country.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I admire the honorable member's logic. My only object in mentioning this fact is to prove that so far from rings being peculiar to protectionist countries—of course I do not deny that they exist in protectionist countries—they are peculiar to all countries where it is possible to make a profit in that way. The moral of my story is that the action of the British manufacturers served only to give another opportunity to the Germans, who are up-to-date in business methods, and who, as I shall prove presently, are monopolising practically the whole of the British colonial trade. Before I do so may I repeat what has been said in effect already, that, although we on this side of the House cannot complain of the action of the Opposition in bringing down a want of confidence motion, if they honestly believe that the Tariff is wrong, and in endeavouring to substitute a Tariff of their own, I think we have some right to complain of the tactics they adopt in endeavouring to secure that end. If they were to declaim against recognised protectionist duties, one would have something to answer, and no cause for complaint would exist. But

when they make use of the inclusion in the Tariff of revenue duties—which they themselves have advocated—as the chief ground of complaint against a protective Tariff, surely we have a right to doubt the honesty of their attack, and to protest against their tactics. If honorable members examine the tirades of abuse which have been levelled against the Ministry in the House, and the speeches which have been made outside in opposition to the Government Tariff proposals—if they note the utterances of the leaders on the opposite side—they will see that the duties which are said to be shockingly unholy, and which are condemned by the Opposition, in order to capture public approval, are not the protectionist duties brought down by the Ministry, but revenue duties.

Mr. FOWLER.—The protective duties cause the revenue duties to be high.

Mr. HUME COOK.—As a matter of fact the revenue duties are the lowest in the Tariff. We hear a great deal about the free breakfast table, which the Opposition are going to obtain; about the easing of the burdens of the poor, and the assistance they intend to give the primary producer. But the articles of which they speak as being so unjustly taxed, are the very goods which they themselves would be compelled to tax if they were true to their own particular principles. Therefore, I say we have a right to complain both of their honesty of attack and of their tactics generally. The revenue duties have been forced upon the Government by reason of the obligations imposed by the Constitution. The Ministry have to carry out the obligation which that Constitution throws upon them, and in spite of their own predilections, in spite of their own fiscal leanings, it has been found absolutely necessary to include in the Tariff a certain number of revenue duties or taxes which will bring in money, and which are not supposed to assist, and cannot assist, any particular industry. It is hardly fair to blame the Government as though they were doing something wrong, when that wrong, if it is such, is forced upon them. I have said that many of the remarks hitherto made have been tirades of abuse against Victoria and against protection. Much of what has been said has also been a laudation of English methods and of the position of England. Might I be permitted to make a

quotation from the 5th report of the House of Lords Royal Commission on Sweating. It is a quotation which is embodied in the last annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories of Victoria, and I quote it to show what the condition of affairs in the old country is, as distinguished from what it is made out to be by free-trade or revenue Tariff speakers. There is first a reference to what the commission was formed for, and what it had to do, and the quotation proceeds as follows :—

Such having been the scope of our inquiry, and ample evidence having been brought before us on every matter comprised within its scope, we are of opinion that, although we cannot assign an exact meaning to "sweating," the evils known by that name are shown in the foregoing pages of the report to be—(1) An unduly low rate of wages. (2) Excessive hours of labour. (3) The insanitary state of the houses in which the work is carried on.

These evils can hardly be exaggerated. The earnings of the lowest classes of workers are barely sufficient to sustain existence.

The hours of labour are such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree.

The sanitary conditions under which the work is conducted are not only injurious to the health of the persons employed, but are dangerous to the public, especially in the case of the trades concerned in making clothes, as infectious diseases are spread by the sale of garments made in rooms inhabited by persons suffering from small-pox and other diseases.

We make the above statements on evidence of the truth of which we are fully satisfied, and we feel bound to express our admiration of the courage with which the sufferers endure their lot, of the absence of any desire to excite pity by exaggeration, of the almost unbounded charity they display towards each other in endeavouring by gifts of food and other kindnesses to alleviate any distress for the time being greater than their own.

That, as I have said, is from the report of the 5th Royal Commission on Sweating, and amongst those constituting the commission were such men as the Earl of Derby, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Brownlow, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, the Earl of Limerick, Lord Sandhurst, and others. Those are the facts as to the position in England.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—Do they propose to cure it by protection?

MR. HUME COOK.—I cannot say that they propose to cure it by protection of a fiscal kind, but I have no hesitation at all in saying that they will probably advocate a kind of protection such as we have effected in Victoria for improving the insanitary conditions, increasing the wages of

the workers, and bettering them morally and socially. One honorable member on the other side, who also thought fit to laud the condition of the mother country, quoted from the *Clarion* newspaper, to show the magnificent position the old country was in. Here is another quotation from the same newspaper, which may be interesting to that honorable member. It is a statement made by a shirt-maker, and is printed verbatim in the *Clarion* :—

No; the machines have not made things any better for the shirt stitchers, they have made things worse. I have a friend in the business—an old woman—25 years ago she was paid 3s. 9d. each for first-class shirts sewn by hand. Now, at the same shop, she is paid 8d. each for machining. Working by hand, she used to earn 3s. a day; now she only earns 1s. But the shirt factories are the worst. There the hands work in great rooms, often in old and abandoned buildings, which are cold and damp, and the prices are shameful, and the conduct of the place by the managers generally vile. A woman will have to be very strong and clever to earn 5s. a week there. In some parts of this city there are stylish looking places where they employ shirt makers. These poor creatures work in damp and miserable cellars, under the showy shop, and have to work very hard and very well if they can earn 4s. per week. I know an old woman who employs about twenty girls. They work in a dismal little cellar, where they are crowded together from eight in the morning till seven at night, with only half-an-hour's interval. They do not earn above 3s. 6d. per week. It is all machine work. How do they live? God knows, poor creatures. Many of their lives are martyrdoms, many of them are simply tales of shame. There is a man in Gorton who employs a lot of these poor slaves on work for the best bouses. He charges the girls 1s. a week for the use of the machines. He charges 1s. whether they work a full week or not. He charges them 1d. per week for rent. He charges them 1d. a week for coal. He makes them pay for machine-oil out of their own pockets. He compels them to buy their cotton off him, charging them 8½d. for two cops, which they could buy in the shops for 7d., and he pays them 7d. a dozen for making men's shirts. The work is very laborious. After nine or ten hours, in a close room, at the machine a woman is shaken and wearied, her hands are unsteady, her eyes smart, her head aches, she has no life or spirit left in her.

Four shillings a week are the wages stated there, and 16s. a week is the minimum wage in Victoria. I have quoted that from the *Clarion*, because one honorable member thought fit to quote that newspaper as an authority upon the magnificent condition of the workers of Great Britain, and the statement quoted is made by a worker who certainly ought to know the condition of affairs.

MR. FOWLER.—Is the honorable member aware that the *Clarion* emphatically denies

that protection can cure that state of matters?

Mr. McCAY.—Will the honorable member add that the *Clarion's* cure is pure socialism?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I desire also to quote from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of the 14th instant. It is a free-trade newspaper, but it reprints an article from the *London Daily Mail*, under the heading, "American Invaders in England—What is their Secret?" The article is as follows:—

We have lost or are losing some trades directly through bad legislation. The tobacco, printing, and electric industries are instances of this. Once Ireland had flourishing tobacco plantations. These were purposely killed in order that the tobacco industry in our then American colonies might be fostered. Our erstwhile colonies are now a rival nation, but the revenue restrictions still make tobacco growing here practically impossible. There is no reason, climatic or other, why Ireland to-day should not produce great tobacco crops. A short Act of Parliament fostering the home growth of tobacco by a simplification of the collection of duty, and a rebate or even temporary remission of taxes on tobacco grown within the Kingdom, would create a new industry in Ireland at a bound. Some of us would, as a matter of taste, prefer the leaf of the nicotine grown in Kilkenny to Schleswig-Holstein cabbages doctored and browned in Hamburg.

That is a very strong statement, and it shows that even in Great Britain, despite what has been said by the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, there are persons who advocate a protectionist policy. By the way, that honorable and learned member, in order to confute something which was said by the honorable and learned member for Indi, quoted from Professor Davidson as follows:—

It is idle, and worse than idle, for it raises false hopes, to point to the weakening of free-trade sentiment in the United Kingdom.

The honorable and learned member should have read on a sentence or two, and he would have found these remarks exactly following what he read:—

It is within the limits of human possibility that in some constituencies a majority could be found for protection against goods made in Germany and elsewhere; and in other places a candidate who declared in favour of a re-enactment of the Corn Laws might be victorious. But these two wings of a possible protectionist party cherish contradictory ideals, and would fall out as soon as they came to practical legislation.

Mr. GLYNN.—The honorable member might finish the paragraph while he is about it.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I think the duty of finishing the paragraph lay rather with the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn. My point is that he read one sentence only from the paragraph which suited his argument, and that the balance of the paragraph which I have read goes to prove that there are protectionists in the mother country divided into two wings, and that if these two protectionist wings could only be united they would be a very substantial factor in the politics of the old country to-day. It is simply because they happen to be in different camps, and because of the impossibility of uniting them, that the protectionist cause does not make greater progress in Great Britain.

Mr. GLYNN.—It shows that the protectionists were touching the colonial trade, and that they were prepared to retaliate.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member's interjection goes to prove that he knew all about the case, and did not give the House the benefit of his knowledge. Arguments have been adduced in reference to the relative positions of the factories of New South Wales and Victoria, and figures relating to these factories have been given over and over again, until I think honorable members are tired of them; but there is one aspect of the question which has not been touched upon in my hearing. Whatever may be said as to the aggregate number employed in the factories of the two States, and I do not now propose to discuss that phrase of the question—something must be said as to the divisions of that aggregate. If honorable members take Mr. Coghlan's grouping of the industries of Australia—he divides them under three heads, "domestic," "natural," and "competitive,"—they will find that the number of hands employed in Victoria in competitive industries is 41,175, and the number employed in New South Wales competitive industries is 25,887, a difference of 15,000—not a difference of only a thousand or two, as some honorable members will have us believe. It must be borne in mind, too, that Victoria has a smaller population than New South Wales, and has been working under conditions which in many respects have not been at all favorable. The fact is, that protection is responsible for the larger number of hands employed in Victoria, and we are proud of it. The greatest compliment which could be paid to Victoria

is the abuse which has been heaped upon her by those who have decried her. May I quote from another New South Wales authority? It would appear, notwithstanding the self-satisfied manner of those who have spoken on behalf of New South Wales in this debate, that that State is not so marvellously prosperous as they would have us to believe. I find from the annual report of the New South Wales Government Labour Bureau for the year ending 20th June, 1900, that, since the date of the founding of the bureau—between 1892 and 1893—there have been registered no fewer than 81,889 unemployed persons, while work has been found for 96,044 persons. The figures seem contradictory, but the answer is that in some cases employment has been found for men more than once. These figures show that a very large number of adult males—persons who ought to be bread winners—have been out of employment in New South Wales during the last few years. The report says—

Notwithstanding the many we have sent to work, and the large number of young men we have sent to the wars in South Africa and China, there does not appear to be any appreciable difference in the number of unemployed.

I naturally expected that the official who made that statement would endeavour to suggest a remedy for the evil of which he complains, and I was not disappointed. What is the remedy that he suggests for this tremendous evil, an evil which the leader of the Opposition said, when he launched a successful want of confidence motion some years ago, he would cure in 24 hours? Notwithstanding that statement, over 81,000 unemployed persons have been registered in the State, and the official at the head of the bureau reports that there is no appreciable diminution of the number. The remedy he suggest was this—

What is wanted most in these colonies is the promotion and establishment of large manufacturing industries, where the youth of Australia could be trained in all the art and science of manufacture. Thousands of youths annually leave our public schools and entering the path of manhood, and seeking some calling whereat to make a living, have at present little open to them except the professions, which are not within the reach of thousands, or clerical labour, which is already overdone. Manual labour is open only to the physically strong, and in this the supply far exceeds the demand. If we had large manufacturing industries, our young men could be trained and employed, and I have no doubt thousands of them would make their mark in the multiplicity of avenues these industries would open up.

The Australian native is not wanting in brain power or ambition. This has already been shown by the superiority he has established in not only the science of sport and athletics, in courage and endurance, but also in learning and culture. And if in these, why not in the arts of manufacture.

It is to be hoped that the policy under federation will bring into existence a large field for the employment, opportunity, development, and expansion of the best talents of our brightest native Australians.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The superintendent of the New South Wales Labour Bureau was a protectionist Member of Parliament, who lost his seat, and was then given his present position.

Mr. THOMAS.—He used to be the secretary to the Protectionist Association.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I suppose he was appointed to that position to silence him; but he has not been silenced, and he speaks the truth.

Mr. CONROY.—He was appointed by a protectionist Government which he had supported.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable member seems not to be aware that 81,889 represents the number of times for which application made for work, not the number of persons who made the application.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Some men have been registered twenty times.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I understood that there were no unemployed in New South Wales; that in free-trade they had a panacea for all ills, and that if the whole Commonwealth were under free-trade employment would be found even for the unemployed in hitherto protected States; though how, I do not know, because I am unable to understand how more employment can be found where half the work is done outside the country than where the whole of it is done within the country. A favorite answer to the statement that more hands are employed in factories in Victoria than in New South Wales is, that if it is true, these hands are mostly women, and no credit should be given to the policy which finds them employment. There are two answers to that rejoinder. The first is that, as compared with New South Wales, Victoria has industries which must employ women. The shirt-making industry in New South Wales employs scarcely any one; but in Victoria it is a very large and flourishing industry. The other answer is that the tendency all the world over is to employ women in factories. It is an unfortunate tendency

perhaps, but it is none the less true; and even in older countries, in free-trade Great Britain itself, the tendency has been to increasingly employ women in certain industries. To quote from Mr. J. A. Hobson, on *The Development of Modern Capitalism*, I find that the following facts are elicited:—

In 1851 the males in the textile and allied industries numbered 462,400. In 1891 they had gone down to 430,500, whilst females had increased from 472,100 to 585,600 in the same period. In the dress industries the males had decreased from 397,500 in 1851 to 353,800 in 1891, whilst the females had increased from 471,200 to 681,300. The total figures for all industries show that while male labour had increased 50 per cent. in 50 years, female labour had increased by over 200 per cent. in the same period.

So that there is a double answer to the statement that Victoria employs more women. The first is that they are employed in an industry which is peculiarly a woman's industry, and the second is that, the world over, the tendency is to increase the employment of women, and in a greater ratio than that in which men are employed. I have been a little amused, in listening to the speeches of some of the champions of a revenue Tariff on the other side, to find how widely they differ as to what they want. The right honorable member who leads the Opposition tells us in a breath that New South Wales does not want any of the proposed Tariff, that she desires to sweep it away; but the honorable member for West Sydney has said—"If we are to have this Tariff, let us fix it for ten years, so that the people of New South Wales will get as good a show as the people of Victoria." One man says—"We do not want it at all." But the other says—"We must have it fixed for ten years, if it is to be carried into effect at all."

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—We want a referendum first.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The statement as to the fixity of tenure preceded the statement as to the referendum, and I think that that condition was made rather to save the former statement. I now propose to answer the kind of challenge which was thrown out to me with respect to an interjection I made during the speech of the leader of the Opposition. I interjected that Great Britain had been losing for years to Germany the major portion of her colonial trade, and that statement was rather contemptuously set aside by the speaker. I propose to show by official documents how that trade is going.

Mr. CONROY.—Is the honorable member going to take the whole of the trade or only certain lines?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I am going to take all the trade with the colonies. The first quotation I shall make in support of the argument I propose to adduce is from an English blue-book entitled, *Report on a Visit to Germany, with a View of Ascertaining the Recent Progress of Technical Education in that Country, being a Letter to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.* It is signed by some very prominent English free-traders, who were members of a commission, including Sir Philip Magnus, Mr. Gilbert R. Redgrave, Mr. Swire Smith, and Mr. William Woodall. It was published in England in 1896.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What the honorable member is going to read was written 25 years ago.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member can have the document in his hand afterwards, and he will find that it is dated 1896. It is not the Technical Education Commissioners' report, but a letter written as the result of a visit made some years after that document was prepared. The letter is signed by those who formed a portion of the commission. Speaking of Germany, the writers say—

In certain of her industries, on the occasion of our first visit, Bavaria was still, so to speak, in her infancy; now we found large and populous factories, employing thousands of workpeople, where formerly there were workshops with but a sprinkling of artisans. Where once she relied upon machinery imported from England, now she produces a steadily increasing quantity of that required for the home trade, and finds new markets in other lands. Her railway system has been greatly developed and extended, and the disadvantage of her inland position and her comparative remoteness from colonial and other markets is, to some extent, compensated for by very low railway rates for raw materials.

Her brilliant achievements in the field of chemical industries have encouraged her to establish well-equipped electrical laboratories, and to develop the practical teaching of physics with the view of assisting the electrical trades, which are comparatively of recent growth. Twelve years ago the commissioners had to report that the facilities for practical laboratory instruction in electrical technology scarcely existed, or were of the most meagre kind. At that time, nowhere in Germany was to be found so well equipped a laboratory for electrical engineers as at the Finsbury Technical College. Now, there are no laboratories in England which can compare in the detail and completeness of their equipment with those we visited at Darmstadt and Stuttgart; and no facilities exist for original and independent research in physical

subjects to be compared with those afforded at the Imperial Physical Institute at Charlottenburg.

That quotation shows that in the domain of practical business experience the Germans were carefully preparing to get these markets. That they did get them I shall unmistakably prove.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—By scientific education.

Mr. HUME COOK.—By scientific education. That was one of the means by which they got ready to make an assault upon British colonial markets! Protection first, education afterwards! The last quotation I propose to make from the letter is as follows :—

It may be noted also that as in England certain power looms were employed in the making of common goods for Germany, so the German manufacturers, aided by protective duties, first used their English looms for the manufacture of these common goods for themselves from yarns imported from England. The competition at the outset was met by efforts on the part of our English manufacturers to overcome the Tariffs by still further cheapening this class of goods, a competition which in most instances they were compelled to relinquish. The Germans, however, no longer confine themselves to the manufacture, for export purposes, of one class of goods; and it is now in the better kind of fabrics that, helped by their schools of design, and by weaving and dyeing schools, and by their intimate study of the methods of commerce, they are destined to become our most serious competitors.

That is the statement of some English free-traders who had formed part of a commission on technical education—to inquire into the methods for bringing English manufacturers and artisans up to the highest standard of technical education. These quotations from this most recent report show how Germany prepared her citizens and paved the way for the capturing of the colonial markets of the world. How have they done so? I asked the Customs department to prepare for me some figures as to all British colonial possessions and the increase of German trade. I am not going to quote all the figures, because they would be wearisome, but I shall take two or three cases in point to show how my statement can be borne out by facts.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is going to relate these, I suppose, as the sequence of cause and effect?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Exactly. The statement furnished to me by the Customs department shows the value of goods imported

directly into British possessions from Germany in certain years. I take India as a case in point. The value of goods sent direct from Germany to India in 1877 was £9,000. In 1887, ten years later, the figures had risen to £160,000, and in 1896 to £2,353,000. So that in twenty years there was an increase of direct trade with India from £9,000 to £2,353,000. Take Canada, as affording the next example. Twenty years ago the country had a direct German trade of £77,000, whereas the trade now amounts to £1,250,000. Twenty years ago the direct German trade with Australia amounted to £9,800, whilst to-day it reaches the large amount of £1,574,000. Thus it can be seen that the German trade has been increasing with these three countries at a very great rate indeed, and what is true regarding Australia, Canada, and India, is equally correct in the cases of the Cape, the Straits Settlements, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Newfoundland, Jamaica, Trinidad, Tasmania, and New Zealand. Of course it may be objected that although the German trade has increased in that way, so, also, has British trade increased, as the population of the British possessions has become larger. I anticipated that objection, and I asked the Customs department to supply me with figures on that head. I have not been able to get the statistics for India and Canada, but fortunately I have secured them so far as they relate to Australia. The return shows that while in 1887 the direct export trade from Great Britain to Australia amounted to £20,000,000, it was in 1896 £19,000,000 or £1,000,000 less. During the period from 1887 to 1896 the percentage of increase in the German trade with Australia was 134 per cent., whilst the percentage of British decrease was 5·1 per cent. Thus the German trade has enormously increased, whilst the trade of Great Britain, with her own possessions, has decreased, and I think these figures prove conclusively that the interjection I made was not beside the mark, but, on the other hand, was justified.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The unfortunate thing about it was that the honorable member gave his reason first, and stated that the increase in German trade was due, not to the Tariff, but to scientific education.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I said that the increase of trade was due to protection; as one of the methods of fostering local

industry in Germany is by means of fiscal protection. The industries of Germany have been brought into existence by the fiscal policy of that country; they have been further assisted by a splendid system of technical colleges, and as a result her manufacturers now export their goods to every market in the world, and have practically captured the major portion of what used to be British trade with British possessions.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member did not read that from the book.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That is the argument to be deduced from the statements contained in the book, and from the figures supplied by our own Customs department. The honorable member for Parramatta made one statement about myself, regarding which I wish to say a word or two. He said that even the honorable member for Bourke was in the old days a free-trader and, he believed, an ardent single taxer. May I take this opportunity of saying that I have never, during the whole course of my political life, been a free-trader or a single taxer. It is true that I have been, as I am still, for certain purposes, a great believer in the taxation of land values, but I challenge the honorable member to show, or to get any one to support his contention, that I have ever been anything else but a protectionist, as far as fiscalism is concerned. If the honorable member looks up the reports of the debates which took place in this House in connexion with the discussion of the Victorian Tariff, he will find that I have always voted for protection, and supported that policy.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I know that the free-traders put the honorable member into Parliament.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It is a peculiar thing that in Victoria it is the protectionists who are land taxers, whilst in New South Wales it is the free-traders, or, at any rate, some of them, who advocate that form of taxation. Whilst I have challenged the honorable member to prove his statement regarding myself, I may point out that it is singular that the honorable member should be open to criticism upon the very point upon which he has attacked me. The honorable member—I will not say wilfully or designedly, sought to damage me with my constituents by endeavouring to make it appear that I had once been a free-trader, and was therefore not to be relied upon now as a protectionist.

Mr. CONROY.—I thought that statement had been withdrawn?

Mr. HUME COOK.—No, it was not withdrawn, but, on the contrary, when a denial came from a friend of mine on this side of the House, the honorable member for Parramatta persisted in saying that his statement was true, and that he had authority for it. Now I will tell the House what the honorable member himself said, before he became a free-trader, about the awful effects of free-trade.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is the honorable member going to read that letter again?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I am going to quote a portion of it. It is a very good letter, and is a magnificent tribute to protection. The honorable member in this letter does not tell us of what he had learned or heard, but of what he had actually seen during a trip to England from which he had just returned. Speaking of the unemployed in England, in answer to some other correspondent, he wrote—

Re unemployed of England, your correspondent thinks there may be 70,000. I am perfectly sure he is under the mark. The unemployed in England at this moment are considerably over 1,000,000. But, sir, the number of unemployed is not the only index of free-trade disaster.

This comes from the honorable member who now says that free-trade is going to rid us of our unemployed. He does not now speak of free-trade disaster! Perhaps there is a reason we have not yet heard. He says further—

The figures re pauperism in England are misleading. Nearly the whole industrial population of England are at this moment living lives bordering on the verge of starvation.

Mr. MCCAY.—Was it true?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was true at that time, which was one of the worst periods of depression Great Britain ever passed through.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member, in his letter, continues as follows:—

Let me give one more fact to show what is transpiring every day in free-trade England. A large colliery owner has just put down a large shaft at a cost of £80,000; he had to sink 80 yards through a loose sand bed, and had to line it with tubing. He had large iron works of his own in the vicinity of the shaft, yet notwithstanding, he imported the whole of the tubing from Belgium at a cost of 18s. per ton cheaper than he could produce it at his own works, and when spoken to by some of the workmen, who at that time were working two days per week, he complacently remarked that he was buying in the cheapest market as a free-trader should do.

Buying in the cheapest market, whilst there were over a million people unemployed in England; whilst, according to the honorable member, the whole population of England were on the borders of starvation. The honorable member proceeds as follows:—

Now according to the free-trade theory of exchange he had to sell as well as buy, which fact simply means that he had to pay for the iron he bought in Belgium. What did he pay for it? Why, sir, he made the fact of his having bought from Belgium a lever by which to wring from his workmen a reduction of 10 per cent. This is how free-trade is constantly paying for imports.

Taking 10 per cent. off the worker. Does the honorable member for Parramatta propose to pay for imports by reducing the wages of the workmen in New South Wales and the other States? He says that that is what is done by free-traders. He says that that is what they do in England. He continues—

She sells her flesh and blood, and “pulls off the last pound,” for imports she can herself produce. How are we paying for our imports at the present time? Simply by selling our credit at an enormous sacrifice, as well as our raw materials, at a dead loss.

Is that the way in which New South Wales is keeping up her industries and her credit? Is she “selling her credit at an enormous sacrifice, and sending away her raw material at a dead loss?” The honorable member adds—

According to the free-trader, we are doing grandly if we can sustain our credit in a foreign land. It does not matter that our mechanics are compelled to take pick and shovel as long as they keep doing something to sustain our credit in England.

I do not know whether the honorable member still maintains that attitude. He admits by interjection that what he says was true then, but he does not admit that it is true now.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I was as ignorant then as is the honorable member now.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member admits that it was true then. I will prove that it is equally true to-day.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Later on I will prove that the honorable member is a free-trader.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member for Parramatta will find that a very difficult task. It is quite true that at the present moment Great Britain is, perhaps, busier than she has been for many years past. That circumstance, however, arises out of the enormous amount of money

which is being expended as the result of the war in South Africa. But, notwithstanding that Great Britain is busier to-day than she has ever been before, it is significant that her export trade is gradually going down. I have just had handed to me two cablegrams which appeared in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of 9th March and 11th March of this year. The first one reads as follows:—

The Board of Trade returns of the United Kingdom “under free-trade,” for the month of February, 1901, as compared with the same month of 1900, shows that the value of the exports decreased £2,182,394.

The other cablegram reads thus—

The trade statistics of the United States for the past three years have been most remarkable, and those for 1900 were the most remarkable of the series, as an excess of exports was then recorded of £132,395,743. These returns cover merchandise only, and the exports, which in 1895 were only £168,271,467, were last year £301,522,374, or 80 per cent. larger.

One would imagine that facts like these would appeal to those who say that they were ignorant once, but are not so ignorant now. The reasons which support me in continuing a protectionist, notwithstanding the proof which I hear is to be forthcoming—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member “turned dog” on the men who put him into Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member to withdraw that statement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I withdraw it.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member for Parramatta says that I “turned dog” upon the men who put me into Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The statement has been withdrawn, and cannot be referred to.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It may be said that I have “turned” upon those who put me into Parliament. I wish to say that those who put me into Parliament first are among my strongest supporters to-day. When I had the misfortune, or good fortune perhaps, to lose my seat at the State elections the same men who formerly returned me to the Victorian Parliament, not only rallied around me, but did their best in other ways to secure my election to this House. So far from having lost friends, I have more friends in the Bourke electorate to-day than I have ever had in my life. I still continue a protectionist, because I desire to see the industries of the

Commonwealth developed under that policy which seems to me to offer the only rational way of developing them. I hold the home market to be the best and most profitable market. Industries have been developed under protection that could never have been developed otherwise. By this system we can attract capital and population to a greater extent than we can do by sending out for one-half of what we require to other countries. If Australia needs one thing more than another it is population. We desire to lighten our burdens, to add to the volume of our trade, and to develop our great natural resources. We can best do these things by means of a large population, and population will flow to us when we offer it sufficient inducement. The greatest export of Britain to-day is the export of human beings. We want some of that export to come here. The way to encourage it to come here is to open up avenues of employment by developing our natural resources. Apropos of this matter, what does Mr. J. S. Larke say in a lecture delivered before the New South Wales Chamber of Manufactures in February of this year? He says—

Iron is the secret and source of manufacturing success. There was a time when all the iron Canada used came from Great Britain. It is not so now. Some ten years ago the Iron and Steel Institute visited the United States, and many of its members came into Canada. The secretary—reputed one of the cleverest statisticians of England, a high authority in the iron trade—made a speech in Ottawa, in which he was reported to have said—"Canada professes great friendship for England, and great loyalty to the Empire, but she has put on heavy duties on the importation of English iron, and that is not in keeping with her professions." On reading that speech, the next morning I said to some members of the Institute whom I met:—"Has that secretary of yours gone through the United States with his eyes shut? Anybody but a fool must see that to-day it is not a question whether we shall get our iron from England or not, but whether we shall take it from the United States or make it ourselves, and Canada has decided to make it herself." As I have stated, practically all the iron and iron products imported into Canada, came from Great Britain. Fifteen years ago, of the imports of pig iron, 70 per cent. were still from Great Britain, and 30 from the United States. Ten years after, and the proportions were 16 per cent. from Great Britain and 84 from the United States. Railway supplies in 1884 from Great Britain 80 per cent., from the United States 10 per cent.; in 1889 it had become $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from Great Britain, and $93\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the United States. Take castings and forgings; once it all came from Great Britain; last year there was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from Great Britain, but we received $97\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the United States. Great

Mr. Hume Cook.

Britain is no longer the iron king, and the supremacy of British engineering establishments and ship-yards is threatened.

That is from the report of a lecture delivered by Mr. J. S. Larke before the Chamber of Manufactures, Sydney, on the 27th February in the present year. He says that iron is the secret and source of manufacturing supremacy. Have we any iron in Australia, and shall we develop the industry? Do not the Ministry propose, by a system of bounties, and by other means, to put the secret and source of manufacturing supremacy on a fair footing in Australia? Do the Ministry not propose to develop those very industries which are to contribute so largely, I trust, to the manufacturing supremacy in the southern seas of the Commonwealth of Australia? I believe that under protection in Australia, we can do what has already been done, according to Mr. Larke, in Canada and the United States; we can produce our own iron, and gain some of the secret and source of manufacturing supremacy. I believe, further, that it is our duty to afford encouragement, not only in respect to iron, but in respect to every other portion of our great natural inheritance. Believing that can be done by the means I have indicated, I stand here more confirmed than ever in my protectionist convictions. I am satisfied personally—I was never more so—that if this Tariff be fixed for seven or ten years—as the honorable member for West Sydney desires, we shall find very great impetus indeed given to every kind of industry in Australia; and that, so far from one particular State monopolizing industries, each State will develop its own particular and peculiar resources with advantage to all the others. Our home market will have been secured to us; our added population will have come to find employment in industries, and will found homes here, thus adding to our numerical strength and to our commercial status. This is the true path to that nationhood, to which we have all been looking forward, but which we have as yet only on paper. Australia, to reach and to enjoy her manifest destiny must develop her own resources, must find employment for her own people, and let the rest of the world look after its own concerns. Our duty is to ourselves, and we can do far better by employing the whole of our own people, and by importing nothing, than by employing one-half of our

people, and giving the rest of our employment to the outside world.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I should like to offer a personal explanation in regard to the interjection I made on the question whether or not the honorable member for Bourke was a free-trader.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member can make an explanation if it refers to his own speech, but not if it merely refers to an interjection.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The whole matter has arisen out of my speech, which was in reply to statements made, in the first instance, by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. I should like to say that I do not approve of honorable members endeavouring to show inconsistency on my part by referring to ancient history, and fishing up an absolutely foolish letter, which has already been read four times to the House. It was in reply to that letter that I made some reference to the fiscal change on the part of the Prime Minister, and also on the part of the honorable member for Bourke. If I have misinterpreted or misrepresented the honorable member, I am very sorry; but my remarks were based on statements made by Mr. J. F. Hassett, who resides in the electorate of the honorable member for Bourke, and who has written the following letter.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I rise to order. Should not the honorable member for Parramatta be confined to explaining something in which he has been misrepresented? Is the honorable member not now attempting to make a second speech for the purpose of casting reflections on the previous speaker?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I understand that what the honorable member for Parramatta proposes to do is to explain a statement he made in his own speech relative to some opinions held some time ago by the honorable member for Bourke. So long as the honorable member for Parramatta confines himself to explaining the reason why he made that statement in his speech, he is within the standing order which gives the right of explanation.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Mr. Hassett supported the free-trade candidate at the last election.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I should think he did, after the manner in which the

honorable member turned round on him. Mr. Hassett's letter is as follows:—

Dear Sir,—In reply to your inquiry, I beg to state that Mr. Hume Cook did not proclaim himself as a free-trader or a single-taxer when first elected to Parliament, but he did lead myself and others who were mainly instrumental in securing his election to believe that he was one.

Mr. MCCAY.—Is that the sort of authority on which the honorable member makes assertions against an honorable member's character?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable and learned member wait one moment. The letter proceeds—

In none of his campaign addresses did he openly declare his fiscal views, but he did make strong denunciations of protection to manufacturers as tending to create monopolies in which there was no guarantee of protection to the workers' wages.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear; so do we all.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member for Melbourne Ports denounce protection? Mr. Hassett's letter concludes—

His advocacy of the taxation of land values was of a most pronounced, determined, and public character.

Mr. Hassett states that he was led to believe that the honorable member for Bourke was a free-trader and a single-taxer, and on the strength of that belief the honorable member was helped into Parliament. If the honorable member for Bourke denies that he ever did so profess himself, or ever was anything of the kind, I must accept his statement.

Mr. THOMAS (Barrier).—I move—

That after paragraph 6 of the motion, the following words be added—"Because they do not provide for the imposition of direct taxation in the shape of a land value tax."

I do not propose this evening to deal, except very briefly, with the Tariff proposals of the Government. I do not intend entering into any discussion as to the relative value of raising money by a protective Tariff or by a revenue-producing Tariff. I am much in the position of that much-quoted Irishman, who said he was against all Governments, in that I am against all taxation through the Customs. We have had a very long, and I think I may say without presumption, a very able debate on the relative merits of these two systems of raising money. I agree with all that has

been said by protectionists against revenue tariffists, and on the other hand I agree with all that has been said by revenue tariffists against raising money by protective duties. In order that I may show my impartiality, I intend in committee to vote for every reduction, from whichever side that reduction may be proposed. If the revenue tariffists propose a reduction of a protective duty, I shall, I hope, be found voting for it, and *vice versa*; in short, whatever reductions are proposed in committee, I shall be found voting for them. To me the discussion seems for some considerable time to have been conducted on the assumption that there is no way of raising money for Commonwealth purposes except through the Custom-house. So widely does that opinion prevail, that I believe there is a large number of people who think that our Constitution does not provide any other means of raising revenue I have met people holding that view. I was told the other day by a person on the press that he had had to show people of his acquaintance a copy of the Constitution in order to prove to them that it was possible to raise money in some other way. I could well understand a discussion similar to that which we have had, taking place in the Congress of the United States, where, I understand, the Government must raise their federal revenue from customs and excise. That is the only source of revenue open to them. The Attorney-General shakes his head. Of course, I am prepared to give way to his opinion, but still, I remember reading some time ago that the Government of the United States had instituted an income tax, and that on appeal to the Supreme Court it was disallowed on the ground, I understood, that the Government had no right to levy such an impost.

Mr. McCAY.—Because it was not proportionate to the population.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The American Government can impose direct taxation, but subject to certain limitations that do not exist under our Constitution.

Mr. THOMAS.—I would not for a moment differ from the Attorney-General on that point. The fact remains that under our Constitution we have the right to impose taxation in any way we think fit. Though I was one of those who opposed the Constitution Bill for various reasons, I

said that I was glad that it contained this provision. I think the Bill was right in granting that power to the Parliament, and in giving the people of Australia absolute control over the mode in which revenue should be raised. So that I do not object to the proposals of the Government so much because they are of a protectionist character, or because they are of a revenue producing character, as because they do not provide for any direct taxation. It will not be necessary for me to point out at any great length the distinguishing features of direct and indirect taxation. The principal reason why I am in favour of direct taxation is that there is practically no leakage of revenue from it. In connexion with indirect taxation there is not only the cost of collecting the revenue through Custom-houses, and the rest of the necessary machinery, but there is also the profit that is made out of the duty that is levied. I suppose that every honorable member will agree that that criticism applies to such portions of the Tariff proposals as are merely revenue producing. Even those who claim to be revenue tariffists will admit that not only have the people of the country to pay the amount of money that the Government requires, but also a certain amount of profit on the extra money that is laid out by the merchant in consequence of the duties. We are all agreed in that as far as concerns the revenue producing portion of the Tariff. The revenue tariffists have to admit what I have stated, and of course the protectionists admit it also. There are, however, some protectionists who argue that the same objection does not apply to protective duties—that we do not in all cases owing to the operation of internal competition pay all the duty that is levied. But even the protectionists have to admit that in the case of duties which are not affected by internal competition—that is to say, in those industries in which it may be, perhaps, two or three years before manufacturing can be sufficiently developed to cause internal competition—the price of commodities is increased by a protective duty. That being so, I take it that the protectionist is prepared to admit that not only have we to pay the import duty, but also the added interest on that import duty. So that if we have to raise £9,000,000 through the Customs, it will be putting it extremely low to say that the people of this country have to pay not only the £9,000,000, but also at

least £1,000,000 more to the importers or retailers.

Mr. HARPER.—Oh, no.

Mr. THOMAS.—The honorable member for Mernda shakes his head and says "No." In some cases much more than 10 per cent. has to be paid before the goods come to the consumer. I will mention one case. Some time ago, in New South Wales, before the Dibbs Tariff was removed, there was a duty of 2d. per lb. on jam. In Broken Hill we were getting jams of excellent quality—the Glen Ewin and the Glen Osmond brands. A storekeeper at Broken Hill told me that these jams were at that time being sold for 1s. 3d. per 2-lb. tin. He said—"As soon as the duty of 4d. per 2-lb. tin is removed, we shall sell these jams for 10d. per tin. That is, we now charge the 4d. duty, and the extra 1d. for laying out the 4d." That was 25 per cent. which the people had to pay on those jams. I am aware that if the Government requires money it must be raised through taxation in some way. I do not so much object to the 4d., in the case of these 2-lb. tins of jam, going to the Government, but I do object to the people having to pay an extra penny, simply because some one else is collecting that 4d. for the Government. By the time the wholesale man has paid the duty and has sent the goods to the retailer, who has to make his profit, it is an exceedingly low estimate to say that the people of this country will have to pay £1,000,000 in addition to the £9,000,000 being raised through the Custom-house. But in the case of direct taxation there is no profit made by any one. The whole duty collected goes straight into the coffers of the State. Then again, I venture to say that there will be no disputing the fact that direct taxation is certainly more just as a means of raising revenue than taxes imposed through the Customs, whether those duties be of a revenue-producing or of a protective character. Who is it that is called upon to bear the overwhelming proportion of customs duties? If we put that question to ourselves we shall come to the conclusion speedily that they must necessarily be borne by the masses, and not by the classes. I do not suppose, for example, that as a rule a rich man drinks a great deal more than does an artisan in the course of twelve months. Of course, if he drinks champagne he pays

more duty than the worker. But there are some rich men who are teetotallers, so that, as a matter of fact, such a man would pay less actually than the artisan who, while extremely temperate, was not a teetotaller. If we take 100 rich men and 100 artisans, the probability is that we shall find that in the course of twelve months the latter pay as much as the rich men in the way of duties on stimulants and narcotics. Take the wife of the rich man and the wife of the artisan. The wife of the one probably would not drink any more than the wife of the other; but, when we come to the consumption of rice, we find that the artisan and the worker generally consume far more than the rich man. The artisan has a better appetite than the rich man, and, consequently, by means of the duties on such articles he is called upon to pay more of the taxation of the country. Customs duties must necessarily come out of the stomachs and from the backs of the workers; and, although the rich people may use a little better furniture and wear superior clothing, in no way is the taxation which they are called upon to bear commensurate with their banking accounts. We are all agreed that under a mere revenue-producing Tariff the people pay more than the duty. They have to pay the profit which is made by the imposition of the duty. Let us assume for a moment that so far as a protective duty is concerned, the consumer, in some cases, pays only the duty itself. We will concede for the sake of argument, that as the result of such a duty a local industry is established, internal competition takes place, and prices are brought down. If an article can be produced locally, however, and sold at a price below that for which it could be imported, where is the necessity for the imposition of a duty? The fact that a duty remains upon an article should in itself be sufficient proof that there is some need for it. On some articles, however, the people must necessarily pay the whole duty, otherwise the Government proposals would bring in no revenue. Not only have they to pay the duty, but, as I have said, they have to bear the added amount of profit. If we assume, for the sake of argument, that the whole of the protective duties balance—that is to say that the people have to pay the duties and nothing more—we have still to consider what is the effect of a protected industry upon the

primary industries of the Commonwealth. When I speak of primary industries, I refer to agriculture and mining, which are, in my opinion, the two great primary industries of Australia. I use the word agriculture in its widest and fullest sense.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member includes in it the pastoral industry?

Mr. THOMAS.—Certainly.

Mr. MCCAY.—Will the honorable member deal with the effect of a land values tax on agriculture?

Mr. THOMAS.—I shall come to that point presently. If we killed our two great primary industries then within a few weeks this continent would be handed over to the undisputed possession of the aboriginals. I do not know whether the honorable and learned member for Werriwa is present, but during the course of the debate he made an interjection in regard to the champagne provided by the manufacturers of Melbourne on the occasion of visits paid to their establishments by Members of Parliament. I am sorry that such an interjection should have been made. I was one of those who accepted the invitation of the manufacturers of Melbourne to view their places of business. I desired to see them for myself, and I was very pleased with a great deal of what I saw. As a matter of fact, however, I did not drink any champagne, because I am a total abstainer. If I had not been a teetotaler I should have partaken of it with the rest. Passing from that matter, I want to point out that there are some protected industries which would have no effect upon the primary industries of the Commonwealth. Take the shirt, boot, and umbrella making trades, for example. The manufacture of umbrellas is a very big business here, and the manufacture of boots is another large trade. If, under a protectionist Tariff, we had to pay more for a shirt than we would pay for it under a free-trade policy, that fact would affect only the buyer, because, so far as I know, a shirt is made to be worn and does not enter into any other province as raw material. There are some manufactured articles, however, which come within the category of raw materials, and are used as such in other industries. Bar-iron might be cited as an example. The honorable member for New England made a speech on the motion before the Chair, which, I am

sure, we were all pleased to hear, but he concluded with the remarkable statement that, while he was in favour of allowing the raw article to come in free, he would support the protection of the manufactured article. As a representative of no small mining constituency, I do not care very much about the manufactured article, provided that the Government allow the raw material to come in free. But what is the raw material of the miner in Broken Hill? It is the engine and the machine, and not the bar-iron.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—And timber.

Mr. THOMAS.—That is so. If the Government will allow the raw material, which I have just named, to come in free they will place the mining industry in the same position as the engineer in the metropolis, who is asking that his raw material shall also come in free. Shirts, umbrellas, and boots cannot be regarded as raw materials that interfere with any primary industry, and if there is no other way of finding employment for a large number of people than by supporting the local manufacture of these articles, I am prepared to say that it is better to do that than allow them to walk the streets. But let us call these industries by their proper names. If they are started simply as relief works, let us call them relief works, and pay for them as such, but do not let us call them manufactures. Why should the man who wears a shirt or a pair of boots, or uses an umbrella, alone be called upon to pay in order to keep the people employed in these factories in work? Why should not the people as a whole be called upon to bear the burden of these relief works? I regard every industry that has to be supported by revenue which comes from the primary industries of the Commonwealth as a relief work, and I would be quite prepared to support anything of the kind under that name. The raw materials which are very important to the mining community are the machines, engines, dynamite, and other articles used in the development of a mine. I trust that honorable members will pardon me if, for a moment or two, I refer to my own constituency, because not only is Broken Hill important in itself, but on its welfare depends to a large extent the welfare of South Australia. Broken Hill to-day pays one-third of the whole of the railway revenue of South Australia. Shut down the mines of Broken Hill and next morning one man out of

every three working on the railroads of South Australia would have to be discharged. Port Pirie is no small port, no unimportant village. It is to-day one of the leading places in South Australia; but shut down the mines of Broken Hill to-day and to-morrow Port Pirie would practically cease to be. I have not brought the figures up to date, but I know that three or four years ago the exports and imports of Broken Hill were more than those of Tasmania. The 36 miles of privately owned tramway at Broken Hill, the Silverton tramway, has a bigger revenue than have the whole of the railways of Tasmania. I quote this to show that it is an important thing to keep that place going, not merely for its present inhabitants, but also for the great State of South Australia. The mines of Broken Hill will have to pay taxation under this Tariff to the extent of at least £30,000 a year more than they are paying at present. I am glad to say that there is one mine at Broken Hill which is paying dividends. I believe it has paid one dividend during the last six months. Although I have not a single share in the mines myself, I personally should like to see them pay more, because I know that if mines are paying dividends, it is better for the community in their neighbourhood. There is only one mine that I know to be paying, and it has paid only a shilling dividend in six months. I know that some of the mines are in a very precarious position. The profit and loss accounts are balancing, and in the case of some of the mines I am afraid the balance is leaning to the side of loss, and if we add this extra £30,000 a year to the expenses, I am afraid it will have a serious effect upon them. I have had some official statements supplied me by the secretaries of mining companies at Broken Hill, and I find that the Proprietary mine alone will have to pay £21,000 a year under this Tariff, and what for? What benefit are they to get from this extra taxation? The Central mine will pay £6,700 a year under the present Tariff. Block 10 will pay £1,725; Block 14 will pay £2,500. I have not the figures for the South mine and other mines. I should have written for them, but omitted to do so. However, over £30,000 will have to be paid by all these mines. I do not say that the extra £30,000 will do it, and, of course, I hope it will not, but if it was to have the effect of shutting down some of

the mines, I venture to say it would be the means directly and indirectly of throwing more men out of employment than all these protective duties will find work for throughout the Commonwealth. Now we find that the Government are going to tax the timber that goes into the mines, and I hope that when we are in committee they will see their way clear to yield upon that point. They have proposed a terrifically high duty, as much as 50 per cent. on the value of the timber. I see that the Minister for Trade and Customs shakes his head, but four days ago the price of timber at Puget Sound was 3s. per 100 feet, and the Government are charging a duty of 1s. 6d. upon that. By the time the timber is brought to Port Pirie, and freight has had to be paid upon it, I admit that the duty will not amount to 50 per cent. of the value, but it amounts to 50 per cent. on the value of the timber at Puget Sound.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The percentage rates are 10, 12½, and 17 per cent.

Mr. THOMAS.—If the right honorable gentleman will look at the Tariff schedule he will find that the duty upon this big timber is 1s. 6d. per 100 feet, and the price of that timber at Puget Sound is 3s. per 100 feet. I asked for these figures from the secretary of the Proprietary Company and he gave them to me when I saw him a few days ago. He says that the price paid is 3s. per 100 feet at Puget Sound and this Tariff proposes a duty of 1s. 6d. on that. I admit that when it comes to Port Pirie, and freight is paid on it to Broken Hill, the price is increased, but on the price of the timber at Puget Sound the duty proposed is 50 per cent. of the value of the timber. This timber alone pays £28,000 a year to the South Australian railways, and the Minister for Trade and Customs should be very careful before he does anything that is likely to interfere with the railway returns of South Australia because they will want all the money they can get there. Whilst I should be glad to see every man in work and getting something for his work—there is not much in working unless one is paid for it, one might just as well be idle—whilst I should like to see every one in work, it would be a pity if in trying to find work for five or six men we should do an injury to a great industry like this. Some little time ago I was going through the central

mine at Broken Hill, and saw a new machine which had just been brought out for the purpose of treating some of the ore there. It had cost the company £10,000, and had been sent from Germany because it could not be produced here. I do not say that it was altogether an experiment, because I have no doubt the general manager of the company went into the matter considerably before he was prepared to launch out to the extent of £10,000. At the same time it must necessarily to some extent be an experiment, because many of these patents work all right in the laboratory, but immediately they are brought out into the open air and daylight they do not altogether pan out as expected. A great deal of the future success and development of the mine depends upon this machinery. It was imported a little while ago, but had it not been imported until a few days since it would have had to pay a duty of 25 per cent., or £2,500, which would make the cost of the machine to the company £12,500 instead of £10,000. I am prepared to say that I would just as soon think of putting a galvanized-iron roof over Australia to keep the sun out, in order to develop a local industry in artificial light, as I would keep out the inventions of men of genius, which might perhaps be the means of finding work for a large number of people. I say that, in connexion with the experiment going on at this mine, if it can only be proved that by the employment of this machinery they will be able to make a profit of a single ounce of silver per ton, the outcome of it will be that at least 2,000 men will have work found for them directly or indirectly by its operations. It will take a long time before the effect of some of the duties under this Tariff will be to find work for 2,000 people. This company might be prepared to lay out £10,000, and might not be prepared to lay out £12,500. We might have a company that would lay out £12,500 upon an experiment when they would not be prepared to lay out £15,000, and so on, and I say it would be a very great pity if anything were done to prevent machines of this kind coming into the country. I leave the agriculturalists and the pastoralists alone, because I do not profess to know anything of their industries, but I say that the miner wants the best, the cheapest, and the most efficient machinery to be had in the world in order to enable him to develop his mines?

Thomas.

Mr. HARPER.—I suppose this is a patented machine to which the honorable member refers?

Mr. THOMAS—I think it is. I know that some people say, that under protection we can have these engines and machines developed here. Victoria is quoted, and it is said that in Victoria we have been able to produce some of the best gold saving machinery in the world under the system of protection. I believe that up to a little time ago some of the best gold saving machinery produced in any place in the world could be produced in Victoria, but that was simply because Bendigo and Ballarat developed that particular kind of machinery, and there was no great competition elsewhere. But immediately the Johannesburg mines were opened up, British and American capital swept into them, and I venture to say that a very short time afterwards the machinery out here was as out of date for gold saving as are horse trams for traction in every civilized place in the world, except Adelaide. To show how special requirements develop means of meeting them, I might point to Martin Brothers' establishment at Gawler. They have been able to develop and to manufacture a first-class concentrating machine. Why? Because of their proximity to the Broken Hill mines, and the knowledge of the requirements of those mines which they have been able to gain there. But, so little has protection helped them, that not long ago one of the members of the firm told me that he had been begging the others to leave Gawler, and establish the foundry in Sydney. Whilst I am glad to see people employed in factories, I say that it is suicidal to develop, say, a foundry at the expense of a mine, because, while in the foundry you may give employment to 50 men, by sacrificing the mine you throw 400 or 500 men out of employment. No other industry affords such varied and extensive avenues of employment as mining does, because it employs not only the miner, but also the carpenter, the tradesman, the engine-driver, the fitter, and many other artisans. One reason why I object to protective duties is this: If a mine does not pay it is shut down; but if a woollen factory does not pay with the assistance of 15 per cent. duties, the proprietor asks for and obtains 25 per cent. duties. The mining, agricultural, and pastoral community has to pay to keep the woollen manufactory and other protected industries going; but

it is never proposed to subsidize a mine which does not pay.

Mr. KINGSTON.—In South Australia mining has been subsidized by the giving of grants for deep sinking.

Mr. THOMAS.—I admit that a certain amount of money has been expended to assist prospecting.

Mr. KINGSTON.—We have gone further than that.

Mr. THOMAS.—Very little further. I am glad to say that they have recently established a State mine in South Australia. At present it employs only three men and a boy, but I am in favour of the owning of mines by a State, and have been greatly interested in the information which I have received in regard to that mine by the South Australian Minister of Mines. If I were forced to vote for some kind of indirect taxation, I should support revenue duties rather than protective duties, though to my mind both are bad, unjust, and cruel. I would support revenue duties before protective duties for this reason: To-day, the amendment which I have moved may be scoffed at and negatived, but the time will come when this Parliament will have to face the question of imposing direct taxation, and when that time comes it will be easier for the advocates of direct taxation to gain their ends, if only revenue duties are imposed now, than if vested interests are created under protective duties. If protective duties are put on, and manufactories are established under them, the advocates of direct taxation will then have to fight not only the wealthy and conservative members of the community; they will have to fight also the manufacturers and the workers employed in protected factories. A little over 25 years ago in New South Wales duties were placed upon sugar, purely for revenue purposes, but some people thought that they could profitably produce sugar under those duties, and they did so. I have heard protectionists say that if an industry is protected for a little while, it will be able after a time to stand by itself. I do not know that that is an accepted protectionist doctrine at the present time, but it used to be so. Well, notwithstanding the fact that the New South Wales sugar duties had been in existence for 25 years, it was marvellous what a row was kicked up when the present leader of the Opposition, who was then in

power, threatened to remove them. Talk about weaning a baby; this 25-year-old baby made a terrible row at being weaned. Those interested in the industry said—"If you take away the duties you will kill the sugar industry." The Trades and Labour Council of Melbourne have asked that duties should not be placed upon the necessities of life, and I am in favour of that, unless by removing such duties it becomes necessary to place higher duties upon raw material, and thus make the price of that raw material dearer, and increase the difficulties of those who have to use it. The artisans and fitters of Melbourne, for instance, would strongly object to duties being placed upon the raw material of their trade—iron and steel bars—and I think they would be right in doing so; but to the miners of Broken Hill the engine—the machine—is the raw article. I know that revenue must be raised in some way or other. The system of indirect taxation is wasteful and unjust. Who is it that gains by the expenditure of money? I venture to say that it is the land-owner who gains by the expenditure of all loan money. Every railway which is built, and every road which is made, gives a benefit to the labourer and to the storekeeper for a little while. The labourer earns his wage by the day, perhaps, while a railway or a road is being made, and he gains that benefit; but afterwards neither one nor the other adds anything to a man's wages. It does not add any particular advantage to the storekeeper, the mechanic, or the labourer, but it does add to the value of the land. As I understand, the amount which is wanted for federal purposes, plus the loss on the transferred services, is about £1,700,000.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is much higher than the estimate which was given to the people at the time.

Mr. THOMAS.—No; it was £300,000 as the cost of federal services, and about £1,400,000 as the loss on the Post-office, Defence, and so on.

Mr. HUGHES.—Was it not £500,000?

Mr. THOMAS.—No. I think I am correct in saying that it was about £1,700,000. Under the Braddon blot it will be necessary to raise £6,800,000, if it were raised by customs duties. With a population of 3,750,000 persons, that would come to about 38s. per head. That is fairly high amount to raise through the Customs with so low a Tariff as that; but if we had a

Tariff of £9,000,000 it would come to about £2 10s. per head. In 1900, the people in the United Kingdom paid about 30s. per head. In the German Empire, according to the *Statesman's Year Book*—it is surprising to me that the figures are so extremely low, I may have made a mistake—the rate was 14s. per head.

Mr. CROUCH.—That is because the individual States pay for themselves.

Mr. THOMAS.—This is the rate of taxation for federal purposes.

Mr. McCAY.—Our taxes are for more than federal purposes—for State purposes also.

Mr. THOMAS.—Under the Braddon blot that is so. In France, where the Government have to pay a great deal for their big army, the rate of taxation through the Custom-house was a little under £1 per head. I find that the French Government make a profit of £20,000,000 a year on tobacco. I suppose it would be only fair, in a way, to put that against the excise here. The people of Australia have to pay the excise and the profit, but there the Government reap the benefit, which is a more sensible arrangement. With that added, the rate would be £1 7s. per head. In the United States the rate was 13s. per head, if we take simply the revenue from import duties; but, of course, they have a large internal revenue—I suppose it is mostly excise—and that would increase the rate to £1 9s. per head. I am in full accord with the honorable member for Bland on one point. I am not in favour of raising through the Custom-house one penny more than the £1,700,000 we require for federal purposes, plus what must be raised by the Braddon blot. I am a little sorry that the leader of the Opposition has not said in the House—he may do so before the debate is closed—whether he is prepared to raise only that amount, or whether he will raise revenue for the necessities of the States as well. It is an extremely unfair position for a Federal Parliament to be placed in—to have to raise more money than is needed owing to the necessities of the States—for this reason, that we shall have the blame of raising the money, while the State Parliaments will have the credit of spending it. That is like “playing heads I win and tails you lose.” I am prepared to oppose the raising of more than the amount needed for federal purposes, plus what the Constitution demands. On spirits

and narcotics we raise £4,000,000 a year. I am not particularly in favour of raising revenue even on narcotics and spirits, although I admit that the taxation is partly moral and partly fiscal. I do not drink, nor do I smoke, consequently I do not contribute to that sum. I do not particularly object to others contributing to it if they choose. A man is very foolish to allow his whisky to be taxed and to permit my ginger-ale to come in free. If he is prepared to do it, I do not see why I should go out of my way to grumble very much. That will give us £1,000,000 a year.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Have we not taxed ginger-ale? I think so.

Mr. THOMAS.—Then the Tariff is worse than I thought it was. A tax of 1d. in the £1 on the unimproved value of land throughout the Commonwealth would raise about £1,400,000.

Mr. BARTON.—That is, without any exemptions?

Mr. THOMAS.—Without any exemptions; of course if the figures are not right some one can correct them to-morrow. A tax of a ½d. in the £1 on the unimproved value of land without any exemptions would yield about £350,000. We should still require to raise £350,000 more. Through the Custom-house, if we wished to raise that amount, we should have to raise £1,400,000 more under the Braddon blot. That would give us a Customs revenue of £5,400,000. If £350,000 were to be raised by direct taxation, I should not bother very much about whether the Tariff were revenue producing or protectionist.

Mr. SAWERS.—What would be the cost of collecting the land tax?

Mr. THOMAS.—It would be very little, seeing that practically in every State there is a land tax, and an arrangement could very easily be made with the States.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Is this to be an additional land tax?

Mr. THOMAS.—It is to be a federal land tax. We have nothing to do with the States. We are a Federal Parliament.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—Does the honorable member say that we have nothing to do with the States?

Mr. THOMAS.—We are here as a Federal Parliament, and the great mistake we are making in connexion with this Tariff is in bothering so much about the necessities of the States. A revenue of £350,000 from a land tax of ½d. in

the £1 would cover the cost of the federation. I was not present during the sittings of the Federal Convention ; but I understand that the honorable and learned member for South Australia, Mr. Glynn, moved to insert in the Constitution a provision to the effect that all money required for direct federal purposes should be raised by means of a land tax.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not think so.

Mr. THOMAS.—I think he did, and on the ground that the land would receive a particular benefit from federation. We were promised a great deal of benefit from federation. I hope that all the benefit which was promised by the Prime Minister, the Minister for Trade and Customs, and others, will be obtained. I did not think it would, but still I hope that I was wrong and that they were right. At any rate, if the land is to be improved in value as the outcome of federation, it is a fair thing that revenue should be raised by a tax upon it. We may be told that the States would be impoverished, but I think I am right in saying that the honorable and learned member for Indi stated at the Federal Convention, when speaking about the way in which Western Australia would be affected by the reduction of the revenue collected through the Customs, that if the people were not taxed in that way the money would be left in their pockets. That was reported to have been said by the honorable and learned member, but whether he said it or not, I believe in the correctness of that view. If you do not take money out of the pockets of the people through customs duties, the money must remain in their pockets. I venture to say that a land tax affords a just, fair, and equitable means of raising revenue ; besides which it would stimulate enterprise, and thus tend to provide employment. If you tax a man's land you compel him to make some use of it in order that he may be able to pay the tax. There was a great deal of land in New South Wales and other States of which no use was made until a land tax was imposed, but when taxation had to be paid, those who held land had to do something with it, and they thus provided employment for the people. If there are any free-traders in this House I would like to see them support this resolution. There is as much difference between free-trade and revenue tariffism as there is between protection and revenue tariffism, and for a

man to say he is a free-trader and at the same time a revenue tariffist is to take up a position which is a delusion, a snare, and a mockery. Some time ago, in New South Wales, there was a band of very able men who believed in free-trade ; and it is to their credit that, under the leadership of the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, they carried out their policy. Whether they were right or wrong, they did what they believed to be the proper thing. They went into Parliament to reduce the customs duties, and they did so. They did not remove the duty on boots, and put it on rice ; but they reduced the duties, and raised revenue by putting a tax upon the land. These men believed in free-trade, and it is argued by them to-day that New South Wales is better off because of the free-trade policy that was then adopted. If free-trade is a good thing for New South Wales it must be a good thing for the Commonwealth, and the only way in which we can secure free-trade is by resorting to direct taxation. I confess that I admire the magnificent pluck and heroism of John Bright when he took the action he did some 50 years ago. Free-trade in England then was not the thing to swear by that it is to-day, but there was tremendous opposition to it, which went so far that on a certain afternoon a number of land-owners met and subscribed £250,000 with which to fight John Bright. He advocated free-trade—not revenue tariffism. He was a free-trader ; he was prepared to remove customs duties, and he wanted to tax not only the land, but property generally. If there are any free-traders left in this House I would ask them to support this resolution, and if there are any protectionists here who have the courage to protect, I would like them to support it. I do not regard a man as a protectionist if he is prepared to impose only duties of 10 per cent. or 15 per cent., and allow goods to come in here subject only to a slight restriction. The natural corollary to protection is a land tax. There are some members who say that this Tariff is not high enough, because it will allow certain imports to come in, and from the point of view of the protectionist that is a perfectly correct attitude to take. I admire the man who is sincere in his political professions, and I do not care what a man is so long as he is whole-hearted and logical. If there is a true protectionist here I claim his

support, because I hold that the only way in which we can get protection is through direct taxation. Believing that to raise £9,000,000 through the Customs would impose very heavy burdens upon the community, and that a land tax would afford us an equitable mode of raising revenue, I hope my amendment will meet with cordial support.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Since I understood that this amendment would be moved, I have carefully considered the way in which, under the standing orders which control our proceedings, it should be discussed; and after some little difficulty I have arrived at a conclusion which I wish to state to the members. Standing order 257 provides—

A member may speak to any question before the House.

And concludes—

But not otherwise.

According to that standing order, as I am now putting the question to the House, "that the words proposed to be added be so added," the only debate that could take place would be on the one issue whether or not a direct tax, in the shape of a land tax, should be imposed in the Commonwealth. Standing order 263 says:—

An amendment proposed should be disposed of before another amendment can be moved; after all the amendments have been disposed of the main question as amended, or otherwise, should be forthwith put.

So that, at the conclusion of the debate, if I confined the discussion to the question before the Chair, I could not permit the leader of the Opposition to speak in reply, or allow any honorable member who has not spoken on the main question to address himself to it. I should be compelled, on the amendment being negatived, to put the main question forthwith. Under the circumstances I have decided to permit the debate on the main question to continue on the part of those who have not yet spoken. Such honorable members will also be allowed to address themselves to the amendment as a cognate subject. Honorable members who have already addressed the House upon the main question may speak again, but their addresses must be confined strictly to the question whether or not a land tax should be imposed in the Commonwealth. I think that this course will best conduce to the convenience of honorable members, and

that it will be in accordance with the forms of the House.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I would be the last in this House to call into question the opinion you, Mr. Speaker, have expressed, and, indeed, as far as I am concerned, I have no necessity to appeal to the indulgence of the House. I have spoken on the main question, but I have no intention of adding to the length of the debate, which has been very much prolonged, in view of the necessities of the country. Even if I did not doubt my right to speak on the main question again, I should in any case confine myself to the amendment at this late stage. Indeed, I have very little to add. An additional satisfaction to me, in my retrospect of this debate, has been to find that I have not been one of the longest, but one of the shortest speakers. Therefore I do not intend to impair the pleasure of that retrospect by speaking for more than a very few minutes. Having to deal with the amendment alone, I am confronted with this position—that it was not only the policy of the party which sits with me when we went to the country, that at any rate for the present, the revenue of the Commonwealth must be raised wholly from customs and excise duties, but this view was—if not at first, at any rate later on—supported by the leader of the Opposition, with whom, therefore, in this respect, I and those who sit with me are quite in unison. It is far from my mind to lay down the proposition that at no time will a land tax be necessary for the purposes of the Commonwealth. It was a wise foresight that in the drafting of the Constitution subsection (2) of section 51 was made so wide. It includes the whole ground of taxation so long as that taxation does not discriminate between States or parts of States. Therefore, the Commonwealth has the power to impose taxation of any kind, whether direct or indirect, so long as there is no unjust discrimination about that taxation. The amendment therefore cannot be quarrelled with on that ground. Nor can it be quarrelled with in any other way except in regard to the position which I put forward, and the inherent merits of land value taxation to which I do not think it necessary to address myself to-night. On the other grounds of tone and temper the amendment has been put forward very calmly and very ably. Without any long argument as to

the necessity of raising a revenue adequate to the needs of the States—I do not say adequate to their demands—I merely say that I still hold the opinion, which I think was held by all parties when we went to the polls, that the revenue must be raised by customs and excise, and that it must be sufficient in its returns to prevent undue embarrassment to the finances of the States. As we know, the provisions of the Constitution render it necessary for the Commonwealth, during the bookkeeping period, to return to the respective States all that has been spent in the transferred services, less the expenditure in those States, and their *per capita* share in the new expenditure of the Commonwealth. That necessity—as is evidenced by the figures of the Treasurer, which, however much they may be quarrelled with in respect to their accuracy, have been compiled with the very greatest care—establishes one thing very clearly, namely, that there is a certain ratio between the returns yielded by any Tariff imposed by the Commonwealth, which necessitates that some States shall receive more than they need, if it is to be recognised that we are to return to the remaining States something within a measurable degree of what they need. To that measurable degree we must come for the safety of the Commonwealth, not taking the course which the honorable member for the Barrier advocates of raising the Commonwealth revenue without paying any regard to the necessities of the States, but having in view the fact that any result which causes an undue and perilous embarrassment to the States, or to any one of them, reacts with immense force upon the credit of the whole Commonwealth.

Mr. WATSON.—Do we not force them to levy direct taxation if we fail to impose it ourselves?

Mr. BARTON.—That is for them to decide. I was going to say that that is the position to which I still adhere, notwithstanding my honorable friend's arguments. We cannot support this amendment, because the Government and the Opposition parties were united in indicating that the revenue of the Commonwealth must, at any rate, at this stage of our history, be raised from customs and excise, and because it is the bounden duty of the Commonwealth to guard against the possibility of any serious embarrassment to the States. If it does not do so, it abandons its

position of trustee to the whole of the States during the bookkeeping period, and it can only abandon its trusteeship at its own peril, because the impairment or ruin of the credit of one State would impair that credit which we must maintain for the nation as a whole. That is a result which we cannot permit to be brought about. Therefore, taking it for granted that it was the consensus of opinion on the part of the Government and of the Opposition that the whole of the revenue of the Commonwealth—at this stage, at any rate—should be raised from customs and excise, I say that that revenue must be such as to prevent any undue embarrassment to the States. Let us go a point beyond that. There is another aspect of this duty of preserving the credit of the States. We have so to adjust the burdens of taxation as to leave to them the capacity to raise for themselves any shortage which may be imposed upon them as the result of the operation of our Tariff. It is impossible—as has been indicated—to frame any Tariff which will supply to all the States—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I wish to point out to the Prime Minister that the amendment does not necessarily involve the raising of any less sum than is suggested in the Government proposal, and therefore the question of whether or not funds should be provided to a greater or less extent for the States, is hardly within its scope.

Mr. BARTON.—I was going to urge that this tax is submitted as a part substitute—as the honorable member for the Barrier put it—for the duties proposed to be raised by customs and excise. It involves the question in itself of whether it is an efficient substitute—efficient for those needs which all parties recognise must be satisfied. That is the whole extent to which I wish to go. It is important that in raising our revenue we should not, to any degree that is not positively and absolutely necessary, trespass upon any taxable capacity of the States which might enable them to supply any shortages that result from our Tariff proposals. I do not wish to advert to those proposals any more than to point out that it is impossible to satisfy the greatest needs of the States, because that would involve an unheard-of revenue being raised from the source I have indicated. The course, therefore, which is possible and practicable is the medium course, which may leave some shortages. Without going over

the old ground, or traversing the old figures, it will be clearly seen that those States which will be left with shortages by this Tariff must have a field of taxation from which to put their finances in a proper position. If the field is trespassed upon as is now proposed, by so much is it rendered more difficult for each State that is short to preserve its solvency and its credit. That is, I take it, the whole point involved in the amendment. We are not concerned to dispute that land taxation may sometimes be necessary. There are those of us who, if we look into this matter, must foresee that in some of the States, at any rate, a greater degree of internal direct taxation is necessary. The sole reason is that the whole of the ordinary powers of taxation provided by Customs and excise are given to the Commonwealth, and the States cannot, as States, have any voice as to how those powers shall be exercised, and if the result of the unaided exercise of our rights, which are the rights of the whole Commonwealth, leaves the States with a shortage, then to enter on the other field of taxation—one that belongs to us as much as to the States, but one which morally we ought to leave to the States as much as possible—would impair their credit and their ability to satisfy the needs of their own Treasurers. It is not for us to say that in this or that State there is extravagance. We are not here to rectify the internal finances of the States, but simply to return to them, subject to the needs of the Commonwealth, as much as we can in order to prevent their being placed in an improper position. If the States choose to "outrun the constable," and to enormously increase extravagant expenditure, so that anything in reason the Commonwealth Government do is not sufficient for them, it must be their responsibility to make up the balance. But even if the Governments and the Parliaments of the States do not recognise their duty, we have still to remember that the solvency of the States is the solvency of the Commonwealth, and, therefore, we should not subtract from them any reasonable field of taxation by means of which they can rehabilitate their finances. If, having that proper field, the States do not choose to resort to it, that may be their mistake, but it is not our business to interfere. On the other hand, if the Commonwealth Government, having the main sources of revenue, resort to other

sources and take it out of the power of the States to rectify anything that needs rectification, then we begin to be chargeable, because we have entered on a domain which at the present time we ought to leave to them, in order that their individuality as contracting States may be maintained in full strength. No one desires that the States should become crawling dependents on the Commonwealth for grants; we do not want anything of that kind to occur. The position, as I pointed out, is a temporary one. It will exist, at any rate, during the bookkeeping period, and it may exist later. The movements of trade which will follow the abolition of the Inter-State barriers cannot be foreseen. We can only make the best attempt that our present knowledge opens up to us to provide for the contingencies of a few years, but the position of the States financially will probably differ very much from the position in which they stand now in relation to each other. The States which at present have the greatest consuming capacity may tend to equality, and those with less consuming capacity may make some advance to their level. All these are matters which must be observed and watched; and it may be that at the end of a few years we shall find ourselves in a better position to say what should be done in regard to direct taxation. But the needs of the States compel both parties to take the position that the Customs and Excise shall be, for the present, the sole source of revenue. We are pledged to that course on the Government side of the House, and honorable members on the opposition side are similarly pledged, so far as the voice of a leader can represent the voice of a party. I take it that that pledge was given on the considerations I have pointed out, which apply to the finances of the Commonwealth irrespective of free-trade and protection, and apply as much to one party as to the other. Under these circumstances, therefore, without expressing too much opposition to land value taxation, which, as I say, the necessities of the Commonwealth itself may some day render necessary, I point out that as the necessities of the Commonwealth do not at the present moment render such taxation necessary, it is better to leave the States in possession of that confidence and security which they will have when there is this source of revenue to make up for possible financial necessities. Having said that, I do not think I need prolong the debate further than

to say that I shall not find myself in a position to vote for the amendment.

Mr. CLARKE (Cowper).—I realize that this debate is pretty well exhausted. We have had speeches of undue length from some members of the Opposition, and we are now in the third week of the debate. Were I to consult my own personal feelings, or were I to consider the time of the House, I should not speak, but I feel I have a duty to perform on an occasion like this. I represent a constituency which is made up largely of farmers, and the Tariff, which we are now considering, will very seriously affect that class. I have heard honorable members on the opposition side state that the Tariff, as proposed, will be of no benefit to the farming community. In fact, we have been challenged to show in what way the Tariff will benefit the farmer. I accept that challenge, and I shall prove that the Tariff will be of immense advantage to the farmer, and particularly to that class of farmer which I have the honour to represent. One thing has struck me very forcibly during the progress of this debate. We have heard able speeches from honorable members on both sides of the House, but I am sorry to say that there are some honorable members sitting in opposition who have not refrained from indulging in the grossest misrepresentation. We all anticipated that when the Tariff proposals were submitted to the House, there would be a fight, but some of us, at any rate, expected that the fight would be carried on in a fair and honorable manner. We have not only had misrepresentation from honorable members on the opposition side, but we have found those misrepresentations backed up by that section of the press which supports the policy of the Opposition. We have had the spectacle of the leader of the Opposition telling the House and the country that this Tariff has been framed purely in the interests of the Victorian manufacturer. That is a splendid start; and we now hear that statement cheered by members of the Opposition. This Tariff has not been framed in the interests of Victorian manufacturers. If the Tariff resembles the Tariff of Victoria more closely than it does the Tariff of New South Wales, that is simply because the former is found more suited to the circumstances of the Commonwealth. But the statement has been taken up by a section of the free-trade press in Sydney, and sent broadcast from one end of the land to the other.

It is a nice state of things that we should have not only honorable members in the House, but the free-trade press of New South Wales—I am now addressing myself particularly to honorable members who represent New South Wales—adopting methods which are calculated to stir up disaffection and disloyalty to the union into which we have just entered. Again, in addition to the statement that the Tariff is purely a Victorian one, we find all sorts of misrepresentations in the New South Wales journals as to its operation. Comparisons are made between the cost of living under the old Tariff and under the new one. How are these tables compiled? In a most unfair way, on the assumption that, under the new duties, the people of New South Wales and of the Commonwealth are not going to use anything that we grow or manufacture ourselves, but are going to consume the imported article in every instance. We have free-trade merchants in Sydney professing the utmost regard for the poorer classes, and expressing the greatest solicitude for them in their alleged sufferings, under the new Tariff—saying, in fact, that they will not be able to live. Yet we find these people in some instances increasing the price of goods on which they have not actually paid any duty, so great is their solicitude for the poorer classes. But that is not the worst. We find here honorable members who insinuate that members of this House have been bribed by manufacturers to impose the Victorian Tariff.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No such thing!

Mr. CLARKE.—An honorable member who generally sits behind the honorable member for Macquarie has said so.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! Do I understand the honorable member for Cowper to assert that such a statement has been made in this House?

Mr. CLARKE.—No, Mr Speaker, not in the House; but it was made by insinuation within the precincts of this House. I challenge the honorable member to whom I allude to repeat that statement in the House. I hope he will do so, as he has not yet spoken. When we find such statements being made, it is enough to cause anyone who wishes to see the affairs of this Commonwealth carried on as they ought to be to speak strongly. The honorable member for Wentworth has said that honorable

members of this House have been button-holed in the lobbies in order to induce them to obtain certain concessions for the Victorian manufacturers. Is that statement correct?

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Yes!

Mr. CLARKE.—I say that it is absolutely untrue!

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must withdraw that statement.

Mr. CLARKE.—I do not wish to say that the honorable member for Wentworth would deliberately mislead the House, but he has been misinformed.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must withdraw the statement he made that a certain remark was "untrue."

Mr. CLARKE.—I withdraw the statement. What I wish to point out is that a statement like that can only have one effect, viz., to damage the members of the Ministry and those members of this House who are supporting them. If there were any truth behind those statements, if there were a scintilla of evidence to show that honorable members had been approached in that way, I should not blame the honorable member for Wentworth for making the statement; but there has been no such evidence.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I never heard a statement of that kind made in this House.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—It is perfectly true.

Mr. CLARKE.—Does the honorable member for Macquarie say that the honorable member for Wentworth did not state that some honorable members had been button-holed in the lobbies? He said that one of the evil consequences of a protective policy was becoming evident, and that there were instances of members being button-holed in the lobbies in order to induce them to give effect to the policy of protection for the industries of Victoria.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I will say that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Let the honorable member prove that it is not true.

Mr. CLARKE.—Then the honorable member asserts that it is true?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Can the honorable member prove that it is untrue?

Mr. CLARKE.—The honorable member who interrupts me may have been approached, but I am quite sure that no member on this side of the House has been improperly approached in that manner.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No one said "improperly."

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—The honorable member is putting a construction that was never intended on the remark of the honorable member for Wentworth.

Mr. CLARKE.—The remark should never have been made, and, having been made, should have been withdrawn.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think it is a pity for an honorable member to bring outside tittle-tattle into this chamber.

Mr. CLARKE.—It is a pity that an honorable member should express himself in a public place in the way that the honorable member to whom I referred did.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What were all those banquets but button-holing?

Mr. CLARKE.—If the honorable member for Parramatta is to be bought over by a banquet, he must have a very poor opinion of himself, and must set a very low value on himself. No banquet has been given for any such purpose. An attempt has been made by those who have spoken on the Opposition side to make it appear that this Tariff was not expected, and that the Prime Minister broke his promise made at Maitland, and practised duplicity towards the people. I am prepared to show that this Tariff was expected by honorable members opposite, if their public utterances go for anything at all. Even before the Prime Minister spoke at Maitland it was recognised by the most prominent leaders of the Opposition party that the policy of the Government would be protective, and I cannot conceive how it is that honorable members should now endeavour to make people believe that the Tariff was unexpected. I do not blame them for making all the fight they can, but for the manner in which they have conducted the fight. In reality they knew all along what the Tariff would be like. I will quote the honorable member for Wentworth first, because I regarded him until recently as a gentleman whose public utterances were to be seriously considered. I am not going to quote the leader of the Opposition so extensively, although his views were pretty well known, because we know that he changes his views so often. The honorable member for Wentworth, then Mr. McMillan, speaking before the Chamber of Commerce in Sydney—I have not the date of the speech, but I think it was in the year 1898—made use of the following words. I will quote the whole paragraph, so that there can be no misconception about his meaning.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What factory turns out these quotations for honorable members opposite?

Mr. CLARKE.—This is taken from a pamphlet which was sent to me, I presume by the friends of the honorable member who made the speech—

I have stated the case with regard to New South Wales, but New South Wales will have to make a sacrifice more or less. You cannot expect to convert five other colonies to your fiscal system because you intend to federate, and we New South Welshmen must make some compromise, so long as it is not disastrous in regard to this fiscal matter, or we cannot federate at all. The more clearly that is seen, and the more people begin to realize it, the less dissatisfaction will there be when the federation comes about; because you must recollect this, that this is one of the most difficult federations that has ever taken place in the world, notwithstanding all the difficulties of the Swiss and Canadian federation. We have here five or six large, unwieldy states in this great island continent of Australia, separated so far from one another that there is the danger in the early periods of our federation that certain contingencies may occur which will strain that union to the very utmost.

Those contingencies are very close, if they are not actually present.

Therefore, it is an absolutely necessary condition precedent that, in all matters that affect the industrial life and the pockets of the people, they should know clearly and fully the bargain that they are about to make. Now, I say most unmistakably, in spite of all these difficulties, that union is worth the price. And, speaking as a free-trader, and without any disrespect to others, I believe that the way of looking at the Tariff of the future, when we come together as one great Australian people, will be far higher, more national, and broader than we have looked at that question in our isolated communities.

I am sorry to say that that has not come true.

If we do not have free-trade with the outside world, we will have free-trade among ourselves; and, as population increases—although probably not to such an extent for many years as in the United States of America, we will have the same great factor which we find there, and which, to a certain extent, has kept protection from its evil effects, the fact that although they have protection against the outside world, they have a world in themselves in which trade is absolutely free.

Those are sentiments with which we can all agree. This address was given after the meeting of the Convention at Adelaide, and I believe that at the time the honorable member was a member of the Convention. At the conclusion of his remarks, referring to the finances, he said—

The actual position is this: That in some of these colonies—and the delegates speak with all the knowledge and experience of their people, gained by their political position—that there is no

means of forcing direct taxation any further than it has gone. It is a very unfortunate thing for us in New South Wales, because you will clearly see that if there is embodied in this Constitution—as there is in the draft Bill up to the present time—a clause by which a certain surplus must be returned, a surplus based upon present actual conditions, it means that you must, whether you like it or not, create a Federal Tariff to bring in a certain volume of revenue. And what does that mean for us? It means this—that New South Wales, if she joins this union, must agree to the re-imposition to a large extent of customs duties, whether they are purely for revenue or for protective purposes, which will be going back upon her present system of free-trade. There is no use shutting your eyes to that fact. People will say that we can create a Tariff which is not protective, but only revenue producing. I would like to ask the common sense of Australia whether, when six colonies joined together, and five are of one fiscal character, the sixth is likely to produce any effect upon that character when numbers are against it? I say all this, not because I want to say anything against federation, but I say we want to go into this federation with our eyes open.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—That is quite consistent with the present opinions of the honorable member for Wentworth.

Mr. CLARKE.—If it is, I ask what justification had he in stating the other night that the Prime Minister had been false to his pledges?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Because this is not a compromise Tariff.

Mr. McCAY.—Does the honorable member call it a protective Tariff?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes; it is a Victorian Tariff.

Mr. CLARKE.—I wish now to read an extract from a speech delivered by the honorable member for Wentworth when the federal elections were on, and I quote from the report of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, because that is a newspaper which I believe the free-trade section of the State of New South Wales regard as their organ, and one which, I am glad to say, deals fairly with these matters. In its issue of 30th January of this year, the *Herald* reports the honorable member as saying—

He was a free-trader, and was not afraid to say so. In this his first public address he intended to deal almost entirely with the fiscal issue. If he thought it was his duty to support Mr. Barton in his policy he would have done so. He was not a follower of Mr. Barton, however, for he had always been an extreme free-trader.

Upon those remarks, the *Herald* published the following leader:—

The distinct issues in the election are free-trade and protection, Sir W. McMillan told the electors of Wentworth the other evening, and

this straight-out declaration helps to still further define the lines on which our representatives in both Houses of the Federal Parliament will be chosen.

Could any statement of the issue be plainer? Referring to the leader of the Opposition in a leader published on 5th February, the *Herald* says—

Mr. Reid was in his old form on his old platform last night, when he came forward as federal free-trade candidate, for the district which embraces East Sydney, and free-trade leader of the campaign now begun. It has been foreseen so long that the real issue of the first federal election must be under which Tariff the Commonwealth shall exist, that the question is by no means raised now anew.

I wish now to read an extract from the same paper, published on the 7th February last—

If there is any meaning in plain words, the fiscal intention of the followers of the Federal Ministry should be sufficiently clear from the remarks of Mr. Wise and Sir William Lyne, as we gave them yesterday morning.

The utterances of Mr. Wise do not bind the Ministry. We know that their Tariff will be protective in character, however. Sir William Lyne has much more advanced views on this Tariff question than Mr. Wise. While that gentleman was explaining his views in one column yesterday morning, Sir William was reported in the adjoining column as frankly telling the people of Adelong that our industries must be protected.

What was in Sir William Lyne's mind—and as a Minister he is in the confidence of the Federal Cabinet—was clear enough when he told his hearers at Adelong, that under a free-trade Tariff they could only raise five millions, while it would be necessary to raise eight and a-half or nine millions every year.

Here is a leader which appeared in the *Herald* the morning after the speeches delivered by the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General in the Sydney Town Hall—

After last night's meeting the Federal Ministry stands before the electors as committed to protection.

Mr. Reid has so far succeeded that he has drawn from Mr. Barton almost as explicit a declaration as could be expected, and one explicit enough for the free-traders of Australia.

Mr. Barton said, in so many words, that the first concern of the Government in its fiscal policy is revenue, and the next moderate protection to maintain the industries of Australia.

He would not offer a remark as to the nature of the duties, because any disclosure of that kind would defeat the object of securing revenue.

At the risk of wearying the House I must quote another passage. I refer to the report of a speech which was delivered by the

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honorable member for Wentworth, at Randwick, and which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, of 26th February, 1901. Honorable members will remember that the federal campaign was then at its height:—

It was said that some of the opponents of free-trade were not sufficiently clear in their views. People were told that Mr. Barton was not sufficiently definite. He believed that Mr. Barton was as definite as he could possibly be.

That statement was applauded by the audience.

The people knew one thing from Mr. Barton and that was that he (Mr. Barton) was a protectionist. That was enough for a free-trader. How could Mr. Barton be more definite when he did not know the composition of the Houses of the Federal Parliament. If Mr. Barton got a majority of five it meant a moderate dose of protection, if a majority of ten it would be a much stronger protectionist still; and if the majority was 25 would Mr. Barton be the master of the situation?

Those were the sentiments of the honorable member for Wentworth at that particular time. What were his sentiments here the other night when he delivered himself in this way—

The constituencies had been badly used. They had been misled, and Mr. Barton was a renegade from the principles he laid down at Maitland.

What do honorable members make of that? When I see honorable members opposite adopting these tactics, and changing their opinion upon this question to suit different sets of circumstances, I am led seriously to think that the policy adopted by the Labour party of sinking the fiscal issue has a good deal to recommend it. It is not that I have lost faith in the efficacy of a good fiscal policy, but that I have an abhorrence of honorable members who adopt this opinion to-day and another to-morrow for party purposes. I think the future of the Commonwealth and the question we are now discussing are matters which are too serious to be trifled with in this way. I think the discussion of this question should have been on a very much higher plane; and that we should have risen above the tactics that I am sorry to say prevail in the State of New South Wales. Of course, I have no means of proving it, but I can well imagine that some of those who are howling so much about the Tariff proposals are electors who voted against federation. They are adopting the "I-told-you-so," and the "what-did-I-tell-you" attitude, just as some of the journals in Sydney that

stone-walled federation are now pointing out to the electors that they had sufficient foresight to show them what they might expect. I think the people of New South Wales were not left in any doubt as to what federation would mean for them. They were told by those opposed to the Commonwealth Bill, as well as by those who supported it, that it meant increased taxation.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Some told them that it meant an expenditure of 2s. 6d. per head.

MR. CLARKE.—That sum was mentioned as the new expenditure involved in federation. I do not think that the new expenditure involved in federation amounts to 2s. 6d. per head. So far as I know, the people were never told that the increased taxation due to the alteration which would be brought about by the adoption of a uniform Tariff would amount to only 2s. 6d. per head. When the statement was made that federation would cost the people 2s. 6d. per head the expense referred to was the expense connected with this Parliament, and any new expenses which might be due to the accomplishment of federation. There is an endeavour now—and this is where the press in Sydney is so very unfair—to make the people of New South Wales believe that the new expenditure involved is going to cost them 22s. 6d. per head, when we know that, in reality, the cost of the departments transferred, and which had been previously carried on by New South Wales is included in that estimate.

MR. FULLER.—Does the honorable member believe that New South Wales would have come into the union if the people had known of this Tariff?

MR. CLARKE.—I can go so far as to say that when New South Wales has lived under this Tariff for three years, she will be very pleased that she is in the federation. Every new system of taxation creates an outcry. I know that there was a sufficient number of people in New South Wales who were opposed to the Commonwealth Bill itself to make a huge outcry against any form of taxation, no matter how light it might have been. And when a large body of people like that is led by—what shall I say, a capable leader—by a leader as glib of tongue as the right honorable the leader of the Opposition, it is capable of swelling its ranks, and of causing a very large section to appear to be dissatisfied. But I undertake to say that when the people of New

South Wales understand the position and the bearings of the Tariff there will not be that feeling of dissatisfaction which exists at the present time. There is already, I think, some proof of that in the suburb in which I live, for the storekeepers there and the people living around me, are coming to realize that most articles of grocery are as cheap under the new Tariff as they were under the old, if the home-made article is asked for. They are becoming fully alive to that fact. No doubt, at first the business men of New South Wales and storekeepers put up the prices to an unusual extent. They will keep those prices up if they can, but they will find that the prices will have to come down as the internal competition comes into full force. The Government Tariff has been literally pulled to pieces by the Opposition in their criticism, and while I do not blame them for that, I think they might have submitted some alternative Tariff, or, at any rate, some outlines or general principles of a Tariff to be substituted for that proposed by the Government. We might have expected some indication from the right honorable the leader of the Opposition as to how he proposed to raise a revenue of approximately £9,000,000. But not one word did we get from the right honorable gentleman as to what he proposed to do. What would happen if that right honorable gentleman had the chance to frame a Tariff? Let me say in parenthesis that he does not want to get that chance; he is too astute a politician for that. He would rather be where he is and find fault than attempt to frame and submit a Tariff to the people of Australia. Should the right honorable gentleman be forced into the position—and but for the dislocation of the business of the Commonwealth it is almost a pity that he could not be forced into it—we should see what sort of a Tariff he would produce. There is no doubt that he would propose to lower the duties on cottons and raise the duties on silks, or something of that sort, to catch the eyes of the unthinking. But in the end the effect would be exactly the same. Instead of taking the taxation out of one pocket he would take it out of two or three pockets, but it would have the same effect in the long run. If the leader of the Opposition followed out the free-trade policy of imposing taxation for revenue purposes, he would impose

it in such a way that there would be no possible escape from it by the people of the Commonwealth. On the other hand, the Government have proposed a policy of putting taxes on articles which we can produce, and from which, therefore, there is a partial, if not a complete escape. The right honorable and learned gentleman would impose a tax on those articles which we cannot produce, and from which there would be no escape. Unfortunately the Government, in order to meet the financial obligations of the Commonwealth to the different States, have had to impose duties on articles which enter into daily consumption. The fact is to be regretted, but it cannot be avoided, for the revenue must be raised. The honorable member for North Sydney, for whom I have a most profound respect, and to whom I want to do justice, has put forward a proposal to reduce the amount raised from the customs by £1,000,000. If that proposal were carried into effect it would tend only to intensify the financial disabilities of some of the States. I regard the Treasurer as a Minister in whom we should have every trust in a matter of this kind. We know his career as a State Treasurer and financier in Victoria, and I do not think that he is going to besmirch that career now. It seems strange that whilst the honorable member for North Sydney proposes that there should be less taxation, Mr. Lee, the leader of the Opposition in the New South Wales Parliament, who is associated with the free-trade party, is actually moving a vote of censure against the Government of that State on the ground that the amount to be returned by the Commonwealth will not be sufficient to enable them to balance their finances. Thus on the one hand we have an honorable member of this House who belongs to the free-trade party proposing to reduce the amount of taxation, and, consequently, the amount to be returned to New South Wales, whilst in New South Wales we have the free-trade leader of the Opposition in the State Legislature telling the Government that the amount which they will receive from the Commonwealth under the present proposals will not be sufficient to balance the finances. The surplus which we hope to see returned to New South Wales might be applied in many ways towards the reduction of State taxation. It is not for

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members of this Federal Parliament to say in what way that money should be applied. That is a matter which the State Parliament has to determine. Honorable members know, however, that in New South Wales the proceeds of Government land sales have been used largely for the purposes of revenue. I am not referring to rentals or moneys obtained in that way, but to the actual proceeds of land sales. The total revenue which New South Wales has derived in that way amounts to something like £44,000,000. We know also that in that State conditional purchase holders are charged interest on their purchases, a system which has never obtained in the much maligned State of Victoria.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I will ask the honorable member not to discuss the financial methods of the New South Wales Governments.

Mr. CLARKE.—I scarcely understand, sir, to what extent I may go in this direction.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member may discuss New South Wales finances in so far as they relate to the fiscal issue, but he cannot discuss the particular class of affairs to which he was referring when I interrupted him.

Mr. CLARKE.—The matter is not of much moment. I was going to say that the surplus returned by the Commonwealth to New South Wales—and I think I may be allowed to refer to this matter as a representative of that State—might be applied as a sinking fund towards the redemption of the State debt.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member has just pointed out that that is a matter which has nothing whatever to do with this Parliament.

Mr. CLARKE.—A great deal has been said about the desirability and undesirability of the policy of protection. In dealing with a matter of this kind, we should take into consideration our surroundings and our conditions. I am not one of those who believe that we can have a golden rule or policy applicable to all countries, irrespective of their conditions. I am inclined to think that England, for instance, acted wisely in adopting the policy of free-trade up to a certain point, but in my opinion she has pursued that policy to too great an extent. I should like to quote a passage or two from a book by a very learned author. I select this work

for the reason that it is of recent date, and because the writer does not appear to have extreme views on either one side or the other. There are one or two paragraphs only in which the question of free-trade *versus* protection crops up. I refer to a work on political economy by Charles S. Devas, examiner in political economy at the Royal University of Ireland. At page 244, the following passage occurs :—

If we have rightly apprehended the nature of international trade and its advantages, the question of what is called free-trade *versus* protection ought to be easily determined; not indeed the question whether any particular country like Germany or New South Wales should adopt any particular policy, but the general principles which each can apply to the particular circumstances of his own country. Protection for the present purpose means the giving home producers an advantage over foreigners, either by taxing the foreign produce as it comes into the country, or by giving the home exporters a donation (a bounty) in addition to what they can earn commercially.

Now the following are valid reasons for protection, not anywhere, but wherever the conditions exist that render them applicable.

First reason. If a country lacks certain industries for which it is physically suited, say the manufacture of woollen cloth, leather, and pottery—

I think all these conditions are present here; the iron industry, for example, is one that we have often talked of, but for which nothing has been done—

and is supplied with them from abroad, a protective duty levied on the importation of these goods will call into life the manufacture of them at home, and utilize the productive power of the country. True that the encouragement of these industries will be *ipso facto* a discouragement to the production of those goods, say oats, butter, and live cattle, that were exported to pay for the woollens, leather, and pottery. But our hypothesis is that the new industries are "suitable." Hence the diversion of national industry will result in a larger net return after the first difficulties are got over, the workmen collected and trained, the kindred and auxiliary trades set up, industry properly localized, and on a scale large enough to allow the full application of concerted labour and the advantages of the law of increasing returns; moreover, a secure body of customers acquired (business connexion), and the *ris inertia* rolled away by the expectation of certain profit.

I do not wish to quote the whole of this article; it would be rather tedious to honorable members. The second reason given by the writer, applies particularly to our present conditions—

If an existing industry, really suitable to a country, is threatened with ruin by foreign importations, it is plain from the foregoing reason that such industry should be protected, but not plain how such a case could occur.

Honorable members will notice that the writer is very impartial, and it was for that reason that I selected the article.

For the *ris inertia* is here on the side of the home producers, the difficulties of change lying with the foreigner. Yet in two ways at least the case could occur. First through the action of misdirected consumption, explained in the first book, by which good merchandise is driven out by bad, solid and suitable home goods may be supplanted to the public loss by flimsy, showy, unhealthy foreign goods, unsuited to the climate and circumstances; and the increased exports of some other merchandise to pay for these new imports, is no adequate compensation, and the natural industry is diverted from more to less advantageous production. Secondly, as Professor Sidgwick has pointed out, an extraordinary temporary advantage in production possessed by a foreign country, may destroy or greatly injure a suitable home industry; and then when that great advantage is past and gone, the cost of restoring the lost or lessened home industry may far outweigh that previous gain of the cheap imports.

We might easily imagine such a state of things coming about here if we failed to protect those industries which are established. I have heard honorable members in speaking of certain industries which have been pretty well established, say that if they could produce an article and sell it at as low a price as the foreign-made article, they would no longer need protection. I think that is a fallacy, because if the protection were removed, the foreigner would at once send his importations into the country, and, by cutting down prices, even by selling at a loss, wipe out our industries. The third reason is given in these terms—

National safety may require the home production of all the requisites of warfare, and such measures as may avert the risk of an enemy being able, by shutting off the importation of food or some other necessary, to starve their opponents into submission.

The writer goes on to reason in that way how necessary it is for the purpose of national safety that a protective system should be adopted; and then he gives a fourth reason, as follows :—

Social harmony is a good of incalculable value; its injury is, among other things, one of the greatest injuries to national wealth. Now, under certain circumstances, protection may be needed to prevent changes in the national industry, and a consequent break up of a happy and harmonious constitution. A secure and steady market may be essential to an organised industry, and to the proper insurance of the poorer classes. Hence the apparent loss by the exclusion of foreign goods may be outweighed by the real gain of steady habits, sober profits, and mutual goodwill.

I agree with the honorable member for Newcastle that a policy of protection in

itself is not sufficient to improve the state of the labouring classes. I admit that we must go further, in order to elevate the workers, and that protection is but the first step. Speaking about the necessity of protection as a means of national safety I should like, with the indulgence of the House, to quote an article from the *London Daily Mail*, which was reprinted a little while ago in a Sydney paper, and which draws attention to the decline of agriculture in Great Britain—

A disquieting document is the report of the Agricultural Committee on National Wheat Stores. The witnesses examined, with only one or two exceptions, agreed that the dependence of the nation on seaborne supplies of breadstuffs demanded serious attention, and the adoption of some precautionary measures.

Mr. W. J. Harris estimated that in May, 1895, there was not more than seven weeks' supply of wheat and flour in the United Kingdom, "and probably not so much." Mr. Procter stated that "we want 500,000 quarters of foreign wheat to keep us going a week," and added that then (May, 1897) he did not suppose we had more than six weeks or two months' supply.

Our dependence on foreign importation is shown in the following table:—

| | Home-grown | | Imported. |
|---------|------------------|-----|------------------|
| | Wheat and Flour. | | Wheat and Flour. |
| | Qrs. of 480 lb. | | Qrs. of 480 lb. |
| 1854-55 | 17,563,000 | --- | 2,983,000 |
| 1874-75 | 12,900,000 | --- | 11,700,000 |
| 1895-96 | 4,800,000 | --- | 23,300,000 |

The committee state that they are profoundly impressed by the evidence given as to the immense importance of Government wheat stores as an essential item of national defence, and they are unable to conclude that the stores would have any material effect on the interests of agriculture or of the corn trade.

They recommend that the Government should be most strongly urged to obtain the appointment, as soon as possible, of a Royal commission, to include representatives of agriculture, the corn trade, the shipping, the Navy and the Army, so as to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into the whole subject of the national food supply in the case of war.

In a leading article on the 28th October, the *Sydney Morning Herald* refers to the state of agriculture in Great Britain in these terms:—

The recently published official returns of the Board of Agriculture in England point to a steady and serious decline of the agricultural industry in the mother country. Within the last quarter of a century the wheat area has decreased by one-half, and within the twelve months an area about equal in extent to the county of Middlesex has disappeared from wheat cultivation.

Although some of the causes of the falling off may be of a temporary character, the facts seem to point to the conclusion that there has been a steady decrease in wheat cultivation, which is not likely to be arrested. The stock statistics

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point in the same direction. In sheep the decline is very great, and the outlook for the agricultural industry is serious enough.

The article continues in an apologetic strain with reference to the decline of agriculture in Great Britain. I do not mean to say that a quotation of that sort, or the fact that the agricultural industry has declined in England, is sufficient to prove that the people of Great Britain should adopt a protective policy, but it goes to show that the agricultural interests of Great Britain have been neglected, and that some means should be devised for giving an impetus to the industry. I know that the people of Great Britain think that it pays them better to import produce and exchange something else than to grow it; but I do not think that is altogether a sound policy. To come nearer home, a challenge was thrown out by the honorable member for Macquarie, who stated that the Tariff would not have any beneficial effects on agriculture. I have the honour to represent the largest maize-producing district in the whole of the Commonwealth, and I have very closely watched the movements of the maize markets for some years past. When the Dibbs duties were in operation in New South Wales the local production of maize was in excess of the demand, but shortly after the Reid Tariff came into existence, and the duties on maize and other cereals were repealed, it became very evident that our market was being exploited by foreign producers of maize. During 1898, 1899, and 1900 the imports of maize into New South Wales exceeded the exports by 1,148,000 bushels. At 2s. per bushel—a very low price—the value of the imports of maize in excess of the exports would be £115,000. I should like the honorable member for Macquarie to tell the farmers along the north coast of New South Wales that this importation of maize had no effect upon prices, but was really good for them. In quoting these figures, I have taken the maize importations from countries outside of the Commonwealth, but if I include the figures for the States of the Commonwealth, I find that there is an excess of imports over exports of 747,922 bushels. Now we come to still another item in the list of farm products; namely, potatoes, which are largely grown on the north coast of New South Wales. They have virgin soil there that is capable of producing potatoes sufficient to

supply the needs of a very great portion of the Commonwealth—soil that has not been touched, simply because it is rather remote from the markets. We imported into New South Wales during 1900 potatoes to the value of £185,000, whilst we exported only £52,000 worth.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Where were they imported from ?

Mr. CLARKE.—I did not go into those particulars, but considerable quantities came from Tasmania and New Zealand, and possibly from Victoria. I am only quoting these figures to show the effect of the free-trade policy of New South Wales during a few years upon the agricultural industry. The excess of imports of potatoes was valued at £132,000, and such an amount of money distributed amongst the farmers of New South Wales would represent something very substantial.

Mr. POYNTON.—Can the honorable member show how much of the imports came from outside of the Commonwealth ?

Mr. CLARKE.—I would ask the honorable member to go to the statistical register for that information. I should like to refer briefly to what was put forward by the honorable member for Lang in reference to the timber industry. The honorable member made a comparison between New South Wales and Victoria with regard to this particular industry, and he evidently thought that he had made a very strong point when he showed that the number of saw-mills in operation and the number of hands employed in New South Wales under free-trade exceeded those in Victoria. I should like to remind the House, however, that in New South Wales we have a coastline of 800 miles, which is practically dotted with saw-mills, whereas they have no such advantage in Victoria. Then, again, across the ranges in the west we have fine timber country, and along the Murray there are vast supplies of timber upon which we can draw. Therefore, it does not follow that, because there are more mills in operation and more hands employed in New South Wales than in Victoria, free-trade is therefore better than protection for the timber industry. Nature has been more bountiful in the supply of timber to New South Wales than to Victoria. The imports of timber into New South Wales—and I know honorable members will not want to know where this timber comes from

—from countries outside the Commonwealth, exceeded the exports by the value of £736,871 during the years 1898, 1899, and 1900. The imports from all countries, inclusive of the States of the Commonwealth, exceeded the exports by £1,029,784. I have heard honorable members say that only imported timber is suitable for use in mining operations. Whilst not venturing to give a positive opinion about the matter, I have a sufficient knowledge of timber to induce me to believe that our own timber can be used for mining purposes with as much advantage as imported timber. I will go so far as to say that if it can be shown that imported timber only is suitable for mining work, I shall be willing to give my vote in favour of allowing timber to be used for mining purposes to come in free.

Mr. POYNTON.—The Broken Hill mine-owners say that imported timber is the only timber suitable for their purposes.

Mr. CLARKE.—The mine-owners of Broken Hill have never used anything else but imported timber. I have known people who have been in the habit of using a certain material for many years, who could not be made to believe that it was not the best, but when they were induced to use something else, they expressed regret that they had not made the change long before.

Mr. POYNTON.—The Broken Hill mine-owners tried the local timber before they used the imported material.

Mr. CLARKE.—That may be so, but considerations other than suitability, such as the cost of carriage, or something of that sort, might have induced them to make the change. I know that in New South Wales, imported timber is used for purposes for which it is not so suitable as our own hardwoods, and that this has had the effect of displacing our hardwoods. I know the hardships and privations which are endured by timber cutters. It is hardly fair to these men that an article which they can assist in producing should be discarded to their detriment in favour of the use of a foreign article merely for the purpose of allowing a ring of Sydney importers to grow rich by this trade in imported timber. I do not say that there are not purposes for which the imported timber is superior to our hardwoods. But at the present time the imported timber is put to uses in respect of which it is not superior, but decidedly inferior. I come now to that despised commodity in regard to which there

has been much sneering by honorable members opposite. I refer to the duty upon eggs. I venture to say that if those who sneer at this commodity were to visit some of the farming constituencies and to ascertain the low prices which the farmers have been receiving for their eggs, they would be very much surprised. As a matter of fact, the Sydney market has been supplied by the importation of eggs from China. We keep the Chinaman out, but we do not object to receiving eggs from him. During 1900 we imported 606,000 dozens of eggs valued at £23,000 and exported only 32,000 dozen, valued at a little over £1,000. There was thus an excess of imports over exports upon this one line representing a value of £22,000. A great proportion of these eggs came from China. I venture to say that the duty which it is proposed to levy upon eggs will be very acceptable to the farmers of the whole of New South Wales. The farmers' wives devote their spare time to this industry, and it is a matter of considerable moment to them that they should have a market for those eggs. I could enumerate other articles which the farmers produce, such as oats, onions, &c., and prove that new South Wales under free-trade is absolutely unable to supply its own requirements, and has had to import largely from abroad. According to letters which have been received from the South Coast, we have now an opportunity of starting a business in condensed milk. Surely honorable members will not deny that such an industry would be of immense advantage to the farmers throughout the whole of these States. I know that the free-trade representatives of the South Coast district of New South Wales used to vote faithfully for the retention of the duties upon cheese and butter in the State Parliament.

Mr. FULLER.—Why, in 1889 three out of the four free-trade members voted against them.

Mr. CLARKE.—In 1895, when the present leader of the Opposition was revising the New South Wales Tariff, the only free-trade representative of the South Coast recorded his vote in favour of the retention of the duty upon butter. In regard to every other commodity he was a free-trader. The same thing occurred in regard to a representative of the Newcastle district. That honorable member was in favour of a duty upon biscuits and candles because

there were biscuit and candle factories in his electorate, but in regard to everything else he was a free-trader. These are facts which cannot be denied. A great deal has been said about the sugar industry, and the leader of the Opposition, in his opening speech, intimated that he would have dealt with that industry in the same way as the Government propose to deal with it. I am pleased that the Ministry have grappled with this question, and have decided upon giving a preference to sugar grown by means of white labour as against that grown by black labour. I am glad to find that the cost to the consumer has been very little increased by the new duty which has been imposed. I was told on Monday that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company had increased its price by £2 a ton. I visited two retailers and found that in some of the leading houses in Sydney the 70-lb. bag of sugar had increased in price by only 1s. 3d. That is equal to £2 per ton. I also ascertained that the 4-lb. packages of sugar, which are sold by the small retailers, have increased in price from 9d. to 10d., or $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. I have been informed that some of the country storekeepers have increased the price of the bag which was formerly sold at 13s. to 20s. Whether that statement is true, I am not in a position to say. A great deal has been said about the boot trade in Sydney. Let me tell honorable members that as the result of the introduction of this Tariff it is the intention of the boot manufacturers of Sydney to increase the wages of their employes from to-morrow by 10 to 15 per cent. all round. It is also intended to improve the old woollen mills, which have been lying idle at Parramatta for so many years, and to resume operations there. I do not know whether that is a bad sign.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Why should it remain idle, when factories in Tasmania send their wool into New South Wales?

Mr. CLARKE.—The honorable member may answer his own enigmas. I wish also to touch upon the iron industry, about which so much has been said in New South Wales, but so little has been done. I wish to show that the prestige which Great Britain had in the iron industry is fast slipping away from her. Mr. J. S. Larke says—

In 1873 England produced more than half the iron of the world. In 1888 she had increased her production from 5,000,000 tons to over 8,000,000

tons, but her output was only one-fourth that of the world. To-day she was exceeded in her iron and steel production by the United States and Germany. The great competitor of England in the future would be the United States.

I do not wish to detain the House much longer, but I felt that in addressing myself to this question I had a public duty to perform. If we approached the question in a better spirit, we might deal with it much more satisfactorily. I hope, in fact we are assured by the Treasurer, that he is prepared to consider amendments in the Tariff; and if, instead of beating the kettle drum outside and making a noise about the Tariff, we were to approach the question, as we ought to do, from a national instead of from a party stand-point, our efforts would be much more likely to be successful. The leader of the Opposition foresaw a good while ago—so far back, at any rate, as 1899—that the Tariff which would be adopted or proposed by the Government of the Commonwealth, would have to be of a protective character. So far-seeing was the right honorable gentleman, that he took occasion at Wellington, in New South Wales, to go through a little rehearsal in anticipation of a political drama, though that drama never came off, owing to a slight political accident. The leader of the Opposition is recorded as having said at Wellington, on the 19th June, 1899—

He did not know about becoming a protectionist, but had got broad enough in his mind now not to have only one idea.

It had taken the right honorable gentleman years to get broad enough for that.

It had taken him years to get broad enough for that. Seven years ago he used to walk into the old man "Parkes" like a tiger, because he was still a fanatical free-trader; but, as a man grew older, and got responsibilities, he got more broad in his opinions, and saw things a little more in their true proportion. He had now more than one idea. Where he used to have room only for the one idea of free-trade, he never used to think of anything else now he thought of national union.

The right honorable gentleman did not say protection, but we can well see what he had in his mind when he made that speech. It was one of those speeches which we know so well in New South Wales, and which are delivered preparatory to the performance of a little political somersault. That somersault, however, was never performed, and now he stands on the Opposition side, and in vigorous terms condemns the Government for carrying out the policy which he himself would have had to introduce. I

have said all I wish to say on this question. Much more might be said, but I feel that I have, at any rate, given voice to the sentiments and feelings of those whom I represent. Free-trade farmers there may be in my constituency, but they are few and far between. I am quite sure that the Tariff which has been introduced by the Government, while a Tariff for the farmers of my constituency, is also a Tariff which, with a little modification, will meet the requirements of the people of the Commonwealth. I wish, before concluding, to make a personal explanation. During the first part of my speech, I referred to an honorable member who had stated outside the precincts of the chamber that Ministers had been approached and bribed in a corrupt way to introduce this Tariff. At the time I asked the honorable member whether he was going to repeat the statement in the House, and he said he was. However, I have since had an opportunity of seeing the honorable member, and he assures me now that the remark was made jocularly. Had I not believed at the time that the honorable member was serious, I should not have mentioned the incident in the House, and, now having received an assurance that the remark was made jocularly, I regret very much having made any reference to the matter.

Mr. A. PATERSON (Capricornia).—Looking over some statistics lately I was rather startled to find that in one leading State of the Commonwealth there are no fewer than 1,157 people blind of an eye. On turning over the next page of the statistics I found the still more extraordinary fact that in the immediately adjoining State there are 1,164 people blind of an eye. I would not for worlds divulge the names of those States. It would be difficult enough for clear, wide-eyed men with perfect sight, to look at all sides of a hexagon, and they cannot do it without shifting their stand-point. How, then, can we expect one-eyed men to do such a thing? This Commonwealth has six sides, represented by the six States, and in order to get a true appreciation of the position we must look at them all. It appears to me that this debate is very much like a duel between New South Wales and Victoria. I am, I believe, the first Queenslander who has spoken on the subject, and we, who represent the other States, can, it appears to me, look more dispassionately on the position. We have no prejudices, no

partialities. We do not trouble our heads where the federal capital is to be, because we know that it cannot be in our States. It does not hurt our self-love to hear Victoria praised, as she well deserves to be praised, for the wonderful development of her dairying and farming industry, or her wonderful position in regard to gold-mining; nor are we jealous when we hear of the extraordinary expansion of the commercial industries of New South Wales. All States now belong to the Commonwealth. We can make ample allowance for New South Wales when we consider her large areas of barren country, and how much of her good lands are locked up in the hands of a few squatters. We are also prepared to make generous concessions to Victoria on account of the terrible disaster of the land boom, which, by the way, I do not think has been sufficiently taken into account in comparing the two States. What we do rejoice in is that now the Commonwealth embraces all the wealth, all the talents, and all the skill of all the States. A little while ago, we were cousins, often unfriendly, always suspicious. To-day we are partners, brothers, seeking for a common good. Yesterday we were six insignificant streamlets, meandering each our independent way. To-day we are a mighty flowing river, destined, I hope, to fructify and bless the world. It is too early yet to call ourselves a great Commonwealth, but certainly we have great possibilities. Whether we shall achieve greatness depends on the wisdom that we shall write into our laws, and the justice with which we shall administer them. In considering this question of the Tariff, I do not wish to disparage Victoria, because I can say this honestly—that Victoria has done far more good to my State than have all the other States put together. I have the highest admiration for the Melbourne men in particular. I do not think that any one, however prejudiced he may be, can live in this city for any length of time, without admiring the noble buildings, the spacious streets, and the grand ideas of the Melbourne men. I have been in the habit of travelling every year for years past from the north down to Melbourne, and, because I have travelled with my eyes open, I have been compelled to notice changes which have come during that time. People who live in their own State and never go out of it, do not get an idea of the changes that take place by reading books or newspapers. But

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when one sees with one's own eyes the progress or the retrogress of a place, it impresses itself upon one's mind in such a way as no book or newspaper can do. It is necessary for me at this time to make one comparison—between the two cities of Melbourne and Sydney. I shall only make one, and then I shall have done with it. I choose the cities of Melbourne and Sydney for this reason—Melbourne I take to be the exponent of protection, the stronghold of the manufacturer; Sydney I take to be the champion of free-trade, the citadel of the primary producer.

Mr. HIGGINS.—No, of the importer.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—Well, the importer. I will take it either way. I wish to call the attention of the House to a few statistics; and those are all the statistics I am going to quote. They are taken from *Coghlan* and *Mulhall*. I believe in *Mulhall* as sincerely as does the honorable member for Gippsland. In 1899, the official capital valuation of Sydney and suburbs was £87,464,000. At the same date the capital value of Melbourne and suburbs totalled £60,626,915.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Twice the area of Sydney!

Mr. A. PATERSON.—I am only taking the value. Add to Melbourne the capital of Queensland, Brisbane, with a capital value of £7,159,920; add to Brisbane Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, £6,366,010; add to Adelaide the capital of Western Australia, Perth, £2,241,430; add to Perth the capital of Tasmania, Hobart, £2,924,750, and we are still very far short of bringing down the scale. Throw in Ballarat £3,526,930; also Bendigo £2,266,200; likewise Geelong, £2,123,360. We then have a grand total of £87,235,515. The total result is that Sydney has a capital value greater by £228,485 than all the other capitals of Australia combined, together with the two golden capitals and the woollen capital of Victoria thrown in simply to make up weight! Surely, then, Sydney ought to have some voice in this great question. If the Sydney representatives did not speak out for their city, they would not deserve to return to her again, and I do not think that it is immodest in them to make the bold claims which they have done. Now let us look at the Tariff itself. The first thought that strikes us is the noble declaration with

which it was announced—"Revenue without destruction." Bless me, this is free-trade! If the Sultan of Turkey issued an ukase, or a firman, or whatever it is called, to his subjects, announcing—"Revenue without destruction," what would they think about it? They would naturally think: "the Sultan means to impose such light imposts on us, as will not destroy us." But that is not the meaning of the Sultan of Australia! Not exactly! "Revenue without destruction!" Without destruction to what? To the huge number of miners, smelters, shearers, sailors, wharf-lumpers? No! To the vast multitude of labourers, shopkeepers, merchants, and professional men? Not by any means. To the countless legion of primary producers? Certainly not! Have the Government no care for those workers in factories which are directly connected with pastoral industries? None whatever! Have they no care for that "noble army of martyrs," who "toil not, neither do they spin," in the public service? Not even for them! Have they no care, either, for the weary policeman who nightly views "the spacious firmament on high," and whose lot, it must be admitted, "is not a happy one"? No, not even for him! Is all the Government's concern to be for the benefit of a handful of city manufacturers? Oh, yes, undoubtedly! They will protect them at any cost. Surely this is class distinction with a vengeance. What is this but privilege, monopoly, and gross injustice, and democrats here call heaven to witness that this is a pure, white, democratic Australia, and they howl out about the crimes committed in the sacred name of Liberty! However, let us look at the Tariff as it is submitted to us. It has often been said that there is great difficulty in discriminating between what are called revenue duties and prohibitive duties. As to composite duties, I never heard any one attempt an explanation of them. People think that it requires a superhuman intellect to distinguish between these various duties. Take only a very few items. Take spice, for example, unground 2d., ground 4d. Now, it must take stupendous ability to say what kind of duty that is. I appeal to the common sense of honorable members of this House. Coffee, raw, 3d.; prepared, 5d. Biscuits, 1½d. The duty on biscuits in New South Wales was ½d. per lb., and the duty in Victoria was

1d. per lb. It will be admitted that the ½d. per lb. duty in New South Wales is certainly a revenue duty. Probably a duty of 1d. per lb. is not too much, but it is quite certain that the ½d. per lb. added to the 1d. is protection, and undisguised protection at that. Candles, 1½d. per lb. The duty in Victoria was 1d. per lb.; it was 2d. in four of the other States, and candles were free in New South Wales. It is perfectly clear that if the Victorian manufacturers, with all the influence they exercised over Ministries of the day, were able to carry on the business under a duty of 1d. per lb., the other ½d. per lb. now added is protection, and nothing else. Mustard, 4d. per lb. I shall not offer any opinion as to this item. I have too much confidence in the intelligence of honorable members. Salt, 20s. per ton—20s., not 2s. per ton, understand! Cement, 1s. per cwt.; nails, 3s. per cwt.; horse nails, 7s. per cwt. It is not necessary for me to make any remarks as to what these duties are. Every one knows. Yesterday, the honorable member for Riverina made a splendid point against our side when he described to us the position of the wheat farmer. The honorable member told us how the farmer prepared his crop, and that when it was gathered he put it into bags. These bags the honorable member said were free under the new Tariff. I felt very grateful in my heart to the honorable member for stating this publicly, and I was willing to acknowledge it, but I must say my gratitude fell considerably when I found that corn sacks were already free in all the States except my own. On behalf of the farmers of Queensland, whom I have the honour to represent, I tender the Government my sincere thanks. The same honorable member told us, with an appearance of great satisfaction, that we ought to be exceedingly grateful to the Government because they had put no less than £29,000,000 worth of goods on the free list—being the amount of the Inter-State trade. We are very grateful to the Prime Minister for doing this, but I think our thanks are due to the Constitution under which we live. I tell honorable members that if it were possible to put New South Wales back into her old position of free-trade, I am perfectly certain we could raise a good deal of money from that State and she would probably make £27,000,000 more out of it as compared with Victoria in the next four or five years. Now we come to the composite

duties. This word "composite" was first used in connexion with ships. When I was a youngster I had some connexion with a shipping firm, and I took a great deal of interest in everything connected with ships. I do not know very much about the practical work of ship-building, but I understand all shipping business pretty well. At that time the wooden sailing ships, the old-fashioned Quebec bruisers were going out of date. We were getting a smarter class of ships, which, being built lighter, sailed faster, and made much more money for their owners. A new departure was made in connexion with what were called "composite" ships. I do not quite understand the construction of them, but the iron plates of the frame-work were fastened in some places with copper bolts. These vessels were used for carrying sugar, and the dampness of the sugar gradually corroded the iron. The rust collected on the plates where they came in contact with the copper, eat the copper bolts, and what was the result? The ship-owners were coining money. These vessels became extremely fashionable. They attracted much attention, and many ships were built. But one fine morning the loss of one of these ships, not more than two or three years old, was posted up in the Glasgow Underwriters' Exchange. A few months passed, and another of these ships was missing. In less than twelve months a third vessel was missing and was seen no more. Naturally the underwriters became alarmed. They ordered an inspection to be made of the first composite ship that entered the harbour, and they discovered the secret. It was found that, by coming into contact with the corroded iron, the copper bolts were eaten away; the plates fell out, and the vessels went to the bottom and were never heard of more. I hope that these composite duties will go to the bottom and never be heard of again. This word "composite" is becoming quite fashionable. We use composite candles, and in to-day's papers a telegram is to be seen which refers to some of the doings of a composite Bushmen's Regiment in South Africa. We actually fly a composite flag. But, alas! there is nothing composite about the Ministry. The Government propose, however, to impose composite duties. What is the origin of these composite duties, and what is their intention? The Tariff answers both questions. Turning to item 82 in the Tariff we find

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enumerated under the heading of "Vanishes" the article of patent knotting. On that article there is a fixed duty of 1s. per gallon and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. I am informed that the lowest market price quoted by the biggest houses in this line of business in Melbourne is 5s. a gallon. Thus, if we take the fixed duty of 1s. per gallon and the 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, we find that it is equal to 1s. 9d. per gallon. That is nearly the same as the Victorian Tariff. I am not going to say anything about this being a Victorian Tariff, because I do not think an observation of that kind would be wholly justifiable. Sometimes it is quite apparent from a consideration of the Tariff that the other States have been taken into consideration to some extent. Occasionally the Victorian Tariff is actually exceeded, and I think every free-trader will join heartily in resisting an excess of that kind. I wish to point out how this Tariff is made up. Why is Canada taken as a pattern? What right have we to go to her for an example? According to the latest figures in the *Daily Mail Year-Book* the population of Canada is in round numbers 5,125,000; her exports are £28,750,000 in value; her imports are £23,200,000 in value, and her revenue is £8,000,000. Poor little despised free-trade New South Wales, with only one-quarter of this population, shows 80 per cent. of Canada's exports; 90 per cent. of her imports, and £1,250,000 more revenue. What effrontery it is to suggest that we should take our pattern from Canada! I wonder very much that the Government did not go to Germany or France. Why should we take our pattern from Canada? The truth is, as it appears to me, that this idea was a perfect Godsend, I will not say to the manufacturers of Melbourne, but to manufacturers all over the State. Here was a magnificent chance of fooling the consumer, and especially of bamboozling New South Wales. The Government first impose an innocent looking revenue duty, and then accompany it with a destructive meat-tax duty. This peculiarity, however, changes. Let me show how it works. I will refer first to the duties on boots and hats, and in this connexion I would draw especial attention to a letter which appeared in both the *Age* and the *Argus*, signed by Sir Frederick Sargood. That gentleman should be thanked for the careful way in which he has gone into the particulars

relating to these duties. He points out that the fixed duty, with the percentage duty on hats, actually ranges from 37 per cent. up to 183 per cent. There is this peculiarity about the Tariff, that the meat-axe duty is always put on the goods of the poor. It is to be found always on the low priced goods. There is absolutely no exception to that rule. The lighter duty is imposed on the goods purchased by the rich. What do honorable members think of that for a Government policy? The lowest duty on boots is 27 per cent. and the highest duty 61 per cent. In this case, also no mistake has been made. The meat-axe duty, and the innocent go-to-sleep duty are imposed always on the goods consumed by the poor, although they change places sometimes. Occasionally it is the fixed duty which is to be regarded as the meat-axe duty and sometimes it is the 15 per cent. *ad valorem* duty which is the meat-axe, just as the goods are used by the rich or the poor. This is extremely fine for the manufacturer, but very puzzling and disgusting to the consumer. There is another question which I wish to put. If the manufacturer requires protection to the extent of 183 per cent.—I am not particular, and I will call it 100 per cent. and knock off the remaining 83 per cent. as discount—let me ask business men who are accustomed to deal with goods and with figures, who runs the factory? Is it the ostensible owner, is it the bank, or is it the State? The sooner we alter the name of this duty the better. Instead of calling it the composite or the compromise duty, the “mongrel duty” would be more accurate and significant. Let us be honest, and for the credit of the first Australian Parliament, let us blot out the duty at once and for ever. I wish now to speak about the importance of primary producers. City people are a little above primary producers. As I represent primary producers, I shall make out the best case I can for them. And I shall do so from the pages of *Coghlan*, with absolutely correct figures; there are no assumptions on my part. The relative values in the year 1899 were: Manufactures, £28,666,000; primary products, £83,607,000—total, £112,273,000. This is pretty strongly in favour of the primary producers, but it does not indicate the real position. How? Because the primary products are included in manufacturers’ returns over and over again. Take, for

instance, hides. The station-owner sells his cattle to the meat-works, and he returns the cattle, with the hides of course, in the official statistics. The meat-works get hold of the bullocks, and at the end of the year furnish to the Government the number of bullocks dealt with, and the hides are included in that return. The tanner makes the hides up into leather, and he returns them in his statistics. We have not done with the hides yet. The tanner sells the leather to the boot factory, where it is made up into boots, and the boot manufacturer makes a return to the Government. Taking one part of the bullock, the hide is returned five times—once by the primary producer, and four times by the manufacturers, whereas all they are really entitled to return is the value of their work on that hide. See how it swells up the returns and makes them appear altogether ridiculous. It is only a business man who can understand these figures. I shall tell the House how my attention was drawn to the matter. On one occasion I had to make up the returns for the meat-works of which I was manager. When the yearly returns were made up, I checked them and saw that they were right. Within a week or two some returns for a station over which I had a sort of advisory control were sent to me to be forwarded to the Government. On looking over them I found that nearly all the cattle which were included in the return had been bought by me for the meat-works, so that they were returned a second time. It did not end there, because afterwards I had to make up a return for a tannery in which I had a slight interest. Some of the hides had gone to the tannery, and had to be returned again. That is the advantage of having a business man to take charge of these things, because he really understands them. The same thing occurs with sheepskins. They are returned by the sheep station, then by the meat-works, and next by the fellmonger, who keeps the wool; the pelts are returned again by the tanner, and afterwards by the saddler. So that one article which originally belonged to the primary producer is returned five times. Wool is returned by the sheep station and the clothing factory, and tallow by the cattle station, the meat-works, and the soap and candle works. Sometimes the product is shipped direct without any change, but where it undergoes manufacture at all, it always passes through three, four,

or five hands. Honorable members can see that all the time the primary returns stand as solid as a rock, but the manufacturing returns are absolutely delusive and shrink tremendously. I stake my reputation on this statement, that the manufacturing returns do not represent half what is stated here. Honorable members will see what a case can be made on behalf of the absolutely greater importance of the primary producers. Next, let us take the relative employment. According to *Coghlan*, there are in Australia factory hands to the number of 171,107—that is, 1 in 8—and other workers to the number of 1,240,499—that is, 7 in 8—making a total of 1,411,606. Surely the primary producers ought to have some voice in the making of this Tariff. The question is, should the dog wag the tail, or the tail oscillate the dog? It is hardly necessary at this time of day for me to say that primary production is the source of all wealth. The capitalist says—“You can do absolutely nothing without money.” Very good. Show me a penny. What is it made of? Copper. Where does it come from? The bowels of the earth. Whose image and superscription does it bear? That of a king perhaps, the creature of a day; but right through it has the stamp of primary production on it. Therefore the primary producer should be specially considered in connexion with this Tariff. I must offer my congratulations to the Government upon a fact that has not yet been referred to during this debate, and that is that the Post-office and Telegraph department must have received an enormously increased revenue since the Tariff was laid on the table—that is, if we are to judge by the correspondence which I and several of my friends have received. There may have been waggon loads of correspondence sent to honorable members on the Government side of the House in favour of the Government proposals, but we certainly have our doubts. At any rate, the post has brought me a letter from the manager of a large and well known meat works on the subject of meat wraps. He wrote to me explaining that the bag-makers were up in arms because the Government had put meat wraps on the free list; and he certainly furnished a splendid argument why they should be free, which I may use in committee. He said that meat wraps were imported

for a special purpose, and that they were exported within two or three weeks. This I thought a very excellent and conclusive argument, but the same mail also brought me a letter from two or three bag-makers in Australia, pointing out the absurdity and the oppressive effect of the action of the Government in imposing a duty of 10 per cent. on the calico from which they make their bags, whilst allowing meat wraps to come in free. Now, these are the matters that require a superhuman intellect to properly arrange.

Mr. WILKINSON.—What about the primary cotton producers of Southern Queensland?

Mr. A. PATERSON.—I never speak of matters that I know nothing about. I do not know sufficient of the cotton industry to speak of it; I have been too long away from Ipswich.

Mr. McDONALD.—The cotton-growing industry has been wiped out long ago.

Mr. PAGE.—The planters secured the bonus and disappeared.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—I should like to say a word or two about the minimum wage.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Unless the honorable and learned member can connect the minimum wage question with the Tariff proposals of the Government, I am afraid he will not be in order.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—I propose to do that, Mr. Speaker. The minimum wage bears a direct relation to the cost of living, and it is in that connexion that I intend to refer to it. The honorable and learned member for Indi drew a comparison between the minimum wages of the Melbourne and the Sydney operatives. His comparison was rather in favour of the Melbourne operatives, but not to any extent worth speaking of. I called the honorable and learned member's attention, by an interjection, to Mr. Ord's report. Mr. Ord said that, as a matter of fact, the workmen did not get the minimum wage in Victoria, but that in many cases men had confessed to him that they had signed for the minimum wage, although they had not received it. Mr. Ord, who has a very strong sympathy with the operatives, speaks in unmistakable language upon this point, and expresses his regret that the fact should be as he states. I think a much truer test of working men's comfort is their style of living. It may be said that I am departing from my original intention not

to make any further comparisons between the two States; but a direct challenge has been thrown out, and I am obliged to answer it. Taking the common articles of diet used by the workers in Australia, I find that the New South Wales working man eats 5 per cent. more grain stuffs, 11 per cent. more sugar, 35 per cent. more meat, 24 per cent. more cheese—although he has to import it—and 48 per cent. more butter. He also smokes $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. more tobacco, and he drinks one glass of whisky more in the year, than the Victorian. On the other hand—I wish to do Victoria justice—the Victorians eat 33 per cent. more potatoes, and drink five quarts of wine and nine quarts of beer more per annum—that is perhaps because it is more convenient to get wine and beer in Victoria than in New South Wales, where the people are more scattered. If wages were as low as has been alleged in New South Wales, how could the working men of that State live in such a degree of comfort? I desire to draw attention to a remark which was made by the honorable member for Gippsland, for whom I have the most profound respect, and, indeed, reverence. The honorable member stated that in the 26 years between 1861 and 1886, England lost £2,111,000,000 through the excess of her imports over her exports. Now, the honorable member pins his faith to *Mulhall*, and so do I. I do not desire to sneer at anything, but I question the authority of any trade journal or any trade circular, because I have written them myself. I therefore quote the passionless statistics of *Mulhall* every time. The first thing that struck me was that England must have been rather a rich country to have stood the loss of £2,111,000,000, and still survive. I looked for some means of checking the honorable member's statement, and, on consulting *Mulhall*, I found that, in the 28 years from 1860 to 1888—that includes the honorable member's 26 years—England increased her wealth by £4,840,000,000. If the honorable member doubts these figures, I can tell him how the money is invested. Not only that, but, in the same period, England reduced her national debt by £128,000,000. Now, what is the test of the stability of a country—is it not the value of her loans in the public market? How did 3 per cent. consols stand in 1860? The average price was 93·4, whereas in 1888 the average was 100·8.

Mr. HIGGINS. — What are the prices now?

Mr. A. PATERSON. — That raises another question. I do not like to differ from the honorable member for Gippsland, but of course these statements have to be met, otherwise they may do a great deal of harm. In contrasting trade with agriculture, the honorable member said that trade did no good in a country. This is surely an extreme view. Would the honorable member take up the position that it would be better for Birmingham to tear up her streets and to plant turnips, or for the people to sow potatoes on the Broomielaw of Glasgow? The thing is preposterous! We must not only grow produce for our people, but we must have places in which they can live and in which they can carry on their manufactures. I was the more surprised at the honorable member's statement because this is a manufacturer's Tariff. People upon both sides hold extreme views. No argument would convince me that wheat, under equal conditions, would be more productive in a protected than in a free-trade State. If it were urged upon me that a free-trade cow gave more butter than any other cow, I should simply, say, with brutal frankness, "Don't be a fool." Nature has no revenue Tariff rains or protective sunshine. Its rains fall alike upon the just and the unjust, entirely irrespective of political opinions. I wish to say a word or two about the profits of importers as compared with those of manufacturers. I do not know sufficient about this subject, perhaps, to pose as an authority. I merely wish to observe that I have never known any purely commercial ring to stand. All the powerful monopolies are those of manufacturers. The manufacturers by combining can control the sources of mechanical production and hold the markets and the public at their mercy. But no importer can do that, because any man in the street with £100 can directly oppose him. There is no protection to the importer. Therefore it is the height of absurdity to compare the profits of the importer with those of the manufacturer. I do not speak without some authority. Honorable members will recollect the great wheat corner in which Mr. Leiter lost some millions of money. Fortunately he had a rich father-in-law who stood by him, but the money was lost, anyhow, because he

could not corner the wheat. Why? Because there was too much wheat in the world, and too many people were willing to risk their money in attempting to corner Leiter! Thus, instead of the latter cornering the wheat market, the wheat market cornered him. I remember the great McEwan iron ring being formed in Glasgow, when one bright summer's day at three o'clock eleven of the biggest firms in Glasgow closed their doors. That was a deliberate attempt to corner the iron market, but owing to the long-headedness of other men who were there they were not able to accomplish their end. The sugar ring, which was created a few years afterwards, also failed in the same way. I do not believe that any corner can be made by importers that will last. I certainly do not believe that such corners can be created in Melbourne, where there are so many sharp people about, though, of course, the formation of occasional rings cannot be prevented in the case of manufacturers. I come now to the great American problem, which is the hardest nut that free-traders have to crack. America has high exports, low imports, and increasing wealth. How are these facts to be explained? To start with, we must know something about the country. Any one who has lived for a time in the various countries of Europe knows what a traveller the average American is. Every American of any standing in business considers it absolutely necessary for his commercial education that he should travel through Europe. They all do it. They do not manage it for nothing. They do not travel second or third class. They travel like princes, and spend their money like dukes. More than that, the American woman gets her dresses from Worth in Paris, or some imitator of Worth. The extravagance of the American woman is notorious. It has been so great, owing to the vast wealth of some of the American heiresses, that many silly-headed women of other countries have been ruined in attempting to copy their example. Incredible sums of money are spent by the Americans in their travels, their dress, their residences, and their sports. Only the other day it was cabled all over the world, as an extraordinary fact which was perfectly unprecedented and entirely unexpected, that the wife of the President of America spent only £60 a year upon dress. The Americans were so astonished about the matter that they could

not help telling every one. The newspaper men, who know everything, got hold of it, and considered it so extraordinary that they immediately sent the news flying all over the world. It must also be remembered that the Americans spend a great deal of money in investments. They own newspapers in London, they have invested millions and millions sterling in buying up steam-ship companies; they are in numberless commercial businesses, and they are now attempting to compete with English tobacco manufacturers on the latter's own ground. Although these amounts represent millions and millions sterling they are not sufficient to account for the difference. I will tell honorable members what I believe does account for it. Owing to the American policy of levying duties, it is to the direct interest of every importer to undervalue his imports, and he does that. That can easily be understood, because it is in accord with human nature. But if we were to tax exports, what a difference! The scale would be entirely the other way. I am not speaking without knowledge, because I remember—and no doubt some Victorian representatives also remember—the case of a Flinders-street house 25 years ago. I saw the police attempt to get into a warehouse in Flinders-lane—I am sure the honorable member for Mernda remembers the occurrence—and I saw a Customs officer with blood flowing from his head, he having been knocked down with a bludgeon of some kind. That case disclosed scandalous under-valuations, which had been going on for years, and by which the State of Victoria had been robbed of thousands of pounds. Nobody knows of these things better than the Melbourne merchants; and that is not the only scandal, or the last of the kind. Now, as to the pauperism and distress which are said to exist in England, of which we have heard very harrowing accounts—I have noticed that while some of the speakers are from England, a great many others have never been in that country, and it is astonishing how much these latter honorable members know about the state of affairs at home. I suppose we all agree as to the veracity of the *Age* newspaper, and here is an extract from an article by the London correspondent of that journal, dated the 27th of September last—

There is a curiously large proportion of London paupers who live well beyond the average span of

life. A short time ago half a dozen lively centenarians were counted among them. Perhaps their tenacity is due to the regularity of their habits and the severe simplicity of their food, since doctors say there are virtues in these things. And this leads one to fear for the health and prospects of longevity of a certain male pauper, who, by a strange and amusing chance, is just now the sole inmate of a work-house at Bermondsey, a south-eastern suburb of London. There are no fewer than 28 officials to look after him—a master, a matron, a medical officer, two chaplains, and over a score nurses and other attendants! If he were to take his discharge, the whole staff would be out of employment. It is to their interest to make him entirely at home and contented, but in their zealous anxiety they may overdo it. And the worst of it is, that the old fellow himself seems to over-look this aspect of the case. It was reported at the last meeting of the local board of guardians that he was enjoying the situation immensely.

That is the other side of the question as presented by the *Age*. We will now take the *Argus*. We have heard some horrible tales about miners' wages at home, but commercial men know what amusing nonsense all these tales are. England was never so prosperous as she is at this moment, and there is not much in the contention that the prosperity is due to the war, because there has not been much improvement since hostilities began in South Africa. The extract from the *Argus* is as follows:—

At the Berlin Mining Conference in 1894, the Northumberland miners presented the following comparative statement of daily wages paid to miners in different European countries:—England, 6s. to 6s. 6d.; Belgium, 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.; France, 3s. 6d.; Austria, 2s. 8d.; Germany, 3s. to 3s. 6d.—*The Times*, January, 1896.

M. Lamendin, French delegate to the Miners' Congress in Berlin, said on his return:—

"The English miners were absolutely indifferent to the miseries of the miners on the Continent, because they did not experience them themselves. The economic conditions in England were infinitely better than those affecting the Belgians, the Germans, and the French. In truth, the English could afford to scorn the discussion of the minimum wage question, because they literally dictated their pay themselves."—*Standard*.

Everybody knows that that is the absolute truth. How can any reasonable human being explain the immense immigration of foreigners into London on any other grounds than that better wages are obtained there? It is utter nonsense to talk about the better wages in any other country. Then as to the comparative wealth of Great Britain and the United States, the honorable member for West Sydney stated that in Great Britain 2 per cent. of

the population of very rich men hold 66 per cent. of the national wealth. But in the United States 0·14 per cent.—that is one seventh of 1 per cent.—hold the enormous proportion of 58 per cent. of the national wealth. A nice sort of democracy, to be sure! Is that the example we are going to follow? And the fact I have stated does not represent the worst. Rockefeller takes the share of nearly 100,000 men, and there are eight or ten men who have not far short of Rockefeller's wealth. The honorable member for West Sydney has the clear perceptive eye to see the unmistakable drift of democracy when corrupted by immense aggregations of wealth. What is the use of talking about average wealth anyhow? If one member of this House owned £742,600, and the rest of us poor mortals had only £100 each, Mr. Coghlan, or even the illustrious Michael Mulhall, would make it appear on paper that we were worth £10,000 each. How ridiculous! But I fear that such an argument would not suffice to stave off the services of writs by stupid, unsympathetic tradesmen. This reminds me of a speech which was made in the city of Melbourne by a well-known auctioneer at the height of the land boom. He stood up in a public building in this great city, and said—"Oh, it does not matter whether property is sold at a loss or not; it only passes from one hand to the other." He did not consider that a great part of the money was recklessly spent in bell-toppers, champagne, carriages, and splendid furniture, while much of it also went away into other countries. But I think that auctioneer knows now, and that he will not speak in such a strain again. Now I come to the kernel of the whole question. What is the avowed object of protection? Is it not to provide employment and to keep up wages? Has protection accomplished these objects in this or any other country? The poor half-timer cries, from the bitterness of his soul, "No"; the manufacturer says, "Yes." Then what is meant by this fuss about wages boards? The leader of the Opposition has said that wages boards are the absolute corollary of protection; and I agree with him. But supposing the wages boards fail to secure these ends—what is the next corollary, I pray? It is to strike at the root of the evil a straight, direct blow, and let the nation

take over all those industries which ask for high protection and work them for the common good. That would be a real Commonwealth, not a sham protected Commonwealth. We could make a very fair start with such glaring monopolies as nails, cement, salt, and perhaps hats.

Mr. WILKS.—And starch.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—I think starch is out of it this time. I am no revolutionary, and I am opposed on principle to all fiscal protection—indeed, to all protection except that of public health and morals, and purity of race. But if honorable members opposite persist in subsidizing manufacturers unjustly and illegitimately, and only city manufacturers at that—not the poor struggling manufacturers in the country—if they persist in doing this at the expense of the masses, I say that it is simple justice that the masses should divide the profits, or share the losses if there are any. That, to me, appears to be an argument conclusively and absolutely irresistible. It will be said that this idea is visionary and impossible. But I reply that it has been done. France has enjoyed an annual revenue of £12,000,000 of money out of her tobacco monopoly, and I know that Spain for many years enjoyed a very handsome revenue from the same source—though I am afraid she does not enjoy very much now. I think that if this alternative were submitted to these beneficent manufacturers, not in Victoria alone, but throughout the whole of Australia—because they are all “tarred with the same brush”; Victoria is not a bit worse than the New South Welshman, and the New South Wales manufacturer is no better than the Victorian—their claims would be speedily reduced to something like equitable dimensions, and we should secure a fairly honest and satisfactory Tariff.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON (South Australia).—I do not intend to detain the House more than a few minutes. I propose to follow what I regard as the very excellent example set by the honorable member for Northern Melbourne. I had intended to go somewhat fully into the history and the relative merits of protection and free-trade, but I feel that at this stage, after all the speeches which have been made, anything of the kind would be out of place. It would be the repetition of very much more than a twice-told tale. But in spite of all that has been said and written on this

subject, there seems to be much misconception, and in quarters, too, where one would least expect to find it. The Tariff introduced by the Minister for Trade and Customs has come in for some condemnation, but it should not be forgotten that any Tariff introduced by the leader of the Opposition would have shared the same fate, with possibly this difference—that the outcry would have been more pronounced, because, as honorable members will admit, it is the revenue lines of the present Tariff to which the greatest exception is being taken. The hard fact which cannot be shirked is that the sum of £9,000,000 has to be raised.

Mr. WILKS.—£8,000,000.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—I may be wrong, but sometimes it appears to me that there are people who actually believe that somehow the leader of the Opposition could raise the money necessary for the Commonwealth and the States without any one having to pay anything. Well, I know that the right honorable member is clever—very clever indeed—but of this I am quite sure, that when he takes £9,000,000, or even £8,000,000, as the honorable member for Dalley suggests, out of the pockets of the people of the Commonwealth, they will know all about it, and will think no more kindly of him than they do of the Minister for Trade and Customs at the present moment. During the course of the discussion which has taken place we have heard some very admirable speeches. I honestly believe that the debate, both as regards character and tone, is one that would have done credit to any Legislature in the world. But, at the same time, Mr. Speaker, I must enter my protest against this perpetual wrangling between New South Wales and Victoria. I am not specially interested in either State, but I am very much interested indeed in the Commonwealth of Australia. There have been many references to prices under protection and under free-trade. I do not for a moment assert that the manufacturer, given a free hand, would extend to his customer too much consideration; but, at the same time, I fearlessly assert that the importer is not always the embodiment of righteousness. That I may illustrate this point is one of the objects for which I have risen. In the year 1885 ploughshares were imported into South Australia to the value of £11,288. A duty was imposed, and the imports were reduced until in 1897

the total value was only £474. But in the meantime an industry had grown up, and the exports of plough shares represented £3,920. In the following year the exports rose to the sum of £7,277, and this amount roughly represents the annual exports since. I can imagine that I hear some one saying, "Oh, but what did the poor farmer pay for the coddling of this industry." That is precisely what I want to tell honorable members. Before the duty was imposed—and it was a duty of 15 per cent.—the farmers paid for cast-iron plough shares of English manufacture 16s. per dozen. From that time until now, there has been a gradual reduction in price going on, until the present price in the Adelaide market is 10s. per doz. But the locally made article is sold for 8s. per dozen. Now, it occurred to me that when I made this statement some gentleman from the other side of the House, in perfect friendliness, might say, "That is your statement of the case; but had we some one who knew something of the other side, he might put it differently." Under these circumstances I telegraphed to Mr. William Copley, one of the most respected and best known farmers in South Australia. Mr. Copley is at the present time a member of the House of Assembly, and has twice been a Minister of the Crown. This is the reply I received from him—

Have just received your wire asking for some particulars *re* South Australian plough shares. Speaking from my own experience, they now give general satisfaction, more especially the cast shares. I have used them about sixteen years. For the first three or four years the chilling was not as well done as in the imported, but now they are quite equal, and the price is 9s. per dozen retail as against 14s., the price of the imported a few years ago. Of course the importers say the price would have gone down without local competition, but I venture to doubt that. At any rate I know what the prices were and what they are now.

This letter was written from Parliament House, Adelaide, and Mr. Copley adds in a foot-note—

I have just spoken to Mr. Cummins, one of the members for Stanley. He and his brother are large farmers. He quite agrees with my favorable opinion of the local manufacture.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Are they free-traders?

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—I have referred to this matter in order to show that the imposition of a duty on a farming implement does not necessarily mean adding to the cost of agriculture. I cannot say that I am personally very pleased with the Tariff. I am not sure that it is equitable,

and I shall reserve to myself the right to endeavour to amend it in committee, so that it may be improved as much as possible. It appears to me that it is too burdensome as regards the working classes; and I shall be glad to see such an arrangement of duties as will put the producer in the best possible position. At the same time I realize that the Treasurer must have the money required by the Commonwealth and the States, and therefore there is no use in putting duties on articles that are not of general consumption. There is, Mr. Speaker, an epigram which seems to me to have some sort of application to the present occasion, and it might inspire certain gentlemen to accept the inevitable in connexion with this Tariff. The epigram was written by Horace Smith—not Sydney Smith, nor even Bruce Smith, but still a very distinguished member of the famous family. This is what the epigram says, and I am sure when the Honorable the Minister for Trade and Customs hears it he will commend it to the serious consideration of the members of the Opposition—

Let this plain truth those ingrates strike
Who still, tho' bless'd, new blessings crave;
That we may all have what we like,
Simply by liking what we have.

Mr. O'MALLEY (Tasmania).—First of all, I desire to apologize to this House because I am not going to speak of New South Wales or Victoria. I desire also to apologize because I shall not attempt tonight to take up the time of honorable members by giving them either *Mulhall* or *Coghlan*, or any other statistical gentleman. It does seem to me that it is a good thing that the right honorable the leader of the Opposition moved this motion of no confidence. Certainly there have been some great speeches made here, speeches, in my opinion, equal to any I ever heard in Europe or America—I could not say better. I want to say, furthermore, that I am somewhat jealous of the leader of the Opposition. I was told when I came here that I should have a monopoly of the humour of the House, but I find I am not even a little flickering light alongside of this great electrical lamp. However, I will say this, that I regard the right honorable gentleman as the Daniel Webster of Australia, and when a man born on the American Continent says that, he says all. At the same time I want to congratulate the Government, and especially my right honorable friend the Minister for Trade and

Customs, upon having the pluck, as a protectionist, to throw down the challenge, and say, "Take it up." The time has come for us to know where we are. I have got sick of these political Mistfers Facing-both-Ways. Let us excommunicate them, and let us know where we are in Australia. There is, unfortunately, too much readiness to jump over any stone wall or any hedge or ditch if one can only get a vote. I want to say that I stand in a different position to-night from almost any other honorable member for Tasmania. I am a protectionist, and I intend to show honorable members why I regret that the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Cameron, is not here, because when I say anything of a man, I want to say it to his face. I shall never say anything in this House that I shall not be prepared to say in the street if I am planted twenty minutes afterwards. This is the position: In every family there is a skeleton of some sort in the cupboard, and I say that the honorable member, Mr. Cameron, is the Tasmanian skeleton in the Federal Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. The honorable member must withdraw that expression.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I withdraw it, sir. I would not have mentioned this matter but for the fact that the honorable member repudiated the other night the statement made by me that he had reached this House on my surplus vote. There can be no doubt on that point. We have the Hare-Clarke system of voting in Tasmania. I went before the country as an out-and-out protectionist, and the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, fought the campaign as an out-and-out free-trader. He was first on the poll and I was second. But for the fact that the elements joined hands with the fossildom of Tasmania, inasmuch as it rained all day on the West Coast, I should have been at the top of the poll. I desire to quote from one of the speeches that I made in Tasmania, because the right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, stated the other evening that mine was the parish-pump policy. As a matter of fact I am really the only member of the House who did not preach the policy of the parish-pump, because I had not lived long enough in Tasmania to know where the pump was to be found. One has to reside some time in a district before he becomes proficient in building culverts, plucking roosters, and chasing snakes. This

is what I said, and I want to call particular attention to it—

We must inaugurate pure economic legislation and administration, establishing a profound respect for the people.

I cannot see to read the speech, Mr. Speaker, and I ask you to allow me to light a candle.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must not read his speech.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I want to quote from that speech. I will blow out the candle in a second.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member cannot be allowed to read his speech, and therefore it is useless for him to light a candle.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The difference is this, Mr. Speaker, that the electric light represents protection and this candle represents free-trade. I will put it out. It is going out to-night. In the speech to which I refer, I said that I was going to the country as a protectionist. I went to the country as a protectionist, and the people sent me here. The question we have to determine is not what England has done, nor what America has done. I regret deeply that in regard to every little thing that happens in this country the people go down on their knees in deference to something foreign. Is it possible that we are not a thinking people—a people capable of evolving some specific scheme or plan that will suit our own conditions? One of the greatest writers of the age, Goethe, has said that there are few voices but many echoes. I say that there are few originators but many imitators. We have been discussing for the last two and a half weeks what people are doing in every other part of the world, but not showing why we should adopt their schemes or plans. For the few minutes during which I shall occupy the attention of the House to-night I shall endeavour to talk of what will suit the people of the Commonwealth. A few years ago Australia consisted of a few segregated, wrangling, political entities. To-day it is a nation far larger than was America when she started on her own career. The difference is that the Americans were plucky men. They had gone through a seven years' war against the greatest nation in the world, and had come out triumphant. That produces thinkers; and they thought for themselves. During this debate I have

heard a great deal about the riches of England. I will admit that there are riches there, but I am sorry to say they consist of aggregated riches, such as we find in India, and not average riches. I know something about England; perhaps I know more about it than any other honorable member, because when I was there I studied the conditions of the people. Two hours a day were sufficient for my business, and I spent the rest of the day with the suffering, trampled upon, hard-up people, studying how they made their living. I saw misery there and I saw misery in New York. I regret that the misery went to New York from England, from Germany and the Netherlands, and from all those countries where the people had been under the heel of tyranny for a thousand years. There is another matter which I cannot understand. For years the people had read about the accursed corruption and accursed protection in America. They knew all about it in England. Every newspaper spread it far and near. Every man one met in England told him about the corruption in America, about the rottenness of the country, and the rottenness of protection! Yet every ship that left England was laden down with Britishers sailing to that accursed country, packing Castle Garden like bees in a hive. Five millions of Britishers live to-day under the accursed American flag, and bless and praise that accursed American protection. Three millions more lie planted in the American soil. They all cleared out from Great Britain in order to get away from the blessedness of free-trade to the accursedness of protection. At the present time they are going out to America at the rate of 50,000 a year.

Mr. PAGE.—What is the honorable member doing here?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I am here to-night to talk to the honorable member.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member address the Chair?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—That is what I am doing here. Thank God, I was able to pay my fare out here, and I am able to pay it back again. I am as independent as a Rocky Mountains grizzly bear on roller-skates. I am not here as an abject slave. But let me return to the question of why people are leaving England. Why do they leave the blessed free-trade? Why do they go to America? They never go back until they

return to live in castles, like Andrew Carnegie. When they return to England they live in palaces and beautiful homes. I will admit that there are grand palaces in England, magnificent universities, lovely homes, and everything that one could possibly wish for. But that is only one side of the picture. What about the hovels there? What about the wretched people who walk bare-footed down the Strand in winter? What about the people living around Whitechapel? I have studied some of the conditions of the people of England. But for the regrettable fact that so much has been said about this matter I should not have referred to it. I want to talk of the primary producer. What an interest my honorable friends opposite have shown in the primary producer. Sir John Macdonald, formerly Prime Minister of Canada, was for years an out-and-out free-trader, and it does seem to me that a little common experience gained by observation, investigation, and calculation is nearly as good as anything one can read in a newspaper. This is what I have known to occur in Canada. The honorable member for Capricornia asked why we should take Canada for a pattern. He said that the trade of Canada was only some few odd millions per annum, and that New South Wales did more than half that amount of trade. Is that a fair comparison, when the Canadian people have had the run of the Dominion for the last 30 odd years, and its internal trade is something enormous, and when the whole of the traffic of New South Wales, with Victoria, Western Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland is bulked in as foreign trade? It is, however, as fair as I could expect under the circumstances, because my honorable friends opposite are fighting a desperate battle. I think a world of them, but I tell you, sir, that we are going to plant them to-night. Let me say something about Canada. Sir John Macdonald was an absolute free-trader. He said he believed in Cobden and Bright; I heard him say so 50 times. But when 1,300,000 born Canadians, of whom I was one, went over to live in the States, and became producers, and we sent our manufactured products back to our own people in Canada, he began to think, and, in 1878, he said—"I am going to try protection, though I do not believe in it." He tried it, and what is the result? To-day, we have the Massey-Harris reaper in Australia. They never made a reaper in

Canada, before protection came in, or, if they did, it was only one which they ran with a cow or a billygoat. We find these great institutions in Canada, and Canadians spreading themselves all over the world, doing business everywhere. They are independent, and the United States is trying to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with Canada. When your country is free-trade you have nothing to offer to others; they have your markets. They step in, and sell you what they cannot sell anywhere else, because the competition is so terrific. Any rubbish which was left in the States we used to send over to Canada. The people of a free-trade country become nothing more or less than primary producers, and the consumers of the products of a more intelligent race. According to my honorable friends opposite, if free-trade should become the policy of Australia, which they say it will, but which it will not do to-night, the clothes of the people will never wax old! They will never get shiny at the elbows or the knees. If this free-trade is what honorable members say it is going to be, the boots of the people will never wear out, but will grow on them, as they did on the children of Israel in the wilderness. When a mother buys a little dress for a baby, and puts it on her, and places her in the perambulator, the baby will grow up a young woman with the dress on her back. I do not know where free-trade is going to end, or what it is going to do. It has cursed every country I have ever known of. A few years ago there was a great war in the United States. Before that war the North was for free-trade, and the South for protection. The South had the primary industries. The people there owned the niggers and the plantations. They produced raw materials, and they said—"Now, we shall start our own factories." They sent to England, and to the northern States, and opened factories in the southern States, but as soon as ever the Englishmen and the northern men went down amongst the colored people they began to teach them the spirit of liberty. They said—"Get free; why should you be their slaves?" As soon as ever the southern people found out that there was going to be a moral resurrection, and a political insurrection, they at once closed the mills, and sent away the artisans, put their niggers back on the plantations, and then became revenue tariffists. My honorable friends opposite cannot even claim the honour of having

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invented the expression "revenue tariffist," because it came from the slave masters of the southern States.

Mr. F. E. McLEAN.—It is very much older than that.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Where did it come from?

Mr. CONROY.—It was used in the House of Commons in 1828, and again in 1835.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Let my honorable and learned friend show me one speech made in 1828 in which the expression "revenue tariffist" was used. He is labouring under a delusion. In the history of the House of Commons there is not one record of the use of the expression "revenue tariffist." It was first used by a slave-master of South Carolina—John C. Calhoun, the great nullifier, and when he became a great free-trader Daniel Webster, of the north, became a protectionist. The factories were shifted to the north, and then by every stream, every little highway, every waterway, a factory village sprang up. So, when the rebellion broke out, the southern people had no artisans. They had the primary producers, what my honorable friends want in Australia to-day. They had the coloured gentlemen who raised the cotton, but they had no artisans. When the first few battles had been fought, and they found that they required to have factories and mills, they could not get artisans to manufacture anything for them. But every stream in the north, every spindle that turned, every wheel that revolved, was one of the soldiers of the army of the Lord, to put down that rebellion. And yet, having that experience to go by and to guide them are my honorable friends going to have nothing but primary producers in Australia? I have the profoundest reverence for the primary producer. I am a primary producer myself. My honorable friends for whom I have the greatest respect have spoken of the Australian primary producer in wails and lamentations. They have told us of the wrongs we are inflicting on the primary producer. In fact they have demonstrated conclusively that the Australian is unfit for any calling which requires intense application, genius, or talent. I cannot get away from that. I am judging my honorable friends on their own declarations, and I cannot separate the sin from the sinner on this occasion. I want to confine them strictly to this primary production.

Is it possible that this great Commonwealth, teeming with the boundless resources of nature, is capable of affording no other sustenance to the human family than the milk from her own sad breast. The whole idea has been founded on the presumption that all her people, like aboriginals, served by women in bondage, are for ever to vegetate on potatoes, turnips, and cabbages. Is the great Anglo-Saxon-Celtic race transplanted in the Southern Seas, to fall to the rear of the rest of the world. Are we, although coming from the old original stock, and cousins of the American people, willingly to allow ourselves to be outstripped in the arts and in enterprise by our own relations? It seems to be thought that the people of Australia turned their backs upon the old world only to become abject slaves in the new world. According to the declarations of my honorable friends opposite, Australians were simply created and endowed to perspire in the open fields, and to produce the raw materials, so that a more refined, delicate, and cultured race might return manufactured products, wrung in agony from their own human slaves, and then draw away the earnings of the workers, to rest in foreign pockets. They speak as though Australia were not an Empire—a world in itself. I am already proud to be a member of this House; although I only missed the presidency of the United States by 30 feet—I was born on the wrong side of the border—in Canada. Honorable members talk as though Australians did not possess sufficient genius and skill to make progress in manufacturing not only the necessities of life, but also the luxuries that may be required by her people. I have no such idea. Honorable members talk as though from the moment they crossed the mighty ocean from the north to the south, they were doomed to industrial and inventive death. They speak as though inventive genius were native only in foreign nations. If I could agree with them, I should have to come to the conclusion that the Australian people could only become a dependent industrial tail to foreign nations. The people who have not got genius and art in their souls are only fit to be slaves, and the people who produce only the raw materials, and hand them over to others to add many values to them by the application of skill and science, can never hope to claim equality with those nations that make progress in all the arts and sciences.

Are Australian people to be simply beggars upon foreign art? Free-trade, to me, means simply the essence of international industrial cannibalism, because it allows the strong to eat up the weak. Free-trade means that the whole of the Australian Commonwealth should be an open field for foreign commercial buccaneers and free-booters to exploit as they choose, disregarding of the interests of Australian manufacturers. The principle on which free-trade rests, and the spirit which actuates it, are identical with the principle underlying the reign of anarchy, because that spirit involves the complete elimination of law. The hawk wants no protection on the chickens; the crow wants no protection on the cattle when they are bogged in the quicksands, but he wants to pluck out their eyes in the same way as the foreign manufacturer would pluck out the eyes of the local producer. The wolf wants no protection on the sheep, but the shepherd does. The snake that crawled over the garden wall of Eden wanted no protection. The mother who nurses the child in the cradle, and then watches him grow up year by year, until he reaches manhood, does not then throw him like a pup into the stream and let him sink or swim, but she sticks to him.

Mr. CONROY.—She does not put leeches on him!

Mr. O'MALLEY.—She puts leeches on him if he is suffering from pleurisy, and the honorable member was leeches by his mother many a time! The free-traders say that we should throw our industrial pups into the stream, but the great speech made by the honorable and learned member for Indi absolutely squelched them! His speech was like an avalanche on the eastern peaks of the Rockies. It came down upon honorable members opposite with such crushing force that they have not recovered from it yet. I sympathize with my honorable friends, because they are fighting a losing cause, and it requires more courage to suffer defeat and fight again, than to return to the conflict after victory.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable member is speaking feelingly.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I won one election in South Australia, and I suffered defeat on the second occasion. I may be defeated again, but it does not matter, because I shall always be in some Parliament. Looking at the other side of this question, is it not

a fact that Australians always defer to anything foreign? Is it not a fact that the people of Australia reverentially defer to every English authority?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—England is not foreign!

MR. O'MALLEY.—It is foreign so far as the conditions of Australia are concerned. What is good for England is not good for us. A few moments ago, the honorable member for Capricornia said that in New South Wales they eat so many more pounds of meat a year than they do in Victoria. But meat-eaters never yet thought out anything for the world. In Scotland, where they eat "parritch," they have given the world the best thought it has ever had; and next to Scotland come the rock-ribbed hills of New England, where the snow lies on the ground for six months at a time. When the Scotchman lives in his own country, and has to think to get his food, he becomes a great thinker and inventor; but when he leaves his country, and makes plenty of boodle, he begins to live on meat, and does not think any more. Therefore, I do not consider the statistics in regard to meat-eating worth anything. If people did with half the eating that goes on, it would be better for them. Nowadays, they eat themselves into the gripes. Honorable members all know that it does not require a great amount of ability to be a destructive critic, but it requires a mighty amount of ability to be a constructive philosopher. I remember once seeing a mule in Texas—and everybody knows that a mule is a hybrid, with no pride of ancestry or hope of posterity—kick a crockery shop down in about twenty minutes; but if you started him to make a cup and saucer he could not do it if he lived 50 years. I have the greatest sympathy for my friends opposite, and I want to tell them the truth. A few years ago I was travelling through the country, and I came to a place where there was an old sign-board pointing to an abandoned, scrub-infested paddock, but the direction of the road had been changed. Thousands of people went along the road and left the sign-board unchanged, and so for 50 years it diligently directed the attention of heedless travellers to the scrub-infested paddock, swearing that the road still led that way. I said to myself when I saw it, "That is the free-trade party of Australia." They do not know that the times have changed,

and they never will know, because they have lost their hearing, and have become blind. I remember that on another occasion I came to a place where there had formerly been an hotel and stable, but everything had been burnt down, with the exception of three chimneys, which stood there, monuments of the the terrible disaster that had occurred. But the sign-board at the roadside was untouched, and it said, "Entertainment for man and beast." It kept on saying that, although there had not been a man entertained in the hotel for 40 years past. The birds perched upon that board and sang in the summer time, the wind whistled round it in the winter, but it still stuck to its tale—"Entertainment for man and beast." I said again to myself, "That is the free-trade party of Australia." I regret that they are living in the past ages. They are children of darkness, but they do not know it. The members of that party in this House are as nice, refined, and cultured gentlemen as I have ever met, and I think highly of them. It is said that on one occasion a darkness overspread Egypt that was so thick that you could feel it, and they had a bottle of that darkness in Rome for 500 years. But if the Egyptian darkness was so thick that you could feel it, the darkness which overspreads my friends opposite is so thick that you could eat it. In every department of economic research we find men of great intellectual endowments and loud pretensions who get notions, or theories, or some kind of wavy idea that is floating in the air into their heads, which they baptize with the name of science, and, mounting their hobby, they ride it furiously to death. True science is, undoubtedly, something to be proud of. We know that in every country there are people who are always looking for something striking. Our friends opposite believe that in free-trade they have the hope of the philosopher's stone, which will turn the mallee scrub and sage bush into wealth and gold. What a charming and beautiful theory! The beauty of it lies in this, that it requires no verification. But it is a one-legged truth, and has never yet budged an inch, nor ever will. All the same it is very captivating, and we see our friends waltzing round it, singing hymns of satisfaction. We see them doing homage to it as to a thing of mystic import. They see their goddess, their Venus, lying dead, and they know that her copper-coloured

bosom will never heave with love again, but they refuse to believe it. All over the world their musty covered mummies are still waiting for the commercial resurrection promised by their prophets. But instead of blessing them, they will turn round and curse them. England became a free-trade nation for self-protection and self-preservation. She thought that after her 200 years of protection, having lent money to the whole world, and made it her debtor, she was strong enough to proclaim herself a free-trader. The great Adam Smith got a comfortable situation in a Glasgow Custom-house, and he preached free-trade to the world. The doctrine went forth everywhere. But the nations found that a man behind an entrenchment, with cannons and maxims well mounted, can keep 100 or 500 at bay, as the Boers have done during the present war. So one nation after another began to adopt a policy of protection. Honorable members hear a lot about the corn laws of England, but the abolition of the corn laws was another act of self-protection. England preaches free-trade to the world, but believes in protection if she could adopt it. I have the greatest possible regard for my friends opposite. To me, metaphorically speaking, they are the blind bats of fiscalism, sitting on the withered limb of the ring-barked, dying, free-trade tree. Yet, how heroically they exhibit their one-legged economic deformity. They stand up and fight nobly for a dying cause. But let me tell them that free-trade was born in the Utopian imagination of the closet, the birth-place of millions of theatrical delusions, many of which die in premature birth, whilst numerous others drive people to destruction. It was then transferred from closet to closet, and there it was elaborated and re-elaborated by the brains of every succeeding theorist without the slightest knowledge of the practical application of these pernicious theories to the common affairs of the world. Like hot-house plants, when exposed to the rude action of the changing seasons, they perish.

Mr. CONROY.—Does the honorable member refer to protectionist manufactures?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I refer to free-trade. My honorable and learned friend may wish to plant it to-night. I never strike the dead hard. My enmity ends at the grave. I wish to say that the pulse of free-trade is feeble now, and if honorable members opposite mean to take advantage of the last hour, let them get upon the stool of

repentance. We are going to blow that light out to-night. But not for all this earth would I blow out the faintest light that ever flickered on the human horizon of despair, or the human horizon of hope. But I want, however, to take that infamous shadow out of the hearts of honorable members opposite. It has got them bad. Following up the cause of this theory of free-trade and its effect, I shall take another point, and then I shall close.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON.—Hear, hear.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The other night I cheered my right honorable friend for nearly two hours, and yet he is urging me to sit down. I have only good feeling towards my colleagues from Tasmania—the best of feeling. I regret that there is not a better feeling amongst the people of the whole world. There is too much solemnity, gloom, and sadness upon this earth. We ought to shake hands, and bury all our harsh feelings.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member address himself to the question?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I was saying that there is too much sadness in this world.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not the question before the Chair.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I agree that it is not, Mr. Speaker. I do not wish to say anything that is disagreeable, because, whether this Tariff becomes law or not, we have to live. I wish to ask honorable members opposite if “high wages and low prices” does not form one of the planks of the free-trade platform? Is that right, Mr. Sub-leader of the Opposition? I ask the honorable member for Macquarie if that is not so?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member cannot ask any other honorable member a question.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—If what I have stated does not form a plank in the free-trade platform, then I suppose that the moment the price of Mount Lyell copper goes down per ton up will go the wages paid by the company. If it goes down to zero, all the workers will have an immense income.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What did Sir Philip Fysh say upon that question?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—I am King O'Malley, and not Sir Philip Fysh. There are many honorable members of this House who have been to Japan. We all know that a number of Americans are starting factories in that country. They are taking American artisans with them to train the Japanese

how to manufacture. They are putting in the best and most improved machinery. Let us assume that three of these Japanese can manufacture as much as can two Australians, and that 5,000 Japanese are employed in one factory and 3,000 Australians in another. Let us further suppose that the Australians are paid £2 a week. If we calculate the wages thus paid to the Australians as against those paid to the Japanese, we shall find that there is a vast difference between the cost of the production by the two races. I ask how the Australian manufacturer can keep his factory going and compete successfully with the Japanese? What are prices based upon? The price of a commodity is the cost of the labour which produces it.

Mr. PRIESE.—And the raw material.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The cost of the raw material is always added. If my honorable friend has studied Adam Smith, Walker, Riccardo, and other economists, he will know that they tell us that the raw material must be present before we can manufacture anything. Nothing made out of nothing is a very small quantity. If we destroyed every factory in Australia, and turned the operatives into the streets, would they go over to Tasmania and buy stations? Would they go to Camperdown and buy stations? No. They would put their swags on their backs and "strike out" for the primary producers, where there are already, possibly, 50 or 60 people waiting for employment. Such a course would simply enable the manufacturers in connexion with primary productions, to bid for labour, and Australia would be reduced to what the Southern States of America were before the war—a population of masters and servants. There are complaints in Victoria now that servant girls cannot be obtained, because, as it is said, all the girls are employed in the factories. As a working man, and belonging to working people, I do not want to see the number of women in factories increased. We do not want to see the women of Victoria thrown out on the streets, yet day after day we hear honorable members talking about shutting up factories which do not pay. Are we prepared to find husbands for the women who will be thrown out of employment? If we shut up the factories, and let the foreigner send his goods here, we will not increase the wealth of our workmen, but will simply lay them open to

competition, dividing wages amongst the many. The people have to live, and they cannot live on the wealthy, who will instruct their lodge-keepers to keep them out.

Mr. McCOLL.—They will come to the primary producers.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Exactly. I have had experience of factory life in America. The factory in which I worked was closed, because British manufacturers were able to sell goods more cheaply than the goods could be produced and sold in the States; and we, who were thrown out of work, started west. We got into Colorado, where we had to take what work we could get, and I worked for 3s. 6d. a day, displacing a good man who had been getting 8s. a day. When we got into Texas, we found a free-trade speaker, and ducked him in the river. Free-trade is not the policy for the Commonwealth of Australia, and I cannot understand how honorable members can conscientiously advocate it. I believe in protection, because it means the protection of Australian labour. Protection will diversify Australian industries, and the diversification of Australian industries will mean that every portion of the human brain will be developed. If all the people of Australia were engaged in one calling, however important that calling might be, we should have a stupid people. If all in Australia were agriculturalists or pastoralists, we should have a solemnly stupid, and a stupidly solemn people. If our industries are diversified, as in America, we shall have inventors and thinkers. and there will be produced better and brainier men, better looking women, and healthier children. To-day, if all the boots which are made in Australia, and in the making of which hundreds of people are employed, were imported where should we find employment for the people now engaged in the trade? Freedom lies in the winning of the great battle for the rights of labour—in the protection of commercial values, and in the enjoyment and individual control of the values created by the people. Every attempt to establish free-trade in Australia is, in my opinion, another breach in the rampart of freedom. Freedom is not license to allow the world to come and prey upon our people; but it means the complete enjoyment of the commercial values here created. With the exception of Ruskin's works, there is not one proper or true book on political economy in the world

to-day; all the others deal with mercantile economy, and are based on the axiom—"Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." That is the cruellest, most vicious, and most damnable doctrine ever preached. It crushes and cripples all who are weak, and allows the strong to do as they like. In my opinion, freedom of trade is unrestricted license to strong commercial bullies to despoil the industrial Australian maiden.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I had expected that the honorable member who has just spoken, would have attempted to show some connexion between his speech and the condition of the working classes, or the conditions which protection are likely to bring about for the benefit of working men in general. I am reminded of a little incident that occurred, where two men had a very strong argument as to whether it was better to live under a free-trade flag or a protectionist flag. After they had very nearly come to blows, they thought it would be a wise thing to ask their third mate what his views were. "Well," said the mate, "I have worked in a free-trade country, and I have worked in a protectionist country, and whether under free-trade or protection, I have had to work mighty hard for the few shillings I got every week," That just about sums up the whole question of free-trade and protection. What is the good of telling us about the deplorable condition of the working classes in England? Do we not know that the same kind of thing exists in America to-day? Does the honorable member mean to tell me that either free-trade or protection has anything to do with the condition of the working classes? I listened patiently for nearly three weeks to try and get some information which would show that either fiscal policy materially affects the condition under which the working classes live. But, as a matter of fact, whether we go to a free-trade or a protectionist country, we find that competition for the right to work and earn sufficient wages to live is becoming more difficult. We are living to-day under a system by which we produce for profit and not for use. The consequence is, that whether in free-trade England or in protectionist America, 77 per cent. of the workmen who reach the age of 65 have to seek pauper relief. That is a fact which is stated by every statistician of

importance in every community. No doubt there have been some eloquent and able speeches delivered in the course of this debate. I naturally thought that some of those who take such a strong and earnest interest in the questions involved would have given us information to show the connexion between the fiscal policy they advocate and the condition of the working classes. But, as a matter of fact, not one honorable member on either side has shown that connexion. I am prepared to admit—though I have not gone into the matter sufficiently to discover it for myself with any degree of satisfaction—that there may be circumstances which enable the working classes to benefit from free-trade conditions in certain countries, or from protectionist conditions in other countries. But let me say this—and I say it not only to honorable members who are present, but with the wish that it may go forth to the workers of Victoria and New South Wales—that people who work for their living have very little hope in regard to improving their condition from either the one policy or the other. There are other economic causes outside of fiscal laws that affect the condition of the working classes. I have just said that we are living under a system by which we produce for profit and not for use. We are also living under a system in which the means of production are greatly in excess of the demand for commodities. The honorable member for Darling pointed out the other day that under our factory system, and owing to the introduction of machinery, we have been enabled to socialize our production and to produce so rapidly and in such a perfect manner that I suppose it may be said that goods can be turned out at almost a minimum of cost. But the moment we begin to exchange our commodities our social system fails. Every one who has had anything to do with commercial life knows that as soon as one particular line in an industry has had a run, the whole of the manufacturers in that industry start to produce it at an enormous rate. The result is that we have over-production, whilst at the same time there are thousands of men, women, and children going hungry and in want of food, clothing, shelter, and all other necessities of life. It is an extraordinary thing that the very moment our factories are producing in excess of the requirements we are precipitated into the midst of a crisis, and

that is the very moment when thousands and thousands of people are thrown out of employment, and misery and destitution reign throughout the country. These economic conditions require more weighty and deeper consideration than has been given to them during this debate on free-trade and protection. I had intended to go into the subject thoroughly as far as I was able, but I am not going to waste the time of the House in a way that a number of other honorable members have done. I say that with all due respect to them; but I certainly think that a great number of the speeches that have been delivered could have been condensed into something like one-third of the time taken. Having said so much, I will just touch upon one or two matters of importance to which I think attention should be directed. There is the question of direct taxation, which has been brought forward by the honorable member for Barrier. I am in thorough sympathy with that proposal. I think we should have some system of direct taxation which will get at those people who are best able to bear a fair share of the obligations the State lays upon its citizens. Something like 80 or 85 per cent. of taxation through the Customs falls upon the working classes. That is a state of affairs that ought not to exist, but which is maintained by the conditions of our society. Under the Tariff of the Government, the wealthier classes will not pay their fair share of taxation. It will be argued that the duties will fall evenly upon all consumers. But that is not so. All may be equal as far as the payment of taxes is concerned, but one class of those who pay the taxes receive no benefit from them, whilst the wealthier classes or those who have the control of the means of production, reap the advantage of an unearned increment which they have done nothing to create. It should be the duty of this Parliament to introduce such legislation as will break down the monopoly enjoyed at present by these controllers of the means of production. One of the first monopolies to be broken down is that in connexion with large agricultural estates. Take in Queensland the magnificent country represented by the honorable member for Darling Downs. There will be found some of the finest agricultural country that exists in any part of Australia, and what is it used for at the present time? Hundreds of thousands

of acres there were handed over at a nominal sum originally of about half-a-crown an acre. It is country upon which people from all parts of Australia would be glad to settle, but they cannot settle upon that magnificent country simply because it is locked up in the possession of huge landed proprietors. I say that if it was only for the purpose of breaking up these huge landed estates, it would be a good thing for the Government to introduce some form of land taxation. I do not say that a land tax should be the only form of direct taxation. I think that other forms should be included, such as an income tax, a property tax, and an absentee tax. By that means we should get at the people best able to bear taxation, and the masses of the people would in that way be to some extent relieved of its burdens. Under existing circumstances, however, while I am entirely in accord with the amendment proposed by the honorable member for the Barrier, I should like to suggest to him the advisability of withdrawing it. There seems to have been a fight between the two parties in the House, the free-traders and the protectionists. If they like to wrangle and fight it is their own business, and we have no cause to complain, but under the circumstances I think the honorable member for the Barrier would be wise in withdrawing his amendment so as to permit of a clear-cut issue being decided upon the motion moved by the right honorable gentleman who leads the Opposition. If, however, the honorable member persists with his amendment I shall support him if he takes it to a division. There are one or two other matters on which I should like to touch. The Treasurer referred to Tasmania and Queensland as two States likely to be deprived of a certain amount of revenue, owing to the reduction of taxation upon certain articles. The people of Queensland will have less drawn from them by way of customs duties to the extent of some £207,000; and in Tasmania the revenue derived from customs duties will be less by some £135,000. I point out, however, that the people of Queensland will not be a bit worse off under this Tariff, because this amount of £207,000 will be still left in their pockets. Queensland is actually losing nothing under the Tariff, but I admit that it may be necessary for the State Government to make some other arrangements to secure that £207,000 of revenue.

Still, I do not think it is going to affect Queensland, which, in my opinion, is one of the richest States in the group. The time is not far distant when she will have a population, if not equal to that of New South Wales or Victoria, then very nearly equal to it. The possibilities of Queensland are, I believe, greater than those of any of the other States. She has an enormous amount of territory as yet practically untapped. She has some of the finest grazing land in any part of the world, and she has an enormous extent of agricultural land unsurpassed in any of the other Australian States. Then the mineral resources of the northern portion of Queensland are far above those of any of the other States, with the exception, perhaps, of Western Australia. In view of these advantages, I do not think there is any cause for the Treasurer, or any one else, to surmise that Queensland, in not getting this £207,000, is going to be landed in utter ruin. Last year she had a deficit of about £500,000, and the Treasurer looked upon it as of so little importance that he would not even propose any substantial additional taxation.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Is he not floating Treasury bills to meet it?

Mr. McDONALD.—I am prepared to admit that, but what I want to say is, that he has never looked upon it with any great alarm, or supposed that the State is going to be ruined because he requires to issue those Treasury bills. Most of the States have, at some time or another, had to adopt a similar course. One regrettable course I think he has taken, and that is, the selling of land to redeem those Treasury bills. That, I think, is one of the most regrettable courses that any Government could follow, and I hope the wisdom of the people of Queensland will be sufficient to make the Government realize that it is not a wise thing to sell land for that or any other purpose. I repeat that I do not think that Queensland is going to be inconvenienced to any great extent by this Tariff, and though some people there may believe that some mild form of disaster may follow from other causes, personally I do not think that any disaster is likely to take place. So far as the Tariff is concerned, I think the Government, in framing their proposals, might have had some more consideration for the various primary industries of the States. I am not going to dilate upon the farming industry, as I leave that to those who are interested.

The honorable member for Barrier spoke this afternoon in connexion with the mining industry, and the people occupying the portion of Queensland I represent are wrapped up to a large extent in the mining industry as well as in the pastoral industry. I think the Government might take into consideration the desirability of reducing the heavy duties levied upon mining machinery. I shall not deal with that any further, because the honorable member for Barrier made a very good speech on that subject this afternoon. I think that fuse and explosives used in connexion with the mining industry should be placed upon the free list, and when the Tariff gets into committee, as I presume it will during the coming week, I shall move in that direction, if I get an opportunity. There is a duty imposed also upon shears, cutters, and combs used in connexion with the pastoral industry. These are things which cannot be made in Australia, and I believe that no firm will come to Australia to make them. I am led to believe that the manufacture of cutters and combs used in connexion with sheep-shearing machines could not well be conducted here, or only at such an enormous expense that it would not pay any company to undertake that particular industry in Australia. Seeing that these articles cannot be made in the country, I think they should be placed upon the free list. It must be remembered that the men who have to work with these particular tools are compelled to pay for them, and in placing a duty upon them we are putting a direct tax upon the labourer himself. I do not propose to detain honorable members further. I should like to have had a better opportunity of dealing with this question from an economic stand-point, but I feel that I would not be doing justice to the House nor to myself if I were to attempt to do so at this late stage of the debate. I desire to impress upon the two great leaders of the opposing parties in this House that when next a debate of this kind occurs they should make some effort to indicate what the rival policies of free-trade and protection have done to improve the economic conditions of the working classes. Within the last few months I have had an opportunity of going through the slums of Melbourne. I saw there some of the greatest misery that one could look upon. I have had also an opportunity of going through the slums of Sydney, where I saw exactly the same

unhappy condition of affairs. In free-trade and protectionist countries alike the conditions of society will breed criminals and prostitutes, millionaires and paupers, and misery, want, and destitution on every side. This is no fanciful picture. Every one knows that what I say is correct. These conditions occur both in free-trade and protectionist countries, and to those who study the economic conditions of society that fact should afford sufficient evidence that there must be some cause other than free-trade or protection responsible for such a condition of affairs.

Mr. SALMON (Laanecoorie).—It has been the custom for honorable members, after addressing themselves to this question at length, to conclude with an intimation that they desire the debate to close as soon as possible. I intend to commence with that intimation. I shall endeavour to do what I think other members might well have attempted, and that is to show some consideration for others by making my remarks as brief as possible.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We shall see.

Mr. SALMON.—The honorable member need not assume the rôle of the doubting Thomas. I am prepared to be judged entirely by results. I feel that this debate, interminable as it seems, is not without its good features. I do not believe that a single vote has been gained on either side by the speeches which have been delivered. But a vast amount of education has been afforded the public generally, as well as to some honorable members—myself among the number—by the efforts of those who have made themselves conversant with the effects of the two fiscal expedients, known by the names of free-trade and protection. I feel that every honorable member has been actuated by a desire to do his best for the Commonwealth at the inception of its career. Therefore the remarks I have to make will not, I trust, be regarded as carping criticism, but rather as an indication of the feelings I entertain in respect to these most important matters. At the outset, I wish to state that I had the privilege of hearing the Prime Minister deliver his speech at Maitland. The pledge which he gave then has been fulfilled to the uttermost. I do not concern myself with the twisting and torturings to which his words have been subjected. I have regard only to the impression which the speech conveyed to me, as one of the vast

audience present on that occasion, and I say honestly that, in my opinion, the Tariff brought down by the Government fulfils exactly the promise then made by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government. Whether the Tariff will suit the several States or not is a matter which the members representing those States must determine. They must be regarded as the best judges. So far as Victoria is concerned, I feel that if there are any shortcomings in the performance which the speech promised, they are in the direction of a failure to carry out altogether the promise of protection to industries already established. In his Maitland speech, the Prime Minister made clear the attitude which he intended to adopt with respect to revenue. He told us that revenue would be a primary consideration. He promised the people of Australia that, in obtaining that revenue, there would be no disastrous interference on the part of the Government with any industry which had been established, and that at the same time opportunities would be given for the establishment of other industries within the Commonwealth. If there is to be any doubt at all in regard to the fulfilment of the promise then made, it will be in the direction I have indicated. I have studied the Tariff carefully. As a member of the State Parliament of Victoria I had experience of Tariff revision in 1895. In their wildest moments those who then called themselves Tariff reformers could not have anticipated such marked reductions upon the Victorian Tariff as those now proposed by the Federal Government. I make that statement from my own personal experience. I was one of those who considered at the time that as Victoria was a State with artificial boundaries erected against other States on the same continent, inhabited by people speaking the same language and living under the same system of government, the duties which we were imposing were too high.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The free-trade cry was for 25 per cent. duties.

Mr. SALMON.—That is so. Mr. Murray Smith, who was the leader of the free-trade party in that Parliament, proposed that no duty should exceed 25 per cent. His party—which was a free-trade and not a revenue Tariff party—was prepared to accept that as the maximum. A vote was taken on that proposal, but it was defeated. During that revision some reductions were made, but

the reductions now proposed by this Government were not even dreamt of by those who at that time worked for lower duties. During the last two or three weeks I have met a large number of farmers in various parts of Victoria, and I have been astounded by the amount of ignorance displayed by them in regard to the various items on the Tariff. Apparently they have been content to accept the condemnation which has been hurled against the proposals of the Government by the leader of the Opposition and those who follow him. They have not troubled to inquire into the matter for themselves. When the farmers of the Commonwealth—the primary producers, about whom we have heard so much, and for whom most of us have as much regard as those honorable members who refer to them so frequently—realize that in the free list alone there are nearly 100 articles which may be looked upon as farmers' tools of trade, they will see that the Government have not dealt unfairly with them. I was astounded yesterday when I was told by an ex-president of the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria that the Government had taxed every tool which the farmer used, and that they were actually collecting a duty of 15 per cent. on reapers and binders. That serves to indicate the colossal ignorance displayed in regard to the Tariff by those who have been looked upon as leaders of this particular class. The amount of revenue to be raised certainly seems large, and, as one of those who desire to see the Government of the Commonwealth conducted on economical principles, I feel that there is a danger in raising an amount larger than will be necessary to meet the necessities of the Commonwealth and the various States. We have to remember the dependence of the States upon the action of the Commonwealth Parliament at this particular juncture. Honorable members who have proposed various alternative schemes have somewhat shocked me by the want of thought which those proposals evidence. They have given no account at all to the fact that, at the inception of the Commonwealth, the power to levy customs and excise duties passed away from the States; and that, if we were to levy direct taxation, we should be infringing on their rights and threatening their solvency. I am not going to speak of the various alternatives. A few years ago I was travelling with a

representative of New South Wales, a free-trader, who is looked upon as a representative of what we call the labour party. He told me that in New South Wales they had reached a point at which they felt a great deal of satisfaction. He said—"In the past the bedrock of democracy was supposed to be no taxation without representation, but we have gone one better, and now we have representation without taxation." Apparently that is what is desired by some of those who oppose the proposals of the Government—that the minority shall be taxed, and that the majority shall have the power of imposing the taxation. A true revenue Tariff will depend very largely on such procedure as that. It has been suggested that the Tariff should be submitted to the people. But I ask whether any Tariff which would impose taxation on a majority of the people would ever be carried by means of a referendum? We know, of course, that it would not. It would be only such a Tariff as my honorable friends opposite would propose, which would have any chance of being carried, because it would provide for the taxation of the minority for the benefit of the majority. There is one regrettable incident, I think, in connexion with this debate, and that is the lamentable defection of three members from this side of the House. I desire to express my sincere and deep regret that they should have considered it necessary to take that step. All of them, I know, are well-wishers to the Commonwealth, and were ardent workers on behalf of the Constitution Bill when it was before the people. I do not regret the fact that they have left us—because I know that in spirit, at any rate, and in very many votes, they will be with us—so much as I fear the result of their association with the conservative side of the House. While they were on the more liberal side, while they were members of the more democratic portion of the House, we felt that, at any rate, if there were a change, it would always be a change for the better. But I am fearful lest in their new environment they may find themselves losing that amount of grace which they obtained during the time when they were with us.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—I suppose, that I am almost one of the last to speak in the debate, but I hope it will not be thought that I am occupying too much time if I have to go over some of the statements

which have been made by honorable members on either side. That, in a case like this, is very difficult to avoid. As far as possible I intend to confine myself to an enunciation of the general principles which I think ought to have governed the Ministry in this, the first attempt at dealing with the finances of Australia. One of the utterances of the Ministry—and an utterance which they have been continually repeating, as if we on this side were forgetful of it—has been that we must remember that Australia is a nation, and that we must speak as members of an Australian nation, and not as representatives of States. To a certain extent I thoroughly agree with that view, and I wish that the Ministry themselves had followed it. I am sure that there is no State which more heartily desires that than does New South Wales. There is no State which made more sacrifices to enter into this union—there is no State which, even strongly free-trade as it was, was more prepared to give up willingly a large amount of principle in order to secure union. But what do we find? We find that, so far from the Ministry treating the people of Australia as a whole, they have been considering States only, and have entirely ignored their obligation as members of the House of Representatives to deal with the majority of the people. The whole of their cry has been, “Oh, we must give this State a little more revenue,” or “we must give that State a little more revenue.” By following out that very idea, they have utterly ignored the great question by which all taxation ought to be decided—that is, the needs of the great bulk of the population of Australia. There was an admission to that effect by the Prime Minister when he stated that for New South Wales a Tariff of £5,000,000 would be sufficient; for South Australia a Tariff of £6,600,000 would be sufficient; and for Victoria, a Tariff of £7,300,000 would be sufficient. If he had thought for a single moment that the population of those three States aggregate no less than 3,000,000 out of the population of 3,800,000 in Australia—if he had been guided entirely by what the bulk of the people require, thinking over this, seeing where the population lies, remembering that, after all, taxation is a burden, that no taxation ever made a country wealthy, and finding that it is a matter of sound statesmanship to try to avoid taxation, he would then have

said—“Well, it is a pity that, owing to certain sections in the Constitution, we are not able to help certain of these States in the way in which we should like.” But he was one of the men who forced upon us those sections in the Constitution. In the name of the Australian people, and sitting here as members of the House of Representatives, representing the majority of the Australian people, we should decline to raise a larger sum in taxation than is necessary to carry on. Why did not the Prime Minister carry out, not only the implied promise, but the direct promise, he gave to the people of New South Wales at Maitland? When the men opposing the acceptance of the Commonwealth Bill declared that a Tariff of £9,000,000 might be necessary, he pointed out, not only then, but in subsequent speeches, that the Tariffs of Australia did not raise more than £7,500,000; and he asked how could anybody think that he as an honorable and upright man would dream of going beyond that? What do we find him doing? The very first thing he does is to depart from that promise. Surely it would not have been too much to have asked the people of Victoria, if New South Wales had consented to an increase of £2,000,000 in customs duties—fixing the federal revenue at £7,000,000—to exercise a little economy in their own State, when they could have got along very well? It is never any harm to any people to say—“We shall diminish your taxation.” The real trouble occurs when you try to increase it, and ask them to think it a blessing. If the Prime Minister had said—“We shall fix the Tariff at £7,000,000,” it is perfectly true that Tasmania, for instance, would have had to collect £80,000 more revenue in another form. But what has he done in order to save not the people of Tasmania, but the State of Tasmania from raising that revenue in any other way than by customs duties? Not in order to save Tasmania £80,000 of taxation—because that is still going on under his proposals—but to prevent it from being raised by direct taxation, as it would have to be, he deliberately imposes on the rest of the people of Australia, taking the estimate of federal revenue at £7,000,000, no less taxation than £1,920,000. That, of course, includes Queensland. It is perfectly true that the revenue of that State would have fallen £300,000 short, but the money would still have been in the State for its

Government to collect. If the wealth of Queensland, or the wealth of Tasmania cannot contribute £80,000 in the one case, and £300,000 in the other, how, may I ask, do the Government expect the workers to find the money? The Government, instead of considering the interests of the great bulk of the workers, have gone against them, and in order to prevent the States from raising revenue by direct taxation, they have resolved to increase the taxation of the workers through the Custom-house by an enormous sum. It surprises me to hear honorable members opposite talk as though taxation were a blessing, and increased employment, when we know that no Government has ever existed which could put its money to such productive uses as capital is put to by private individuals. We may fairly assume that the raising of the £2,000,000 of extra taxation that is proposed, will decrease the amount of employment in the Commonwealth to an extent equal to the throwing out of work of 20,000 persons earning £100 a year each. However we may talk, we must acknowledge that labour cannot do without capital, just as capital is necessary to the existence of labour. There can be no separation of these interests. Labour may claim a larger share of the wealth which is produced, and no doubt we are all inclined to support that claim, because we must all recognise that the amount now distributed amongst labour is not an equivalent reward for its share in the process of production. If we acted on the principles which are acted upon in England, for every £1 raised by indirect taxation we should raise £1 by direct taxation, but honorable members know what an outcry would be made if it were proposed to raise another £9,000,000 by direct taxation. The people would be up in arms against it. But if they truly understood their interests, they would be equally opposed to indirect taxation going beyond the absolute necessities of the administration. Before this Tariff came into force, direct taxation in the States amounted to 21 per cent. and indirect taxation to 79 per cent. of the whole. The protectionists assert that the more you tax the people, the better off they become.

Mr. McCAY.—No one has said that.

Mr. CONROY.—That is largely what their arguments come to. Honorable members opposite say that if you take from a

man ten shillings in the pound, by revenue duties, that is taxation, but if you take the whole pound under protective duties, it is not. On the same reasoning if a highwayman took from a person who had two sovereigns in his pocket one of his coins, it would be robbery, but if he took both, it would not.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is not seriously representing the arguments of the protectionists.

Mr. CONROY.—If the honorable member understood the subject he would not be on that side of the House. Why should we take more from the people than is absolutely necessary for the purpose of carrying on the Government? What right has any body of men to do that? I admit that every one of us is bound to contribute according to his means, and as far as we can carry out that principle it ought to be observed. That is why I do not declaim wholly against customs duties. My argument, however, is directed against those who say that even if the Government do not require taxation beyond that which might be placed on narcotics and stimulants, we should still tax the commodities which enter into daily consumption. I hope that when we properly understand the true functions of government we may be able to raise through the taxation of narcotics and stimulants all the money that is necessary for State requirements. It surprises me to hear honorable members say that even if taxation were not necessary we should still impose duties.

Mr. SAWERS.—No one on this side has said anything of the sort.

Mr. CONROY.—Then honorable members have been very much maligned, and have been very much misunderstood. If honorable members were to say that they proposed to put these duties on, because they could get more out of the people, and that the public would squeal less under this form of taxation than under any other, I should admit that there was something to be said on their side of the question. There is no doubt that more money can be extracted out of the pockets of the people under customs duties, and that it can be obtained in a fairly economical way, and with less complaint than under any other conditions. If the Ministry had had the decency to say that that was what they really meant, we might have more difficulty in answering them. We should, however, have to point

out how unfair it would be to impose heavy burdens on the great bulk of the people without regard to their ability to bear them. If the people could realize the extent to which these duties would affect the prices of the articles on which they are imposed they would without the slightest doubt rise up and sweep them all away. If instead of collecting the duties through the Custom-houses, the Government were to station policemen or Custom-house officers at every store to levy the duties upon the goods as they were purchased, the people would realize to the full extent the amount of taxation that they were being called upon to pay. If a man went into a shop to buy a pound of arrow-root, and was informed by a policeman that besides the price of the article he would have to pay 2d. in the form of duty, he would have brought home to him the full meaning of the taxation through the Tariff. Such a system of collecting taxes would leave no heart in the community. If a man buying a pound of tea were called upon to pay 2d. in addition to a 15 per cent. *ad valorem* duty, representing an additional 2d. per lb., would any honorable member be prepared to say that that was a beneficent arrangement and that the money would be left in the country and the tea would be in the country also, and that therefore everyone concerned would be as well off as ever? If I were to go to the honorable member for Mernda and offer to take from him £10,000 worth of goods of local manufacture, so long as he would not hold me legally liable for the price of them, would he be satisfied? We heard the honorable member say that the money would be in the country, and that the goods would be in the country, and that, therefore, every one would be as well off as before. Would the honorable member hand his goods over to me if I were not prepared to pay him? In that case, the goods would be in the country, because I should have them, and I should be able to sell them for perhaps more than £10,000. I should be all the better off; but, according to the honorable member's argument, he would be no worse off, and consequently we should both be satisfied. If the honorable member's customers were to approach him in that way, everything would be satisfactory, so long as the money and the goods remained in the country. All this serves to indicate the ludicrousness of some of the

arguments used by honorable members on the other side. We can well understand that in trying to impose this large amount of extra taxation the Government have proceeded on the principle of the tory party in England, when an attempt was made to reduce the duties that were imposed under the protectionist policy in force prior to 1840. The cry then was that old taxes were no taxes. If honorable members will read the debates that took place in the House of Commons in 1842 and 1843, they will see that one old country squire, who was a very wealthy man, said that it was very absurd to change the form of taxation and sweep away the protective duties, because the wealthy men of the community would then have to put their hands in their pockets and make good the deficiency in the revenue. He argued that it would be a hardship upon them if they had to submit to fresh taxation, whereas the people had been paying protective duties so long that they had got used to them and would not mind continuing to pay them. The principle on which taxation is levied in England is now very different. It is now recognised that taxation, in order to be equitable, must be distributed in accordance with the capacity of the people to bear the burdens of Government. Lord Salisbury, not so very long ago, declared that any taxation that was applied must be equitable in its incidence. They are following out that principle so truly that there is no country in the world that can compare with England in regard to the equitable methods by which taxation is imposed upon the people. We know what happened in protectionist America. There the revenue of the country is £80,000,000, but the people are taxed £480,000,000 because out of every £7 collected no less than £6 goes directly into the pockets of the manufacturing trusts and rings. We hear it asked, "Cannot rings be formed by the importers?" I think that the honorable member for Capricornia has disposed of that suggestion in a very conclusive manner. If an importers' ring were formed, what is there to prevent any man from consulting the newspapers, ascertaining the prices of goods, writing home, and importing them? Thus the ring would immediately break down. But when the manufacturers combine to control production, and have the advantage of a ring fence erected around our shores to prevent other goods from coming into the Commonwealth, they can escape the

possibility of any competition. As the rate of wages in their factories depends entirely upon the supply and demand of labour in the particular State in which they carry on their business, it is perfectly clear that the erection of artificial barriers of this sort means injury to the bulk of the workmen and protection only to the particular manufacturers engaged. A few months ago I had a good illustration of how weak are importing rings, if such rings exist. It was my duty, representing the free-trade council of New South Wales, to wait upon certain individuals and see whether I could not induce them to contribute to our funds, so that we should be enabled to carry on the federal campaign. I am bound to say that that campaign was conducted with less funds than has any other campaign of which I have any knowledge. Indeed, had it not been for the contribution of the poorer men, we should have been absolutely unable to provide the necessary money even for printing and advertising. I mention this because I happen to have a friend who is engaged in importing both in Melbourne and Sydney, and who represents a very wealthy house indeed. Privately I know that man to be a strong free-trader. He has always advocated commercial freedom, and I have not the slightest doubt that he has always voted for it. I waited upon him and asked for a contribution of £5 or £10 in order to help us along. His answer was characteristic, and showed how little the importing rings have to gain from free-trade, and how, so far from desiring it, they really favour the erection of this ring fence. He said—"Mr. Conroy, have you been through my warehouse?" I replied that I had not. He then said—"I do not mind telling you that, at the present time, I have £50,000 or £60,000 worth of goods there, and if a 15 per cent. or a 20 per cent. duty were imposed upon those goods it would mean £10,000 in my pocket. In view of that fact, do you think that I am likely to contribute to your funds in order to prevent the imposition of such duties?" That happened last February, just prior to the elections. I shall not mention the gentleman's name, but the honorable member for Mernda knows him very well.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was not Mr. Robert Harper?

Mr. CONROY. — No. The honorable member for Mernda was not in Sydney at

the time. The gentleman to whom I refer went further, and said that, whilst he was a free-trader in principle, and would vote accordingly—because I reminded him of his former statements—if the people of Australia were so foolish as to vote money into his pockets, he was not going to be so foolish as to take it out again. In other words, whilst he would act according to his principles, he would be only too glad to receive the money which a protective Tariff would place in his pocket. I said to him—"Although you may make this sum of money by reason of the imposition of protective duties, surely in the course of two or three years the demand will be so limited that you will not get on as well as you otherwise would. If the consumption of a large quantity of these goods ceases—as it undoubtedly will—you will be worse off." "Not in our case," he replied. "We happen to be a wealthy firm. We shall be able to put down all the money required to be paid for the goods when they arrive here, and we shall be in a position to collect from the people not only that amount, but interest upon it. Further, such a duty will wipe out the small men who are cutting into our profits—men who can send a £50 note home and indent goods out. It will do away with a large number of our competitors, and then we shall be better able to form a ring, because the larger the amount of capital required to go into this business, the smaller will be the number of men who can embark upon it. We shall thus be able to combine more easily. That, however, is impossible under the present fiscal system, and therefore your arguments cease to have any weight with me. The most you can expect from me is that I shall adhere to my principles. Whilst I shall vote for the adoption of a free-trade policy, I shall not lift my finger or contribute one penny towards preventing the imposition of these duties. I am quite willing to be called a bloated importer or anything else. If the people will insist upon imposing these duties, I am perfectly willing to allow them to put £10,000 or £12,000 into my pocket." I ask leave to continue my remarks to-morrow.

Mr. KINGSTON.—We could not hear of it!

Mr. CONROY. — It would simplify matters very considerably if the Government acceded to my request and allowed the leader of the Opposition to make his speech

at a time when the House is in a better frame of mind to listen to it. His speech will be full of importance to the country as a whole, and the Ministry ought to concede what is asked. Under the circumstances, it may be necessary for me to be somewhat more lengthy in my remarks, in order to show that from the earliest times the great places in every country have been those which offered the best facilities for trade, and those in which, in consequence, the people most congregated, and here in Victoria we find the people at the port of Melbourne. It is for protectionists to show how their interference with the great law that trade is carried on without compulsion and must consequently benefit the people as a whole. The other day, on coming into the House, I was somewhat puzzled to account for the pleased expression on the face of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, but I found an explanation on reading, in the *Age* newspaper, a report to the effect that the channel to Melbourne was silting up. Here was nature doing what the honorable member advocates should be done by artificial means. If goods had to be landed at a distant port, and brought overland, I can quite understand the honorable member being delighted at the prospect of the work which would be afforded to carriers, breeders of horses, and all those engaged in dependent industries. Then again, the honorable member for Melbourne, who is a protectionist and a ship-owner, ought to feel delighted every time one of his ships goes down, because then, in order to replace the vessel, he has to spend money in employing more men in the country. Is it true that the honorable member for Corio actually joined the volunteers, and practised rifle shooting, in order to promptly dispose of an engineer who had suggested that the bar at the mouth of the Barwon could be removed—this bar which prevented Geelong from being the chief city in Victoria, as ships could not enter? No doubt his objection to the removal of the bar was the valid protectionist one that it would sweep away 25 to 30 per cent. of protection, which Geelong now enjoys or suffers, by being compelled to bring all its goods first to Melbourne, and then by rail to itself. The honorable member for Bland, in the course of his speech, said that he would not put a duty on articles that only employ a very small number of men. He gave as an instance the manufacture of matches,

and said that the number of hands employed was only 93. There was a slight mistake in that figure, because that is the number of hands employed in the match-making and fire-kindler manufacturing industries combined. Those engaged in match-making only number 49, of whom only eight are males. At one time the duty on matches in Victoria returned a revenue of £14,000 a year. It was a purely revenue duty. But a certain firm in England, after a high duty had been imposed here, established a match factory in Melbourne, as the consequence of which the revenue of £14,000 sank to £3,000 per annum. Of course the proprietors of the factory got the benefit of the £11,000 a year; whilst the amount they paid to their employes was only £1,500 a year. Consequently the people of Victoria made the proprietors of this factory a present of £9,500 per annum. Even if it were true that no manufactory could be established without the aid of a protective duty, I would still say—What right has the State to guarantee to a manufacturer interest upon the money he puts into his business? The State never guarantees to a farmer that, if the crop he puts into the ground is lost by drought or storm it will return to him the money he has lost. It does not treat the pastoralist and the agriculturist as it treats the manufacturer in a protected industry. As long as the worker or the farmer is down-trodden, protectionists will do nothing for him; but they will stand by the wealthy manufacturer who is able to give champagne lunches, with cigars, and invite them to pleasant little ceremonials. Of course honorable members opposite would not take anything in the shape of money if it were offered to them. We have not come to that in Australia yet. We have not come to such a condition that manufacturers will openly say—"What is your price for an extra duty on this article?—I can make £100,000 out of it." But I was grieved beyond measure to hear it suggested by the Government that there might be an increase of the duty upon some commodities. That was something like an invitation to interested persons to "come along." If there is to be any "coming along," let us all know about it, and let those who are interested state what they are prepared to give. Some of them would be ready to give handsome sums. I dare say some

members of the Government know that. No one can suppose that the members of the present Ministry are open to suspicion in this direction. It is a very fortunate thing indeed, that the private character of all of them stands so high. If even one member of the Ministry were a man of doubtful character, it would probably be said that persons went to him and offered him so much, and that was why the extra duty was put on. The taxation has to come from the pockets of the people, and if it does not go into the Treasury, there is no excuse for taking the money. If persons outside were to conspire to compel a man to pay £1 for an article worth 15s., we should put them in gaol. But when these people go to members of the Ministry and Members of Parliament, and hoodwink and persuade them into so fixing the law that it will legalize these exactions, they escape being put into gaol. What is the whole aim and object of protection but to do under the law what no individual would allow to be done to him, under any other circumstances we can conceive of, without calling in the aid of the police. All this is being done in a legal way—the aid of a legal Ministry has been called in to do it, and we have the legal member for Indi getting up and justifying it. The honorable and learned member says—“The people of Victoria object to this, but have we not given them protection, and have we not during the last five years or more spent £220,000 amongst the farming class.” I looked up the figures and found that the amount of revenue contributed during that time to the State was no less than £35,000,000, and of that sum no less than £20,000,000 were contributed by the farmers. I have calculated the exact proportion, and it would mean that out of every £1 contributed they have been given back 2½d. The honorable and learned member asked what was the building of a railway but protection? It is really a further extension of free-trade, because it is widening the area which can be brought under it. If the contentions of the honorable and learned member were right, people would never congregate at the ports as they have done, even in protectionist Victoria. They would not be at Melbourne and Geelong, which offer the best facilities for trade, but away up in the mallee, 200 miles from any port, because there the natural protection due to distance

alone would amount to from 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. We have found a great deal made of comparisons between England and America. And even had they been shown to be to the disadvantage of England they would not have been fair or correct, because up to the year 1840 the condition of poverty was so great in England that every movement since has been an advance out of the slough of despond. England has had to raise herself, and the great bulk of her people, whereas in the case of America at that time, we remember Charles Dickens, in 1842, writing to Mr. Forster that there was not a man in New England who had not his own fire and a meat dinner every day. One of the duties of a Ministry is to attend in the House, and I think it is wrong that Ministers should leave two or three honorable members to carry on the work. I protest against their action in retiring from the chamber. I am prepared to close at once if the Government will allow the leader of the Opposition to move the adjournment of the debate so that he may go straight on with his speech when the House resumes to-morrow. If I were behind the Ministry I should take care to see that the leader of the Opposition was treated with that respect to which his position entitles him. Without a party in opposition to criticise strongly the proposals brought forward by a Ministry, there would not be any true or sound government. If we had absolutely irresponsible individuals bringing measures before the House we could not expect what was every one's business to be attended to by any one.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I do not think that matter has anything to do with the financial proposals of the Government.

Mr. CONROY.—There is such a confusion of terms that when an honorable member on the Government side of the House says he can employ 3,000 men in his manufactory, and asks for a protective duty, people are inclined very often to be charmed with the idea. They do not ask the cost. But if I were to come forward and say that I would build a large house, and lay out magnificent parks, which I would throw open to the people, that I would employ no less than 7,000 servants—working them no more than an hour a month, and paying them a wage of £2 a week—if in return I was allowed to draw one penny a week from

every man, woman, and child in Australia, that offer would be refused. A penny a week from every man, woman, and child in the Commonwealth would bring me in £16,000 a week, while I should be able to employ these 7,000 people at a total cost of £14,000 a week. Every one would vote against such a proposal; but when, instead of asking for a duty to enable him to throw open his gardens and employ servants, a man speaks of factories and factory hands, and demands a protective duty for that manufactory, his request is granted, and he is regarded as a public benefactor. In reality, however, the people themselves would be paying to keep those hands at work. *Mulhall* has shown us that something like £488,000,000 go into the pockets of the rings and trusts in America. I am sure that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports must have read of a protectionist economist named Carey, who has been described by the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley, as the bald-headed eagle of the Rocky Mountains among political economists. Mr. Carey is a political economist who advocated protection on lines that certainly received a good deal of attention at the time. He urged that in every young country a very high Tariff should be imposed in order to prevent exports. He said that the natural exports of a new country were agricultural products, and that to export the agricultural products of a country was in fact to export the soil of that country which in time would have to be made up. One is not surprised that a man of that class of mind adopted protection. But the question is receiving a little more attention in America to-day. Mr. Carey, in his work, says that so high were wages and so difficult was it to induce workers to enter factories that protection was recommended and adopted in order to reduce wages. Is that the true reason why certain members support duties? We have the testimony of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, that that is exactly what protection has done, or at all events, without going quite so far as to make that statement, he said that certainly it has failed to prevent men from working 90 hours for as low a sum as from 7s. 6d. to 10s. a week, and that sweating is universal in this State. He showed that the condition of the great bulk of the people here is truly deplorable.

Mr. MAUGER.—Not the great bulk of them.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable member has pointed out that only now have they been able to succeed in raising the condition of the workers to that of a living wage, and that outside the factories which have not the minimum wage, and which are not regulated by law, the condition of the workers is very deplorable indeed. He has shown that times out of number. If he had gone further, he could have used this argument—"It is perfectly true that protection has produced this result. It is only meant for the manufacturer, and, naturally, he is not going to look after the interests of any worker. What does any man mean by not having sufficient money to enable him to pay all these duties? A man like that is not to be considered for a moment. It shows that he will not work." Or perhaps the honorable member went on the argument that because a man is poor he must have had an opportunity of saving money, and, therefore, ought to be well off, and that because he makes no display of wealth, he must be saving it. Sometimes the reason why a man is not saving wealth is because he does not make it. If the honorable member had ever asked himself how many men can be employed in the greatest manufacturing industry in any country in sound work, he would have found that in protected industries not more than one man in ten can be so employed, and that if a duty is needed, in order to keep the tenth man going, the nine others must be taxed. In Victoria not so many as one in every ten are employed in factories. I do not think it has been right to quibble at the comparisons which have been made between New South Wales and Victoria, because they are two States which, though side by side, have adopted diametrically opposite principles. In New South Wales they have gone on the principle that the less you tax the people the better it is for them, and that the less you interfere with them the more likely are they to find out what is to their interest to do, and act accordingly. But in Victoria they have proceeded on quite the other principle. It is said that Parliament can far better regulate the affairs of the people and teach them how to trade than they can themselves. Before we consent to apply that principle to individuals, ought we not to be quite ready to consent, each of us, to hand over the management of his own affairs to

the other 74 members of the House? I venture to say that there is not one honorable member who would hand over the control of his business to the other 74. But although honorable members decline to allow their fellow members to take control of their business, they say—"We are willing to pass a law which will allow them to control and regulate the business of other men whom we do not know." Although the honorable member for Echuca will not allow the rest of us to take control of his own business, because, in his opinion, we are not competent to undertake its management, he says—"We should pass a law to regulate the trade of other people, and teach them what lines to go into, although we know nothing about them. We should get reports from a few men who are interested in seeing that the money of other people goes into their own pockets. We should consider them because they can come here and make their representations to us."

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member think that he is dealing with the question before the Chair?

Mr. CONROY.—Only one man in ten is ever engaged in the protected industries in any protectionist country. Supposing that we grant that there would not be a single manufacturer, still a tax would have to be imposed on every nine men to keep the tenth man going. We ask what reason is there for making that impost. I can point to the instance of Victoria itself. Honorable members sometimes say—"Oh, we want to give employment to our young men. What are they to do when they come of age?"

Mr. KENNEDY.—All men cannot be policemen, but the whole community benefits by the fact that we have a few policemen.

Mr. CONROY.—The whole community do not benefit by a policeman if he goes about robbing other people instead of looking after their interests. He may benefit just as the manufacturer does if he is allowed to rob others. I am speaking on behalf of those other people. Honorable members sometimes ask—"How are we to give employment to our young men?" Let us see whether they have carried out this policy, even in Victoria. With a population such as that of Victoria the number of young men who grow up and attain the age of 21 every year is something like 8,000, and the manufactories should

provide employment for that number. We find, however, that fifteen years ago there were in Victorian factories 41,500 male operatives, whereas in 1899 there were 44,000, or an increase of only 2,500 men. Thus, in spite of the extreme burden imposed on the people of Victoria, the factories have utterly failed to provide that employment which it was fondly hoped they would afford. The people have borne heavy duties with manliness and cheerfulness, because they thought that the welfare of the community would thus be promoted, but their self-denial has been in vain. During that fifteen years no fewer than 120,000 men have reached the age of 21, and thus only 22 out of every 1,000 of those who have reached the age of manhood have found employment in the factories of Victoria. I have seen an economic calculation which shows that the amount contributed by the people of Victoria towards the protection of their manufactures has amounted to £5,000,000 per annum; but even assuming that only one-fifth of that amount has been devoted to that object, the community has sustained an enormous loss. The greater part of that amount has gone into the pockets of the manufacturers, and considerable sums have been spent on entirely unproductive works. I admit that the position of affairs in New South Wales is not much better than in Victoria, but still it is better. In New South Wales, during the same year period, 127,500 young men reached the working age, whilst the number of men engaged in manufactories has been increased by 10,800. Thus 81 out of every 1,000 have found employment in the factories of that State. Is it a matter of wonder, considering the large amount of indirect taxation that has been imposed upon the people of Victoria, that the State has not been able to keep its population, and that, during the last ten years—allowing for the natural increase—it has actually lost 130,000 people? This very serious result is, no doubt, largely due to high taxation. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports may smile because 130,000 men have been driven from their homes. To the protectionist manufacturer it is a grand thing to see the working men crushed down and wiped out. A manufacturer, who has establishments in both Melbourne and Sydney, told me on one

occasion that he wished to see protection established in New South Wales, because in Sydney the men were too "uppish," but that in Melbourne they had learnt their duty, and were "mighty humble." He said that protectionist duties kept the people down, and that he wanted to see them kept down, and that no man who supported free-trade was any friend of his. These men have been driven away because of the ring fence that has been erected round Victoria, and a good many of them have gone to New South Wales; but now that a ring fence has been erected round that State also there is no place for them to go to. Perhaps the Government had some fell design in taxing babies' food. Perhaps they recognise this as one means of keeping down the population; but this is the first time that I have ever heard of a Government allying itself with the Makins of society for the purpose of killing off the babies. Perhaps it was with the same object in view that this baby-farming Ministry imposed duties upon medicines, amounting in some cases to 300 per cent. Many of these medicines come out in solution in alcohol, and that is the only form in which they can be imported. The Government, however, make no reduction in consideration of spirit being under proof, and if these medicines have to pay the full spirit duty of 14s. per gallon the impost upon them will be equivalent to 300 per cent. *ad valorem*. Where the medicine is cloudy, and the drugs precipitated that is often because sufficient alcohol has not been mixed with it. Alcohol in itself is one of the most valuable medical agencies. It holds in solution half of the drugs in daily use. The imposition of a duty of 14s. per gallon upon alcohol really amounts to quite 300 per cent. on the medicines in which it is used because many of the drugs in them are not worth more than 3s. or 4s. a gallon. It may be, therefore, that there is some wisdom in the Ministry after all. This duty upon babies' foods may have been imposed as the result of careful deliberation in order to wipe out the infants in the first place, and to kill off sick people in the second. The honorable member for Bland says that those industries which employ only a few people cannot expect to receive consideration. That in itself is a very good admission. The industry which employs only a few hands must be one in which the article manufactured is consumed

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only by a few people. On the other hand the industry which employs a large number of men must manufacture an article which is consumed by the great bulk of the people. The great bulk of the population is always poor. When we impose taxation upon an article that is largely used we are taxing the great bulk of the people. But I did not expect in this advanced age to hear men bold enough to declare "We will tax the great bulk of the people. They ought to be made to pay." Surely those honorable members cannot have considered the full force of their admission. I yet expect to see the honorable member for Bland fighting vigorously upon our side. I know that in some respects he is quite as democratic as I am. Unfortunately he still believes that the bulk of the people ought to be taxed, a proposition from which I entirely dissent. We cannot point to any case in history in which the taxation has been so heavy as that which is proposed under this Tariff. To my mind some consideration ought to be paid to the State of New South Wales, which represents over one-third of the population of the Commonwealth. The finest recognition of the fact that that State is really the wealthiest of the group is afforded by the admission of the Ministry that they expect to receive 36 per cent. of the total revenue of the Commonwealth from it. If the States of America imposed the same amount of customs taxation upon their people no less a sum than £180,000,000 would be collected, whilst in England itself about £93,000,000 would be collected. I should like to ask the Treasurer whether he really thinks the Tariff is intended for revenue purposes or for protective purposes?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We are not allowed to answer questions while a vote of censure is pending.

Mr. CONROY. — That being so the Treasurer cannot complain if I interpret his answer in my own way. Among the very fine phrases used by the Prime Minister in his speech at Maitland, was that there would be no "wanton destruction of industries." But if the right honorable gentleman had meant what he said, he would never have proposed to put a duty on the raw material of the vehicle-makers of New South Wales. The total value of the vehicles imported into New South Wales last year, including two State carriages, was only £13,000; whereas the value of the raw material imported was about

£100,000. The profit on the £13,000 could not have amounted to more than £2,000, supposing the vehicles had been made in the State. No doubt the right honorable gentleman contends, as a protectionist, that similar vehicles will be prevented from coming in now, and that will be so to a certain extent. But there is to be collected on the raw material of this industry no less a sum than £22,500. There are 1,570 men engaged in the industry, and before they can be placed in the same position they were in before the imposition of the Tariff, they will have to make an extra profit of over £20,000. The right honorable the Prime Minister has behaved so badly that there is not to be found in New South Wales any one who would place the slightest reliance on his word. He has done more to bring discredit on politics than any other man has ever done, and in the future it will doubtless be said of others who behave in a similar fashion—"Oh, do not believe them, they are only Bartonising."

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member must not speak of another member of the House in that way.

Mr. CONROY.—I am endeavouring to show that the Prime Minister in his utterances has so departed from the spirit and meaning of the words he used, that the revulsion of feeling against the Federal Government is very strong in New South Wales.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member may say that, but he must not speak in the strain he previously adopted.

Mr. CONROY.—It is a great pity the Prime Minister did not make it more clear to the people of New South Wales that they were expected to make all the sacrifices, and that the other States were not expected to make any sacrifices at all. If a low Tariff would conduce to more rigid economy on the part of the States Governments, I should hail with joy as low a Tariff as could possibly be framed. I admit there is difficulty in the way of the Federal Government imposing direct taxation, because we must leave some means open to the States of obtaining revenue by direct taxation. I should like to see every individual in the State, even the humblest, contribute his share of taxation, because each taxpayer would then know exactly what he was paying. The Government unduly hampered the finances by taking over the Postal and

Defence departments, and their mistake in doing so is going to be felt by every Federal Government for the next ten years. There is no reason whatever why those departments should have been taken over. The first work that should have been done was to bring forward the necessary machinery Bills before the introduction of the Tariff. Instead of that, look at the time that has been wasted.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Being wasted!

Mr. CONROY.—That is a correction which I do not feel called upon to quarrel with just now, but that is the fault of the Government itself. In consequence of the taking over of these departments, the Government will have to create a works department. This will involve the employment of an additional army of civil servants. When civil servants are doing necessary work, they should be well paid for it, and there should be a sense of security in regard to the positions they hold. But I do not believe in creating unnecessary work. The honorable member for Gippsland went so far as to urge, as one argument in favour of protection, that the home trade is four times more valuable than foreign trade. That can be shown clearly to be not the case. If the home trade were more valuable, no one would trade abroad with his goods, because the risks attending foreign trade are greater than those attending home trade. Adam Smith, in the infancy of scientific knowledge upon the subject 130 years ago, fell into the same error as the honorable member for Gippsland, and it shows that that honorable member is 130 years behind in his knowledge. To carry out the honorable member's argument to its logical conclusion, it is clear that as what we are seeking to do under the Federation is to increase the wealth of the community, it would be an advantage to continue the Inter-State duties, because the trade done in each State would be four times more valuable than that between any two States. A very simple way, also, of increasing the wealth of Victoria, if the honorable member's contention is correct, would be to divide it into ten districts, with a separate Government for each, because, as the trade between two persons in each of the subdivisions would be four times as valuable as trade between them and anywhere else, the sum total of the trade of Victoria by this simple method of subdivision would be

increased 40 times. Assuming that the trade of Victoria at present is £20,000,000 a year, we might by so subdividing it and granting a Constitution to each subdivision, raise the trade to £800,000,000 a year. In the same way the trade between two Wesleyans should be four times as valuable as that between a Wesleyan and a Presbyterian. I have only reduced the argument to this absurdity to show how ridiculous the original statement was. I was referring to the vehicles imported into New South Wales, and the damage done there by imposing a duty of 20 per cent. on the raw material. I said there were practically 1,600 hands engaged in the industry, but I did not at the same time touch upon the effect of the Tariff upon saddlery ware. I ask, in reference to that industry, how has the Prime Minister carried out his Maitland promise, that there should be no wanton destruction of existing industries? I admit that in regard to many Victorian manufacturing industries, he has tried to carry out his promise, but with regard to industries in the State from which he comes he has pursued the opposite course. The raw materials used in the manufacture of saddlery and harness amount in value to about £90,000. I have tried very hard to separate the various items that come under the heading of raw material. The value of raw material directly stated is £49,000, but taking into consideration all the other items that must be taken into account the total amounts to something like £90,000. I will assume, for the sake of argument, that the total is only £80,000. In order to prevent the importation of £17,000 worth of saddlery, the profits on which if made up would not exceed £3,000, the men engaged in the affected trades have to pay 20 per cent. duty on £80,000, or some like £17,000 altogether. It is an unalterable law that the price of an article cannot be increased without lessening the demand for it. Wages are not increased simply because the price of an article is increased, and I would remind the honorable member for Bland of the economic fact that when prices are raised 20 per cent. there is an absolute depreciation of the wages of the people to that extent, unless their wages are increased correspondingly.

Mr. WATSON.—Would not the Tariff proposed by the honorable and learned member have the effect of increasing prices?

Mr. CONROY.—I do not think the honorable member was present when I explained it. I have pointed out already that, so far as 3,000,000 of the people are concerned, a Tariff of £7,000,000 is all that is required, on the Prime Minister's own statement. Therefore we should not go above that amount. After all, on whom do the taxes fall? Why is one class of taxation called "direct," and another "indirect?" The term "indirect taxation" is another name for "protection." It means the collection of a tax from one man, in the certain expectation that he will collect that tax from other individuals. As a matter of fact, not only the amount of the tax, but interest in addition is collected. That is why it is said that indirect taxation is one of the most wasteful forms of raising money. When I look at the Tariff papers, and see that the Ministry estimate that they will raise only £92 by means of the duty of 1½d. per lb. on biscuits, I feel that I may well ask why the tax is imposed, unless it is to allow certain manufacturers to form a ring, and raise prices against the public. If there is no revenue to be derived from it, why should the duty be raised to 1½d. per lb.? The public may well ask—"Who are the men engaged in the biscuit trade? The firm of Arnott and Co., of Newcastle, in free-trade New South Wales, has been doing a very large export trade, with a duty of only ½d. per lb. on biscuits. Last year that firm did a very large trade with South Africa, and was able to do it owing to the abolition of the duties on such articles as currants, which are used in certain classes of biscuits, and the very low duty on sugar.

Mr. WATKINS.—Is the honorable and learned member aware that it was a duty of 1d. per lb. on biscuits that first enabled Mr. Arnott to get on his feet?

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—No.

Mr. WATKINS.—I repeat that it was. He called his creditors together, and paid them 20s. in the £1 like a man.

Mr. CONROY.—Why not pass a law compelling every man who says that he is a protectionist to trade only with protectionists, and thus keep the money in the country? If 1,000,000 people in Victoria were able to support a protective policy, surely we could find 1,000,000 people in Australia ready to support the principle I have just enunciated. It is only because it

is known that the people themselves would not submit to such a thing that an attempt is not made to carry it into effect. Why should we compel those who do not share our political views to give up some portion of their hard earnings to keep other men going? When a man is sick, do we provide for him? Do we provide for every farmer who loses his crop? Do we provide for the gold miner when he is out of employment or bottoms a duffer?

Mr. WATKINS.—What about the prospecting vote?

Mr. CONROY.—I have already shown the remarkable generosity of the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Indi, who said that it is ungrateful of the farmers to complain, because out of the £20,000,000 taken from them they have received back £220,000. It is like saying that a man whom you have knocked down ought to be grateful to you for giving him 2½d. out of the £1 you have taken from him. According to the honorable and learned member the farmer ought to be grateful because, when he is robbed of £1 he is given back 2½d. What nonsense it is to bring forward such an argument here. If the doctrine of honorable members is founded on truth why do they not go round the country and preach it to the people? Let them go round to the people and state that the true proportion of direct and indirect taxation is 50 per cent. of each. Theory, which is really the explanation of the relationship which facts bear to one another, shows that. I have been surprised at the use which has been made of the word theory here. It would lead any one to think that it means something which is false. I ought not be surprised to hear an argument of that sort from the other side, because one ought not to wonder at such expressions coming from men who have given no study to the question of political economy. I was very much concerned to find that the honorable and learned member for Corinella, who on many other things has been pretty clear, has not paid attention to the science of political economy. I do not object to any man not having paid attention to the question, because it involves two or three years' study, and men cannot be expected to get up and speak on it at a moment's notice. I cannot expect the great bulk of honorable members to be acquainted with a science which has

been known for only 120 years, and the first principles of which it has taken the human mind so long to work out. There is no shame in a man acknowledging his ignorance. In my early days I used to go in for explaining the principles of political economy. I have never blamed a man for confessing his ignorance of them any more than I would blame a man for saying that he was ignorant of the rudiments of surveying or of astronomy. I have touched on the item of biscuits, and observed that the great public of New South Wales want an explanation from the Ministry. It is a pity that every time protective duties are introduced it gives rise to a cry in the mind of the public. When they find a certain class of manufacturers deriving a gain, and themselves called upon to make good the losses, they naturally ask why they should accept such a policy. If it can be defended on the grounds of revenue only, there is the answer, "The money we take from you goes direct into the Treasury." But once it goes beyond that point what answer can be given to the general public? This is a matter that the public have an interest in knowing something about. Honorable members must have heard or read of the disgraceful lobbying which takes place in America. In April last, I met an American gentleman, who asked me what politicians made out of their positions in Parliament, and I told him that I was perfectly safe in saying that, so far as Australia was concerned, up to the present time we had had no instance of any man making money out of politics, and that the most that could be said was that Ministers had sometimes listened to the representations of individual manufacturers, and had given them the right to levy tribute on the people, though politicians themselves had been singularly free from anything in the way of making profits out of the public. That interview took place long before I saw certain of the duties that are proposed under this Tariff. It was before I had seen that there was a duty of 8s. per cwt. upon twine and yarn. The manufacture of twine and yarn has been carried on in New South Wales without any duty at all, and the people of that State are asking very pointedly whether this 8s. per cwt. is being given to a certain manufacturer who used to contribute very largely to the protectionist cause. There is only one manufacturer in New South

Wales who makes this yarn, and that is Mr. Forsyth.

Mr. WATSON.—I did not think there was any made there.

Mr. CONROY.—Yes; there is. There is one manufacturer in New South Wales, and there are two in Victoria. The New South Wales manufacturer contributed £250 to the electioneering fund that was used to secure the return of the Prime Minister, and hundreds of people are asking whether there is any connexion between that circumstance and the imposition of the duty.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—I do not think the honorable member can connect the statement he is now making with the motion before the House.

Mr. CONROY.—I think I can do so. The moment I saw a duty of 8s. per cwt. put upon twine and yarn, the question suggested itself to me why should such a duty be imposed, because I did not see where the revenue was to come from. When I see that money is to be put into the pockets of individual manufacturers, I want to make quite sure that there is no member of the Federal Parliament who is in any way implicated.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the honorable member giving us?

Mr. CONROY.—I want the truth, but I do not expect it from the honorable member, because he has been too long employed by a manufacturers' ring in Victoria.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable and learned member is going a little too far now.

Mr. MAUGER.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable and learned member is reflecting upon the character of honorable members of this House in a way which is certainly unjustifiable, and exceedingly unbecoming.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member for Werriwa is disorderly in imputing improper motives to honorable members of this House, and I call upon him to withdraw.

Mr. CONROY.—I ask for a denial from honorable members on the Government side—

HONORABLE MEMBERS. — Withdraw! Withdraw!

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes, withdraw the lying insinuation.

Mr. MAHON.—I direct your attention to the remark of the Treasurer that the

statement of the honorable and learned member for Werriwa is a lying insinuation.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member for Coolgardie resume his seat? The honorable and learned member for Werriwa has made a reflection upon the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. The remarks he has made are personally insulting, and the honorable member objects to them, and I therefore call upon the honorable and learned member for Werriwa to withdraw.

Mr. CONROY.—May I ask what remarks are objected to?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—The remark was—"That the honorable member for Melbourne Ports was employed by a ring of manufacturers in Victoria."

Mr. CONROY.—In the first place, before we go into that matter—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—The honorable member must withdraw.

Mr. CONROY.—I will withdraw the words objected to. I now desire to direct your attention, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to the statement of the Treasurer that I have made a lying insinuation.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—I did not hear the Treasurer use those words, but if he did I must call upon him to withdraw them.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I withdraw. We are not used to this sort of thing here.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not understand how it is that there has not been a great deal of this sort of talk from the people of Victoria, who have been defrauded and robbed of their earnings through the imposition of duties which have taken 20 to 25 per cent. of their wages from them. They have a right to know into whose pockets the money which is taken from them goes, and honorable members on the Government side have no right to be annoyed when questions are asked on the subject. If honorable members pursue a certain course, and try to benefit certain individuals at the cost of the general public, they ought to be prepared to listen to the truth.

Mr. CROUCH.—We are not annoyed. The honorable member's remarks are beneath contempt.

Mr. CONROY.—I would direct your attention, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to the words used by the honorable and learned member for Corio, and ask that he may be requested to withdraw them.

Mr. CROUCH.—I withdraw.

Mr. CONROY.—One objection that has always been raised to late sittings is that they tend to this kind of thing, and it does not add to the dignity of the House or to the dignity of the Ministry when an attempt is made to push business through in this way. I have a duty to perform to my party and to the people of Australia. The people want to hear what the leader of the free-trade party has to say, and I am determined as far as lies within my power to give him an opportunity of saying what he has to say freely and faithfully, even if I have to speak the night through.

Mr. CROUCH.—I rise to a point of order. I wish to call your attention, sir, to standing order 276, which says—

The Speaker or the Chairman of Committees, may call the attention of the House or the committee, as the case may be, to continued irrelevance or tedious repetition, or the taking up of time by a speech of such unwarrantable length as to obstruct the business on the part of a member, and may direct such member to discontinue his speech.

I ask whether the honorable and learned member for Werriwa is not infringing that standing order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—Upon the point of order raised, I wish to say that it is distinctly disorderly for any honorable member to repeat himself, or to threaten to prolong the debate for an improper purpose. I am perfectly aware of my powers, although I am loth to put them into force. I call upon the honorable and learned member to continue his speech in a coherent way.

Mr. CONROY.—I think it will be admitted that up to the present I have continued my remarks in a coherent way. The subject which I am discussing is of such magnitude that to debate it thoroughly would occupy 200 or 300 pages of print, and therefore, it would not be at all remarkable if I occupied ten hours in discussing it.

Mr. PAGE. — Perhaps some honorable members would like the gag to be introduced. If a matter cannot be got through without the use of the gag, it cannot be got through with it.

Mr. CONROY. — The people of New South Wales are anxious to have some explanation in regard to the duty of 8s. per cwt. upon twine and yarn. They wish to know the reason why this amount is to be placed in the pockets of a particular

manufacturer. I am aware that the gentleman in question contributed largely to the funds of the Government party at the recent federal elections.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—I told the honorable and learned member upon a previous occasion—and I hope he will not disobey the Chair—that insinuations of that kind are personally offensive to Ministers, and he must know it. I call upon him to withdraw the expression, which I hope he will not repeat.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not know that I can withdraw the expression altogether.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—If the honorable and learned member does not withdraw the expression and apologize, I shall have no other course open to me but to order him to discontinue his speech.

Mr. MAHON.—You cannot do that.

Mr. CONROY.—It is my desire at all times to obey the Chair, and, much as I should like to continue my remarks in the same strain, I shall bow to your ruling. I come now to the item of "soap."

Mr. CROUCH.—The honorable and learned member has not withdrawn.

Mr. CONROY.—I have withdrawn, in accordance with Mr. Deputy Speaker's ruling. When I find that the Prime Minister will not grant any indulgence to honorable members of this House, I am entitled to deal with him in the way that I think proper. I shall mete out to him treatment exactly similar to that which he metes out to honorable members upon this side of the House.

Mr. WATSON.—If there is anything wrong, the honorable and learned member should say so, and prove it.

Mr. CONROY.—Let the Prime Minister come into this chamber. I was pointing out that there is a duty upon soap. The whole of the revenue which the Government expect to derive from this source amounts to only £138. I know that Mr. Gillies—who has soap and candle works—is an enthusiastic supporter of the Prime Minister, but I do not see that that is any reason why a duty of this sort should be imposed. I do not understand what connexion there can be between the two facts. Upon pianos, a duty of £4 is levied, with 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. There is a factory in New South Wales in which 500 pianos have been made. The invoiced cost of cottage pianos is about £7, so that this duty really represents about 75 per cent. In the mother

State, the manufacturer of pianos has got on very well without the aid of any duty whatever. Why should £3,000 be put into the pockets of this particular manufacturer just as directly as if he were allowed to collect it from the individuals themselves? Here, again, the fact must be remembered that he is a great friend of the Prime Minister. The public of New South Wales will want an explanation in regard to the duties upon biscuits, twine and yarn, soap, pianos, and a good many other articles which I have not time to discuss just now. I should like further to point out that these duties lead to the creation of trusts. In Victoria there is a nail and barbed wire factory. Of what possible benefit can the imposition of a duty upon these articles be to the bulk of the people? These wages are paid out of money collected from the people, and unfortunately the money does not go directly into the pockets of the workers, but has to filter through the manufacturers. But if a policy be framed for advancing the interests of individuals as against the interests of the nation, no wonder we find men eager and willing to take advantage of it. Are we not entitled to say that the protection of the Australian Paper Mills Company and of the proprietors of the strawboard mills is unjust to the great bulk of the people? Then the American Tobacco Trust will doubtless, as time goes on, under this Tariff reduce their expenses of management by closing up their factories in Adelaide and Melbourne, and conducting their business entirely at their factory in Sydney. The difference between the excise on leaf and the duty on imported tobacco means thousands of pounds to the consumer, and no one can for a moment contend that it is right that this company should make such enormous profits in consequence of the Tariff. If the policy of the Government be right, why not make tobacco factories a State industry?

Mr. TUDOR.—Would the honorable member support such a proposal?

Mr. CONROY.—I would be in favour of such a proposal in the case of tobacco, and if the proprietors of the tobacco factories are protectionists, they need not be given any compensation, because they will know that the "money is still in the country." I have already referred to the two reaper and binder factories in Victoria, which are combined, or, at least, form a ring pledged not to sell below a certain price. If the

Government had said that this was a revenue Tariff, I might have urged that they had overstepped the bounds, but when they declare their proposals to mean protection, we are entitled to know what particular classes of manufacturers are given the right to levy money on the bulk of the people. The more of these rings there are created, the more difficulty there will be in getting rid of them, and with a Commonwealth containing over 4,000,000 of people, these rings are given greater power than ever they had before. Even the proprietors of the three candle factories are under an agreement to charge certain rates, and the advantage of a duty is given to this industry, although the estimated revenue is only £403. I admit that sometimes the money does not go into the pocket of the manufacturer, owing to bad machinery and wasteful management, which tend to reduce the profits, but as population grows, the manufacturers are given an increased advantage. Although the duty on sugar is not to be collected until the 1st June next year, the price of this commodity has been raised by £2 per ton; indeed, the honorable member for South Sydney, who is a large jam manufacturer, declares that the price has been increased by £2 10s. per ton, so that the effect of the duty has been to put large sums of money into the pockets of the shareholders of the Colonial Sugar Company. I should like to know why a company with a capital of a million of money should be allowed to collect money from the public in this way? The duty puts £450,000 into the pockets of its shareholders. I am told that some of the rich lands of Queensland may go out of cultivation if these duties are not imposed. How can they be rich lands if they cannot be cultivated without the benefit of a tax on the rest of the people of Australia? What would the farmers who live on the potato lands near Warrnambool say, if they were told that they might levy a tax for their own benefit upon the people living in the mallee? I am glad to say that amongst a great many of the people in the sugar-growing district of New South Wales it is coming to be recognised that they ought to be thankful for the rich lands on which they live, without seeking to tax their poorer neighbours. The policy of the leader of the Opposition, so far as concerns the reduction of the sugar duties, was a blessing in disguise to the farmers in

the Richmond River district. It directed their attention to dairy farming, and has increased the wealth of that district tenfold. Sugar is the raw material for many of our natural industries. It is the raw material for the jam trade which has sprung up in recent years, until we are now exporting tons of jam and preserved fruit.

Mr. EWING.—Mostly pumpkins!

Mr. CONROY.—We hear that our jams bear favorable comparison in the eyes of the world with those produced in other countries. Orders are being received for them from all parts of the world. But this duty on sugar is going to increase the cost of producing jams, and will consequently injure the trade. This will bring about diminished employment and lower wages. Duties like this injure the whole community. If the people of England had listened to some politicians in 1845 and 1846 her duties would have been retained. Their argument was that if they wanted revenue they must keep up high duties. They would not believe the political economists who told them that the lower the duties the greater would be the revenue, because the greater would be the demand for the articles; and so far from the bulk of the people being out of employment, and a condition of misery existing, it would tend to sweep all that away, because the greater demand for the articles would increase the demand for labour. I mentioned that if the wages of men were not increased 20 per cent. the effect of this Tariff would practically be to diminish their wages by 20 per cent. It is true that in the case of two staple necessities of life, meat and wheat, the injury that protection does cannot be felt to the fullest extent. I concede so much to the protectionist. When a statesman like Sir Robert Peel came into power he was willing to be guided by the teachings of science, and how clearly the result proved him to be right. From 1836 to 1846 the revenue in England was falling off by from £500,000 up to £2,000,000 a year, the people in hundreds of places were starving, and the metal heaps at Leeds, which were given to men to break up, had increased to 150,000 tons. One honorable member opposite told us during this debate that Lord Salisbury had become a convert to protection, but what the Prime Minister of England did say on the subject was that the people must not forget that now the amount of direct taxation equalled the amount of indirect

taxation, and that any further increase of taxation must be an increase all round. I find that on 2nd May, 1894, he said "Protection is dead and cannot be revived," while on 10th March, 1897, he said—"I do not doubt that free-trade is the policy for this country, and which this country will continue to pursue." Could there be any stronger declaration? We expect to lose on this division, but I have no hesitation in saying that if the voice of the people of the Commonwealth could make itself heard—and I trust that it will yet have an opportunity of doing so, because the Tariff has to go before another House—it would be found to be with us. The silent forces which make for freedom will triumph in the end as surely as good conquers evil. There will yet be found on the part of the people an insistence, not for taxation, but an insistence that whenever any taxation is to be imposed it shall be borne fairly by us all in proportion to our means. I admit that the proportion of direct taxation which can be raised in a new country like this is not what could be raised in an old country, but it will yet be far nearer than anything the Ministry has proposed. So far as they are concerned the amount of direct taxation which will have to be imposed will be something like 15 or 16 per cent. The only State which has made an approximation towards the equalization of taxation is New South Wales. It imposes direct taxation to the extent of 29 per cent. In a new community it is impossible to carry out the theoretical idea, nor would direct taxation be correct, to my mind, if it were excessive. But the relative proportion in which direct and indirect taxation should be borne is far from finding a place in the proposals of the Ministry. I trust the people will learn this great lesson, that no taxation will be for the benefit of the people; that every penny that is taken from the productive power of the country means so much diminished employment, and consequently general deterioration. So far from advancing the interests of the wealthy classes, it is to their own injury, and their selfishness in avoiding their fair share of the public burdens unduly depresses the masses, and widens that gulf between rich and poor, which all earnest men wish to see narrowed.

Mr. BATCHELOR (South Australia).—In the jaded condition of the House at this

hour of the morning, I feel that perhaps I ought to apologize for addressing members even for the few minutes that I intend to speak. My only reason for rising is that so far I have not spoken on Tariff matters in this Parliament. I did not speak to the address in reply, nor have I given any indication of my views on the fiscal question. The debate has been unprecedentedly long, and I am afraid honorable members must have concluded that it has been somewhat wearisome. Perhaps, however, it has had some educational effect. Let us hope that it has. I am rather afraid not only that the greater part of what has been said during this debate has been irrelevant, but that the mass of matter, having very little relation to the real question before us, which has been put forward, clouds the issue, and prevents the people from obtaining a fair and definite conception of the real principles at stake. We have had a mass of statistics quoted, giving comparisons between the positions of New South Wales and Victoria. We have had a great many re-criminatory expressions used by honorable members on both sides of the House, but certainly to a far greater extent by those on the opposition side.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—If the honorable member is as fair and candid as he is usually he will admit the correctness of my statement. Scarcely one honorable member has referred to New South Wales throughout this debate, except in a courteous and fair manner. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that expressions have been used with reference to Victoria which seem to me, as one of the representatives of an outside State, to be of an unnecessarily offensive character to Victorians.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member must have misunderstood them.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not say that the honorable member has been guilty of that kind of conduct, and I am not referring to him. A great deal of what I refer to had no relation to the question of free-trade or protection, and it was unnecessary to drag it in. I think that its introduction has been a disadvantage. We want to build up in this Parliament some national sentiment. We do not want to be carping continually at States represented by honorable members holding views different from our own. I said just now that most

of these comparisons had very little relation to the question at issue, and I think honorable members must agree that very little can be proved by statistics. Much depends on the circumstances, and we cannot get similar circumstances in all the States, so that the statistics which have been quoted are of no particular value.

For instance, if we consult *Coghlan* in order to ascertain which of the Australian States have shown the greatest progress during the last 20 years, and the best conditions for labour generally we find, strange as it may seem, that they are those States which have had a nominee Legislative Council—New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, and, for some little time, Western Australia.

But how absurd it would be to argue that therefore the high road to prosperity is to have a nominated Legislative Council. Yet, such a conclusion would be quite as logical, though it is so absurd, as some of the arguments which have been used in this debate.

Like the honorable member for Darling, I am quite convinced that fiscal policies have not a great deal to do with the conditions prevailing in various communities. Only one inference, I think, can be drawn from the general statements of the conditions prevailing in various countries. One broad fact is to be learned from looking at contemporary history, and that is that all the nations which have built up industries to any considerable extent have done so under a system of protection, and that every nation but one—Great Britain—which has practised protection has stuck to it. Notwithstanding the fact that all the offshoots of Great Britain were trained in free-trade views, and had a natural love for British ideas, in every case but one they have adopted protection, and not thrown it over. Surely we can conclude from that fact that high national prosperity is certainly not incompatible with a protective policy! It is idle to suggest that Australia will not progress under a protective system, when we see that all nations except Great Britain have done so. It certainly must be admitted that all the great statesmen of the world are not located in Great Britain, New South Wales, and Turkey. And arguing from that fact, surely there must be something more in this system than our free-trade friends are prepared to admit! If we admit that there are some statesmen outside Great Britain, New South Wales, and Turkey, are we to conclude that in those

countries which have adopted protection the people are more easily cajoled and imposed upon than are those in other countries? I do not think that that contention can be sustained. Taking an historical view, all the arguments certainly make for protection. I do not wish to say for a moment that nations are prosperous or the reverse because of protection or free-trade: I do not believe it; but at least it can be said that protection is certainly compatible with a very high state of prosperity. Comparisons have been drawn between Victoria and New South Wales by the free-trade party to the advantage of the latter State. Had New South Wales been compared with New Zealand or Queensland or any of the other States, quite the reverse result would have been shown. What particular value is it to draw a comparison between New South Wales and Victoria, when if it were drawn between New South Wales and Queensland, or New Zealand, or other protectionist communities, quite a different result would be shown as regards conditions of life and general prosperity? It has not been shown, though a great deal of time has been devoted in the attempt, that in free-trade countries better conditions prevail for the workers than in protected countries. An attempt has been made to show that the conditions in England are very much better than those in the United States, and that the conditions in New South Wales are very much better than those in Victoria. But the country in which the general conditions of life are best, and certainly where the agriculturists are most prosperous, is New Zealand, a most highly protected community. So that a very high state of agricultural prosperity can exist under a protective policy.

Mr. CONROY.—No doubt, but surely it is at the expense of the farmer?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Is it not curious that in New Zealand, where we see an agricultural population chiefly engaged in primary production, the people are so blind to their own interests that they permit their industries to be injured by allowing a system of protection to exist? The absurdity of the suggestion of honorable members opposite is evidenced by the fact that, instead of being crushed, that colony is in a more prosperous condition than is any State in the Commonwealth, or probably any other country in the world.

I confess myself a moderate protectionist. I realize that the phrase requires to be defined, and I understand a moderate protectionist to be one who believes in protecting industries which are of considerable importance. I do not approve of protective duties for the establishment of industries such as the manufacture of nails, or to keep a few men employed. Unless an industry is well worth establishing, there is no justification for imposing heavy burdens upon the people, but I believe that in Australia we should be able to meet the chief wants of our people, and that the more we can do so, the better it will be for the community. I do not believe in prohibitive duties. I am convinced that while a revenue duty must inevitably add to the cost of living, a protective duty, so long as it is not prohibitive, very often leads to competition between outsiders and the local manufacturers, and so brings down prices instead of adding to them. I do not see how under any system of free-trade we can secure to the workers those conditions which I think should exist in these States. Wages boards are not the outcome of either protection or free-trade, but I believe that they are necessary to insure the very best conditions for labour. At the same time, wages boards and boards of conciliation and arbitration—which are designed to secure reasonably good conditions for working men—cannot operate successfully unless they are associated with a system of protection against the outside world. I have a perfectly free hand in this matter. South Australia has been evenly divided on the question of free-trade and protection, and the elections were not influenced at all by fiscal considerations. It has been claimed that South Australia has returned a majority of free-traders to this House. Taking the order in which the representatives of that State were placed on the poll at the election, the two leading representatives are protectionists; the next two are free-traders; next comes a protectionist, and then two free-traders, whilst the last among the successful candidates was a protectionist. If there had been six or eight representatives required, there would have been equal numbers of both political creeds. In the Senate there are three representatives on the one side, and three on the other, and the whole of the honorable members who represent South Australia would have been returned irrespective

of their views on the fiscal question. I have never been allied with any fiscal party, and when I had to make up my mind upon the Tariff question I was as free as any man in Australia. In view of the difficulties I foresaw in connexion with future labour legislation, unless we have protection for workmen against outside competition, I was influenced to give my adherence to a protectionist policy. At the same time I do not think that it is wise to pile burdens upon the people for the sake of protecting industries that are exotics, or to put on heavy duties which would only lead to the formation of rings. The protection of industries which are necessary to meet the requirements of the people does not always add to the public burdens. Take the salt industry of South Australia, for instance. A few years ago the salt lakes of South Australia were a nuisance to travellers, and were absolutely useless. All the salt that was used in South Australia for curing and other purposes was imported from abroad. The cost of curing salt was about £5 10s. per ton, and the price ran up to £6 per ton for salt of the Black Horse brand. A duty of 25s. per ton was imposed upon salt in South Australia, and with this encouragement means were devised for properly refining and purifying the local salt. South Australian salt is as good as that of the Black Horse brand for curing purposes, and is being put upon the market at from 30s. to 35s. per ton. The price of 30s. per ton delivered at Port Adelaide to-day presents a great contrast to the £5 10s. per ton which was formerly charged for the imported salt, and the local production of salt has proved a great boon to those engaged in the meat and curing industries generally. This result shows that where protective duties are put on articles which enter largely into consumption in the States, they do not necessarily increase prices, but sometimes operate in a contrary direction by permitting of the establishment of valuable industries, which not only result in the cheapening of produce, but also provide employment for a large number of people. With regard to the proposed Tariff, I think it is fairly satisfactory, upon the whole, from a protectionist stand-point.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable member believe in the composite duties?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—There is an advantage about the composite duties, inasmuch

as under fixed duties the cheaper classes of goods pay a very high percentage than the dearer classes. The composite duties, however, are indicative of an attempt—probably the first in Australia—to improve the incidence of the taxation.

Mr. POYNTON.—That does not apply to the measurement charges.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I imagined that the composite duties to which the honorable member was referring were the fixed and the *ad valorem* rates. I do not know that I have a very great admiration for the duties to be charged upon the outside measurement of cases, but before expressing a very definite opinion I should like to hear what the Minister for Trade and Customs has to say upon the matter.

Mr. POYNTON.—In some cases the duties amount to four times as much as the value of the goods, in addition to the 15 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That may be so. If the honorable member can show that those duties will inflict hardship without conferring a sufficient benefit upon the community, I am quite prepared to vote with him to strike them out. I repeat that the purely protective duties are, in my opinion, fairly satisfactory. I know that some industries have sustained a severe blow even in South Australia, where the duties which formerly operated were not very high. For example, since the day after the Minister for Trade and Customs introduced this Tariff, not a single man has been employed in the cigar-making industry there owing to the reduction in the differential duties. I have heard the importers' statements, and I have also secured very full details from persons in the trade, who traverse the arguments of the importers, and show that they are entirely biased and one-sided. There were five or six factories in Adelaide prior to the introduction of the Tariff, and every man who was employed therein has been thrown out of work.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The employers sometimes do that for other purposes. It wants to be looked into.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It wants to be looked into. Formerly in South Australia there was an import duty of 6s. 3d. per 1,000 upon manufactured cigars. This Tariff reduces the charge to 5s. 6d. per 1,000, with 15 per cent. *ad valorem* added. I would point out that 15 per cent. upon 30s., which is the price per 1,000 at which

most Manilla cigars come in, does not represent very much. On the other hand, the duty upon imported leaf used to be 1s. 7½d. Now it is 1s. 6d. per lb., and added to that there is an excise of 1s. 6d. There has thus been an increase in the duty upon the raw material from 1s. 7½d. to 3s. per lb., whilst on the other hand there has been a reduction in the import duty from 6s. 3d. to 5s. 6d. per 1,000. The result of these changes has been that in South Australia all the men who were formerly employed full time in the cigar-making industry, at an average wage of about £2 per week, are now walking the streets with no prospect of ever resuming their avocation.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does not the honorable member think that Inter-State free-trade has something to do with that result?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Not in the slightest degree. These cigars could not be immediately manufactured in any one State much more cheaply than in the others. In South Australia they can be manufactured as cheaply as they can be elsewhere. The cost of the raw material is not greater there, and the conditions under which the men work are about the same as those which obtain elsewhere.

Mr. POYNTON.—How does the honorable member account for the fact that the factories in the other States have not been shut down?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—They have not been shut down because the difference between the duties which formerly operated in those States and the duties imposed under the present Tariff is not so great. Victoria is the only State in which the cigar-making industry has attained to any proportions. There are not many cigars made in Sydney.

Mr. TUDOR.—There are a few.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Yes, but very few. In Victoria a considerable number of cigars are manufactured, and South Australia has also turned out a fair quantity relatively to her population. In Victoria the industry has sustained the same blow as that which it has experienced in South Australia, though not quite to the same extent. Nevertheless, the cigar-makers here have informed some honorable members that they will not be able to continue the industry under the changed conditions. I refer to this matter only as one instance in which this Tariff has led to the destruction of an industry

which formerly employed a considerable number of men, and enabled them to provide for their families. Whilst it is a small industry, I cannot, with indifference, contemplate its destruction.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The free-traders say that the labour displaced in that way should go into primary production.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, knows that these cigar-makers have about as much chance of getting employment in primary producing industries as they have of reaching the moon. Another industry which is "hardly hit" is that of the white workers who make up cotton piece goods; and I think the Ministry would be well advised if they carry out their pronouncement that there shall be revenue without destruction. I do not want the Ministry to impose heavy duties in order to bolster up industries which are not worth consideration, but this is one of the few avenues for employment for women, and a tremendous amount of harm will be done if it is impeded in the way proposed.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is by means of duties on the raw material?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is the difference between the cost of production here and the import duty which is the protection to the local manufacturers and workers, but if the duties on the raw materials are raised, that has the same effect as the abolition of the protection. Unquestionably, the Minister for Trade and Customs and the Treasurer are to be congratulated on the fact that on the whole there has been so little outcry from the various industries which, except in New South Wales, have hitherto been protected in various ways in the different States. The whole outcry against this Tariff has been in connexion with the revenue items. Except in the case of the cigar-makers, the white workers, and one or two other classes, I have heard no complaints to speak of, the whole outcry having arisen in connexion with the increased cost of the necessaries of life, as they are called, such as timber, kerosene, tea, preserved milk, flannelette, and cotton goods. Honorable members who talk about the incidence of this Tariff being oppressive on the poorer people, state what is true, because in my opinion the revenue duties, though not the protective duties, are decidedly oppressive in many respects. The reason, of

course, is that the Minister for Trade and Customs and the Treasurer deem it necessary to raise the immense sum of nearly £9,000,000 in order to meet the requirements of the Commonwealth. It is not necessary, in my opinion, to inflict a £9,000,000 Tariff on the people. I do not feel inclined to add to the burdens of the people by taxing those articles which are in common consumption, and which cannot be made in the Commonwealth, though these are the articles which members of the Opposition regard as affording the only proper means of raising revenue by Customs duties.

Mr. CONROY. — In South Australia £2,500,000 more than is necessary is being raised, which is unjust to the people of that State.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — The honorable and learned member is confusing South Australia with the Commonwealth. South Australia is an important part of the Commonwealth, but it is not the whole continent.

Mr. POYNTON. — Does not the piling up of protective duties reduce the revenue?

Mr. BATCHELOR. — It certainly does to the extent to which goods are prevented from coming in, but protective duties do not necessarily add to the cost of an article.

Mr. POYNTON. — Protective duties have done so.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — If a cheaper article be produced in the Commonwealth, the people get the benefit, and there are persons, many or few, engaged in an industry amongst us, providing a market for our butter, wheat, fruit, and other produce. Does the honorable member mean to say that the employment of these people does not give us a corresponding advantage?

Mr. KINGSTON. — These people bring in increased revenue by paying duty on other lines.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — That is a fact which is often overlooked. It is said that when articles are prevented from coming into the Commonwealth there is a tremendous loss of revenue. But if articles are prevented from coming in, it is because they are made by people who live here, and who maintain their families by their earnings, while, at the same time, they are consuming other dutiable goods, and thus paying revenue to the country. A great deal more is made of the arguments about loss of revenue than the case warrants.

Mr. POYNTON. — But if articles are kept out, does that not give the local manufacturers a chance of charging extra prices equal to the duty.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — If such duties are imposed that no goods come in, that, in the absence of competition, certainly leads to the establishment of manufacturers' rings. But if there be free-trade and no local competition, that leads to the formation of importers' rings; and one set of rings is as bad as the other.

Mr. CONROY. — Anybody can be an importer. It requires no capital to become an indent agent.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — Anybody can be an importer, but importing does not bring out the skill and business faculties of the people to the extent that manufacturing does. At the risk of repeating myself, I must again say that the whole trouble about this Tariff is raised in connexion with the revenue items, and not in connexion with the protective items. If the leader of the Opposition had had to bring in the first Tariff for Australia, it would have been the very best thing that could have happened for the protectionist cause. In such a case, free-trade and the name of the leader of the Opposition would have been associated with duties as high, if not higher, than those proposed in the present Tariff, and such a policy would have simply added to the cost of living, without causing the employment of a single additional person or giving any corresponding benefit. Had the free-trade party introduced a Tariff on the lines they must have followed in order to carry out their theories, piling even heavier burdens of taxation on such articles as tea, coffee, kerosene, and blankets, it would have been the very finest thing that could have happened for the protectionist cause. I admit that I am dissatisfied with the Tariff in regard to the revenue items, because all my political life I have been fighting against the taxation of such articles; and when I have an opportunity to vote in favour of the importation of the necessaries of life as cheaply as possible, I do not intend to neglect it. What is more, I find from the speech of the honorable member for South Australia (Mr. Poynton) that, though he is classed as a revenue tariffist, he is going to do the same. I am glad to hear that the honorable member and I will be voting on the same side on that question, as

we have done in the South Australian Parliament upon similar questions. Under the circumstances, I am compelled to vote with the Government rather than with the Opposition, who can offer me no relief in the direction in which I think relief is required. The Opposition offer only destruction without relief. That phrase is the watchword that should be printed on the banner of the free-trade party in this connexion. On the other hand, although the Government, I admit, oppress the people to a considerable extent by revenue duties, they do not add to the difficulties of the people by bringing about the displacement from employment of large numbers of workmen. That is certainly what would happen if the Opposition were successful. As to the amendment of the honorable member for Barrier, I have at his request to ask for its withdrawal. He has had to leave earlier than was expected, and has, of course, paired; but he finds that there is such a general feeling amongst honorable members on both sides—some of whom are favorable to his proposal—that it would complicate the present issue, and he has come to the conclusion that it would be undesirable to press it to a division. As far as I am concerned I think he is wise in doing so. Had he pressed the amendment to a division I should have voted for it, though I think the better plan is for the Commonwealth Parliament to leave the imposition of direct taxation to the States. We can bring about direct taxation if we desire it without imposing it ourselves. If we do not give the States a surplus sufficiently large to enable them to carry on, they will be compelled either to make great reductions or to impose direct taxation in any form they like. I certainly think that some proposal for direct taxation is necessary to make the motion of the leader of the Opposition complete and definite; but under present circumstances it is just as well that the amendment should be withdrawn. I therefore ask the permission of the House for its withdrawal.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. PHILLIPS (Wimmera).—At this late period of the debate, and early hour of the morning, I should not have troubled the House had it not been that in certain quarters a doubt has been expressed as to how I shall record my vote in connexion with the motion of

censure proposed by the leader of the Opposition. I rise more for the purpose of removing that doubt than for any other reason. Why such a doubt should have been expressed I know not. At the election I stood as a supporter of the Barton Government. I was opposed by one of the high priests of the free-trade democratic league, which did all it possibly could to secure my defeat. A section of the press that has devoted a considerable amount of attention to me during the last three or four weeks, on that occasion placarded its columns with my name as a high Tariff candidate. Yet within the last week or two they have stated that I should be false to my pledges if I voted with the Government on this occasion. In support of what I now state, I may add that some little time before the day of nomination there were three candidates for the Wimmera seat in the field in the interests of the Barton Government. I thought it was inadvisable for the three of us to stand, and brought about a conference, the result of which was that an arbitration committee was formed. One member of that committee was the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, and I was chosen as their candidate. That, I think, proves that knowing the policy of the Government I was their candidate, and I have broken no election pledge. I desire to draw attention to a quotation from the first speech I delivered in connexion with that election. The speech was circulated throughout the length and breadth of the Wimmera, and every elector in that district got a copy of it. I am reported to have said in that speech—

The most important question the Federal Parliament would have to deal with was that of the Tariff. It was now resolving itself into a fight between the advocates of free-trade and protection, but many of them overlooked the fact that a certain amount of revenue had to be raised for the working of the Commonwealth. Clause 86 stated that on the establishment of the Commonwealth the control of duties, customs, and excise passed to the executive Government, and clause 87 stated that for a period of ten years, or till such time as Parliament otherwise provided, of the net revenue not more than one-fourth should be applied to the Commonwealth, the balance to be paid to the respective States. It would take £8,500,000 to provide the necessary revenue of the Commonwealth and return to the States the three-fourths proportion they were entitled to. That revenue could only be raised through the Customs. He supported the policy of Mr. Barton, whose Government he was prepared to follow. Mr. Barton's motto was, "Revenue without destruction," which meant that, while the whole of

the revenue would be raised through the Customs, the duties would be such as would enable consideration to be extended to the industries that have been built up under the protective policy. If there was any shortage in the Customs revenue it would have to be made up by a land tax, which, of course, he (the candidate) or any farmer would not for a moment approve of. If an all-round revenue duty were imposed it would mean that the present free list would be taxed. In that list were a considerable number of articles in daily use amongst the producers, and he would be no party to have those articles taxed. This list included kerosene, and other oils, corrugated iron, manures of every kind, cream separators, traction engines, reapers and binders, wine presses, sewing machines, sheep shearing machines, safety matches, posts and rails, brown rock salt, wool packs, and a large number of other articles. He thought it would be recognised than Mr. Barton's was the proper policy to adopt, as under it they would protect established industries, and retain the free list in the interests of the producers. If there was any shortage in revenue, the only power the Federal Parliament would have would be to impose a land tax. (A voice—And why not?) Because there were about 400,000 people around Melbourne, who would escape scot free if that tax were imposed. (Loud applause). He was also prepared to consider protection to natural industries. He could assure them that if they returned him as their representative, he would honestly support the policy of the Barton Government, which would sweep the polls in Victoria. He did not consider that it was a question between the two leaders of free-trade and protection, so much as a question as to who should obtain supremacy in the Federal Parliament. He held that Mr. Barton was entitled to that supremacy.

Those were my pledges at the election time, and I state to-night that I consider this motion has very little to do with the Tariff. It is only an attempt by the Opposition to secure the Ministerial benches, and they are prepared to take every advantage, and to get there if they can by any means. The night after I delivered the speech to which I referred I spoke at Donald, and from the report of that speech, appearing in the *Argus* of 7th March, I quote the following:—

Mr. Pharez Phillips, M.L.C., the protectionist candidate, addressed the electors of the Wimmera. He announced that he was a supporter of the Barton Government, and explained the reason he had turned from free-trade to protection was that sufficient revenue to carry on the Commonwealth Government could only be obtained by a protectionist policy. He, however, was in favour of the present free list, and no duty should be placed on these articles. He did not believe in woman's suffrage, and would not support Mr. Barton in that policy. The present fight was not protection *versus* free-trade, but whether Mr. Barton or Mr. Reid should be leader, and he would support Mr. Barton's claims. A vote of confidence was carried.

Mr. Phillips.

I think these quotations clearly prove that by voting with the Government on this occasion, I do not violate any election pledge. on the contrary, I redeem my pledges. I recognise that I was returned as a consistent supporter of the Government, and I am so. While making this statement it does not follow that I agree entirely with the Tariff proposals which the Government have submitted. I certainly disagree with very many of their proposals as contained in the Tariff. It will be observed that during my election campaign I pledged myself to the retention of what was called the farmers' free list. I find that that list has to a very large extent been interfered with by the present Tariff proposals, and when we get into committee I shall take advantage of the invitation of the right honorable the Treasurer. The right honorable gentleman, in speaking the other night, said—

I am not going to say that this Tariff is perfect. I admit, in the light of the information I have received since it was submitted, that it contains many blemishes which we are prepared to rectify. If the information for which we have asked from those interested shows us that we have made a mistake in regard to any particular article, and that what we propose is likely to injure any industry, we do not intend to continue to do wrong merely because we have done so up to the present. We are perfectly prepared to ascertain the views of the various parties interested, and then, if we think it wise, to modify or alter any of the anomalies which may possibly exist.

There are many anomalies in the Tariff, and I shall take the fullest advantage of the invitation held out by the Treasurer to endeavour to rectify them when we get into committee. I desire to draw the attention of the House to a list that appears in the columns of a morning newspaper which has been vainly endeavouring to snare the farming support. This list appeared in the columns of the *Argus* of 9th October, under the large heading "Rough on the Farmers." It professes to set out the duties the farmers must pay, and contains 74 items. The inference intended to be drawn was that the whole of those items were used exclusively by the producers, but the writer was extremely unfortunate in his collection, because, after a careful analysis of the items, I find that there are only seven that are used exclusively by the producers. Those seven items are agricultural implements, mould-boards, plough-shares, plough-plates, horse-works, reapers and binders, and reaper and binder twine. The *Argus* published the Federal Tariff in regard to

those articles, but omitted to place beside it the old Victorian Tariff. The omission may not have been intentional, but it looks remarkably like it. I am inclined to think it was an attempt on their part to gull the farmers. The duties on six out of the seven articles which I have enumerated are the same as under the old Victorian Tariff, while in regard to the seventh there has been a reduction of 10 per cent. The duty on horse-works under the Victorian Tariff was 25 per cent.; under the Federal Tariff it is 15 per cent. It is stated that reapers and binders are to be taxed to the extent of 15 per cent., but the *Argus* omitted to mention that this duty is conditional upon the establishment of a factory within the Commonwealth. On the day following the publication of this list, I met a representative of one of the largest agencies for reapers and binders in the Commonwealth. I brought this duty under his notice, and inquired whether it would not pay his firm to establish a factory here. He replied that if they had the whole of the Australian trade to themselves it would not pay them to do so. I think it was the leader of the Opposition who said that reapers and binders could be purchased for about £30. That statement is correct. Some two or three years ago, however, the price was 55.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That was the price last year.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I purchased one myself some three years ago, and paid £55 for it. Some four or five weeks ago, however, I bought a machine of the same make for £30. The cause of the reduction is that the ring which existed amongst the importers here has been broken up. The reapers and binders for which we had to pay £55 a year or two ago can now be obtained in Victoria at prices ranging from £27 to £35. The leader of the Opposition forgot to mention the price of the reaper and binder in New South Wales. A machine of exactly the same make as that for which I paid £30 in Victoria cannot be bought in New South Wales to-day for less than £48.

Mr. CONROY.—The same reaper and binder?

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Yes. I am in a position to substantiate my statement. The ring has not been broken up in New South Wales, and it continues to keep up the price.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The ring cannot last while it is possible to buy the machines for less in Victoria.

Mr. McCAY.—But it is impossible to obtain a machine in Victoria for delivery in New South Wales.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—A few days ago, I wrote to one of the largest manufacturers of agricultural implements in Victoria, the Braybrook Implement Company Ltd., and inquired what they were charging for their machines in New South Wales. I received the following reply:—

Yours of the 25th inst. duly to hand this morning, asking us to supply you with a price list of the above company's implements and machinery for New South Wales and Victoria.

In reply, we herewith forward you half-a-dozen circulars with prices attached, from which you will note that these are all quoted free on trucks, Braybrook Junction, and there is no difference made for implements going into any particular State, the customer paying freight and charges at the other end.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That disproves the statement we have heard that people in New South Wales are able to purchase these goods cheaper than we can obtain them in Victoria.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—This proves that in free-trade New Wales the farmer has to pay as much for his implements as he is called upon to pay in protectionist Victoria. The price of the harvester is £85, and the stripper £42 10s.

Mr. CONROY.—Where?

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Free on the trucks at Braybrook. The price of disc harrows ranges, according to size, from £19 to £25; the rotary disc jump plough ranges in price from £25 to £45; the steel stump-jumping plough from £26 to £42; and winnowers from £25. On analyzing further the list published in the *Argus*, I find that of the 74 articles to which I have referred, the duties on 35 of them are lower than those under the old Victorian Tariff. In the case of 28 others they remain unaltered. Only eleven increases have been made, and five of those are revenue duties. Upon making a calculation, I find that a man spending the same amount of money on each of the 74 items would save 5 per cent. all round on the old Victorian Tariff. So that there is an all-round reduction of 5 per cent. in respect of the 74 articles.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—And yet there is £270,000 more revenue to be raised.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—This is the special farmers' list. It is a most remarkable thing that the *Argus* failed to publish a comparative statement showing the federal and the old Victorian duties. There are something like 80 articles which enter into daily use among the producers and other sections of the community in respect of which reductions have been made as compared with the Victorian Tariff. There may be many more. Candles have been reduced by 25 per cent.; currants, 33½ per cent.; oatmeal, 7½ per cent.; maizena, 6 per cent.; corn-flour, 50 per cent.; bran, pollard, and chaff, 80 per cent.; jams and jellies, 33½ per cent.; hops, 25 per cent.; linseed meal, 20 per cent.; macaroni and vermicelli, 50 per cent.; preserved milk, 25 per cent.; peel preserved in brine, 66½ per cent.; soap, n.e.i., 50 per cent.; apparel—woollen, silk (not piece goods), 10 per cent.; apparel (not woollen, silk, or piece goods), 15 per cent.; paste for leathers, 5 per cent.; polishes, stains, and varnishes, 5 per cent.; bricks—glazed and fire, fire-lumps, 5 per cent.; fire-clay manufactures, asphalt and roofing-tiles, 5 per cent.; glass, 10 per cent.; gelatine, sheet, 66 per cent.; soda crystals, 50 per cent.; picture frames, 5 to 15 per cent.; mirrors, 10 per cent.; wicker, cane, bamboo, or wood articles, 5 to 25 per cent.; casks and spooks, 15 per cent.; timber—bent, 5 per cent., axe-handles, 5 per cent.; leather manufactures, 10 per cent.; leather cut into shapes, harness, razor strops, and whips, 10 per cent.; paper manufactures for advertising, 25 per cent.; paper bags, 25 per cent.; stationery, blotters, billheads, &c., 10 per cent.; rugging, 5 per cent.; carriage mats, 10 per cent.; cosies and cushions, 10 per cent.; hats and caps (sewn), 37½ per cent.; piece goods, wool, 5 per cent.; ammunition, shots, bullets, and slugs, 20 per cent.; lamps, 5 to 10 per cent.; washing machines, 10 per cent.; horse gears, 10 per cent.; weighbridges, 5 per cent.; blacking for leather, 5 per cent.; dressing for leather, 5 per cent.; oils for leather, 5 per cent.; inks for leather, 5 per cent.; and several other articles on which as to Victoria the duties have been reduced considerably.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There has been no corresponding reduction made in the price of these articles to the consumer.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I am a business man as well as a farmer, and up to the present

time my firm have not advanced the prices of more than half-a-dozen articles in the Tariff. I particularly inquired the other day whether the price of tea, in ordinary use amongst farmers, has been increased. I found out that the Melbourne merchant has raised, by ½d., the price of tea, which is retailed to the farmer at 1s. 3d. per lb.; but that the storekeeper has not charged that ½d. on to the consumer.

Mr. CHAPMAN. — I suppose that the articles on which revenue duties are imposed have been raised in price?

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Principally. I have stated that I have pledged myself to the retention of the farmers' free list. In committee I shall endeavour, in accordance with my pledges from the platform, to have put on the free list corrugated iron, traction engines, trough iron, lubricating mineral oils, kerosene, and sewing twine. I shall also endeavour to have put on the free list, iron tanks, which are very largely used by the farmers in the dry districts. I desire to get a reduction made in the duty on reaper and binder twine. The two factories in Victoria do not confine their operations solely to the manufacture of reaper and binder twine. They also manufacture rope, mats, and many other articles; and even if their industry be interfered with to a slight extent, it is only right that producers should get the benefit of a reduced duty. I am quite aware that the reduction of the duties on these articles will diminish the estimated revenue to a considerable extent. The estimated duty on corrugated iron is £13,800; on iron tanks, £7,560; on kerosene, £157,500; and on reaper and binder twine, nil. I would also support the reduction of the duty on salt by 10s. per ton; this will mean £9,800. I would also support a reduction by one-fourth of the proposed duty on soft-wood timber; this would amount to £29,795. If the whole of the estimated revenue is required, it is only fair when we suggest a reduction of the duties on certain articles to indicate how the deficiency could be made up. My idea of how it should be made up is that there should be an increase of 1s. per gallon on spirits, which would provide £123,477; an increase of 5 per cent. on jewellery and imitation jewellery, which would produce £7,375; an increase of 5 per cent. on watches and clocks, which would provide £9,220; and an

increase of 5 per cent. on bicycles, which would yield £14,100. Under any circumstances I would support an increase of the duty on bicycles. As a representative of the producers, I think that bicycles come into unfair competition with farmers who breed horses and grow horse feed; therefore I would tax them as much as I could. I would raise the duty on silk in the piece from 15 to 25 per cent., which would provide £63,146. The increases I advocate would amount to £223,458, and the reductions to £218,455, so that the one would pretty well balance the other. There are many other anomalies in the Tariff. I strongly object to the composite duties. I do not know where this method came from. It is entirely new to all Australian Tariffs, and the objection is that it is misleading as it hides the real amount of the duty which has to be paid. All commercial and business men strongly object to composite duties, and in committee I shall vote for their alteration, because it is only fair that we should know exactly the amount of duty which we are called upon to pay. Another matter I wish to mention is the mode in which the Government are collecting their duties. It appears that they are charging duty on the cost of carriage from the factory to the port of export, and on the package itself. This is quite new to Victorians, and I certainly think that some explanation should be made by the Government in justification of their action. I have here the bill of lading of a small shipment of axe handles which has arrived from America since the imposition of the Federal Tariff, and I think it speaks for itself. It was handed to me by a merchant within the last day or two, and the particulars are as follows:—

SHIPMENT OF SEVENTY-FIVE CASES AMERICAN
AXE HANDLES, EX "HIGHFIELDS."

Duty Paid under Federal Tariff.

| | |
|--|------------|
| Invoice value of handles at factory | - £87 15 9 |
| Cost of carriage to New York railway station | - 7 5 8 |
| Cost of cases and packing | - 11 9 9 |
| Delivery from station to vessel | - 1 10 7 |
| Buyers' commission 2½ per cent. | - 2 14 1 |
| | £110 15 10 |
| <i>Ad valorem</i> | 11 1 7 |
| | £121 17 5 |
| Duty of 20 per cent. | - 24 7 6 |
| | £146 4 11 |

| Duty as if paid on Victorian Tariff. | |
|---|-----------|
| Invoice value of handles | - 87 15 9 |
| <i>Ad valorem</i> 10 per cent. | - 8 15 7 |
| | £96 11 4 |
| Duty 25 per cent. | - 24 2 10 |
| | £120 14 2 |
| Add cost of carriage, &c., as above | - 23 0 1 |
| | £143 14 3 |
| Comparison: | |
| Duty under Federal Tariff reduced from 25 to 20 per cent. | £24 7 6 |
| Duty, if paid under Victorian Tariff, 25 per cent. | 24 2 10 |

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member will find it is the same in connexion with glass in regard to which it was stated that there was a reduction of duty.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I believe that is so. There is something wrong in connexion with these duties, but I believe that the matter only requires to be brought prominently under the notice of the Minister for Trade and Customs in order to be remedied.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We have already passed an Act dealing with that matter, which has nothing to do with the Tariff.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It may be dealt with by regulation.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I have another example which is as follows:—

SHIPMENT OF FIFTY-SIX CASES OF LAMP GLASSES
FROM NEW YORK.

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Duty, under Victorian Tariff, 1s. per foot measure.— | |
| Invoice value | - £36 2 8 |
| Packages | - 5 19 3 |
| Freight to New York from factory | - 2 10 3 |
| Cartage from station to steamer | - 0 17 9 |
| | £45 9 11 |
| 56 cases measure for duty, 380½ feet, at 1s. | - £19 0 9 |
| Duty, Under Federal Tariff, 8d. per foot and 15 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> . | |
| Invoice value | - £36 2 8 |
| Packages, freight and cartage (as above) | - 9 7 3 |
| | £45 9 11 |
| Plus 10 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> | - 4 11 0 |
| | £50 0 11 |
| 380½ feet, at 8d. | - £12 13 10 |
| 15 per cent. on £50 0s. 11d. | - 7 10 2 |
| | £20 4 0 amount of duty. |

Comparison:
Duty on Victorian Tariff £19 0 9—52·77%
Composite duty - 20 4 0—60·97%
I do not approve of these composite duties. Now, I desire to give an example of the

benefit conferred by customs duties so far as one particular section of our producers is concerned ; I refer to the fruit-growing industry, and particularly to that branch of it relating to the preparation of dried fruit. We have a most successful fruit-growing settlement at Mildura, in my electorate, and I have a few statistics here that will show what protection has done for the dried fruit industry. Mildura was brought into existence some fifteen years ago as the result of the Victorian protectionist policy, and is now one of the most thriving settlements in the State. The fruit-growers there have 9,000 acres under fruit cultivation, and in 1898 the value of their products amounted to £64,866 ; in 1899, to £72,302 ; in 1900, to £93,504, and in 1901, to £113,000. The population of Mildura at the last census was 3,329, and the production per head of the population, including every man, woman, and child there, amounted to £40. The capital expended on the settlement totals £819,000. The Chaffey Brothers' Company expended £407,000 ; £52,000 has been expended by the water trusts, and the settlers have laid out £360,000 in the improvement of the 9,000 acres they have under cultivation.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—They robbed me of £200.

Mr. PHILLIPS. — I have not the slightest doubt that Mildura will become the sultana producing centre of the world. I am creditably informed that the world's production of sultanas amounts to only 17,000 tons, and that all of this particular class of fruit comes from Arabia and the Levant. The production of this particular raisin at Mildura amounted last year to 108 tons. The great advantage Mildura possesses over any other part of the world is that the raisins can be dried by natural means, whereas in the Levant and Arabia they have to be dried by means of kilns, which deprive them of their brightness, and some of their weight. There are no sultanas in the world equal to those produced at Mildura, and, without doubt, before many years a very great proportion of the world's supply will come from this settlement, which has been built up under protection. I am quite prepared to admit that the producer does not derive all the benefit he might under a protective policy, but he does enjoy some very great advantages. In 1889 the Victorian Parliament remitted no less than £1,642,611 to the

producers of the colony in the form of capital that had been advanced to them, and interest that had accrued in connexion with water and irrigation trusts. £330,748 was remitted to the settlers in the Wimmera. Not only that, but the Government have now started the construction of waterworks for the benefit of settlers in the southern portion of the Wimmera, which are estimated to cost £234,428. The State Parliament of Victoria has placed a sum of £25,000 upon the Estimates, in addition to the £50,000 which they had previously provided for the purpose of making up the deficiency in the railway revenue caused by a reduction in the cost of carriage of the farmers' grain to market. Another £20,000 has been expended in my district by way of mallee road grants. One of the latest of the concessions which have been made to the producers has reference to the carriage of manures, which are now being conveyed by the Railway department at a loss. The manure traffic upon the railways is destined to be a very large one. Throughout the whole of the northern portion of Victoria quite a revolution is taking place in connexion with drilling and manuring. When speaking of the duty upon agricultural implements I omitted to mention that I shall endeavour to obtain a remission of the duty upon seed drills. I understand that only one factory in this State manufactures these drills, and that its attention is not confined exclusively to their manufacture. This factory also turns out harvesters and other machinery, so that it will not be injuriously affected by the remission of this particular duty. To give honorable members some idea of the extent to which the seed drill will be used in the near future, I may mention that in the small town in which I live no less than 120 drills have been sold this year. Each drill represents an average use of 10 tons of manure. I trust, therefore, that I shall have the assistance of honorable members in obtaining a remission of the duty upon seed drills. It has been said that the producer derives no benefit from a tax upon produce such as onions, wheat, eggs, oatmeal, &c. In this connexion I should like to read a clipping from the *Age* of yesterday, having reference to the effect of the Tariff upon the exports of New Zealand. It is as follows :—

A comparison of the cargoes shipped to Sydney from New Zealand by the *Westralia* on her last few trips gives an idea of the effect which the

Federal Tariff is likely to have on New Zealand's exportations to Australia. In September, 906 tons were taken from New Zealand, consisting of 577 sacks of oats, 75 sacks of wheat, 7,245 sacks of potatoes, 26 sacks of peas, 563 bales of hay, 120 cases of bacon, 64 cases of cheese, 129 bales of flax, 86 casks of tallow, 19 sacks of hides, 11 bales of hops, and 62 tons of sundries. On the present trip, the first which the *Westralia* has made to Sydney since the Federal Tariff was announced, she carries only 730 tons, including 7,353 sacks potatoes, 43 sacks peas, 9 cases bacon, 9 cases cheese, 60 bales tow, and 10 tons sundries. Not a sack of oats, wheat, barley, flour, oatmeal, malt, seed, or hides is on board; nor is there a case, bale, or cask of tinned milk, hay, flax, hops, twine, skins or tallow. But for the potatoes there would have been only 62 tons of cargo in the ship's hold, instead of the usual 730 tons.

I think that extract speaks for itself. I have no desire to occupy the time of the House at any greater length. Almost every honorable member has spoken, and we are all anxious to take a division upon the motion as soon as possible. I have no hesitation in declaring that I shall support the Government. At the same time, I intend to take the fullest advantage when we get into committee of the opportunity which will be afforded for rectifying the anomalies that I have pointed out, and for securing a reduction of many of the burdens which I think now rest upon the shoulders of the producers.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—We have had a very long sitting, and have now reached the early hours of the morning. In view of this fact, I should like to know if the Government can see their way to grant an adjournment till a later hour in the day?

Mr. BARTON.—We have been kept here so late that we cannot see our way to anything.

Mr. BROWN.—The Prime Minister cannot urge that I have been responsible for keeping the House late. I have sat through the debate of the past fortnight without contributing to its prolongation up to the present moment. Many honorable members have spoken, as indeed they had a perfect right to do on a matter of such vast importance. But the Government ought to have some little consideration for honorable members who have sat here so patiently for two or three weeks past. I do not think it is too much, at this hour of the morning, to ask for a short adjournment, so as to enable us to deal fairly and honestly with this question. I fully recognise that the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs had a unique task to perform in the preparation of this Tariff. They have had to

deal with the diverse interests of the different States, and to endeavour to bring about uniformity by means of an acceptable piece of legislation. This was a gigantic task, no matter by whom it was undertaken, and I and others are prepared to sympathize with the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Customs. We are now dealing with Tariff proposals from a national stand-point; but there is no doubt that in our discussions we have been tempted to look at the Government proposals from the stand-point of the States. That was to be expected, because we have not yet obtained that more complete and wider knowledge which will be ours by-and-by. The discussion has had a considerable colouring of State politics, and I must confess that I shall be compelled to look at the question very largely from the stand-point of my own State of New South Wales. I have been reminded that I had something to say on the fiscal question when the address in reply was before the House. If I remember rightly, I, on that occasion, indicated that I considered the issue which would be presented to us was much complicated by what are known as the Braddon or bookkeeping provisions in the Constitution. The Tariff proposals now submitted to us confirm the view that there would be the difficulties which I and others foresaw on that occasion. A great deal of the trouble that the Government now have in placing these Tariff proposals before the honorable members and the country arises from the provisions in the Constitution to which I have referred. During the discussions which took place on the question of the acceptance or rejection of a Constitution, and also in the brief remarks I made on the address in reply, I stated that I believed the Braddon sections introduced a bad and unsound principle into our Commonwealth finances. Whatever Government undertook the duty of formulating the first Tariff—it does not matter from which side that Government was formed—was bound by the Constitution to assist in financing the States. By the taking over of the Customs and Excise, the different States lose a certain amount of revenue, and the alternative is either that of economizing the expenditure of the States and making good the deficiency by means of other forms of direct taxation, or placing upon the Federal Government the obligation of providing the States Governments with

the necessary means. Undoubtedly, the effect of the sections in the Constitution to which I have referred is to compel the Commonwealth Treasurer to become the tax-gatherer for the States, and I hold that to be a vicious principle to introduce into the functions of government. Our great safeguard in connexion with taxation lies in the method to which, under self-government, we have hitherto been accustomed. The safeguard is that the Government which incurs expenditure and gives rise to the need for increased taxation, has to go to the taxpayers direct for approval that expenditure. If the taxpayers are not satisfied that the money has been properly expended, they have it within their power to punish the responsible politicians. Now, however, we have introduced a foreign principle, which imposes on the Federal Treasurer and the Federal Parliament the obligation of raising taxation for State purposes. The Federal Treasurer has not the determination of the expenditure, that being a matter entirely for the State Treasurers, so that we do not now have the advantage of the responsibility which has hitherto obtained. These provisions of the Constitution will, I believe, lead to financial complications which cannot be fully realized at the present time. It is a pity that these provisions ever found a place in the Constitution, and the sooner they are eliminated the better it will be for pure, honest, safe government, both federal and State. On the other hand, while the Constitution imposes on the Federal Treasurer and on this Parliament the obligation to raise through the Customs 20s. for every 5s. required for federal purposes, and of returning 15s. back to the States, there is no obligation to make it a primary principle of government that the Commonwealth shall finance the States by that means. The obligation that has been imposed upon this Parliament, and upon the Commonwealth Treasurer, is to finance the Federation, plus the extra amount that the Braddon clause requires. But this Government, instead of adopting this sound policy, and thereby gradually teaching the States to become self-reliant and to make good the amount they have lost by the transference of their right to tax through customs and excise—instead of leading them to get upon a sound financial basis, and so prepare the way for the time when the people of Australia

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can legislatively eliminate the Braddon blot from the Constitution—have taken the other course of making it the first principle of their Tariff proposals to tax for State purposes and to finance the States.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member might say what he means by “gradually.”

Mr. BROWN.—The Federal Treasurer has the reputation of having had a very close fist while he was in charge of the finances of the State which he served so faithfully and well before he became the servant of the Federation. He earned and deserved the reputation for getting for the people of Victoria 20s. in value for every £1 of expenditure. The Federation might reasonably expect the same kind of safe and economical expenditure at his hands. That being so, I think—and I believe it can be conclusively proven—that the Commonwealth can be financed for very much less than the Government require in the basis they have adopted.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member has not yet told us what he means by “gradually.”

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—“All at once!”

Mr. BROWN.—That will mean that there will be a deficiency in the amount that is returned to the States, and consequently a deficiency in the State revenue.

Mr. McCAY.—That will come at once, will it not?

Mr. BROWN.—It will be a gradual matter.

Mr. McCAY.—It will be an immediate matter; that is the trouble.

Mr. BROWN.—It will mean that the State Treasurers, instead of adopting the policy of extravagance which they seem to have adopted at the present time, will be called upon to make good this deficiency, which will not be very great. They will be compelled to exercise economy in expenditure, and to devise other means of obtaining revenue. Thus they will be forced to act upon a sound basis. If that is not to be done the Federal Parliament is to be made the taxgatherer for the States, and is to act as such, practically financing them for the next ten years. It will thus be made harder to get back upon sound financial lines than if they are compelled to start on those lines now. That is my contention and my reply to the honorable member for Corinella.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member has not replied about “gradually” yet.

Mr. BROWN.—I thoroughly believe that the effect of the policy adopted by the Government will be that the Federal Treasurer will be more and more looked to by the State Treasurers to finance the States.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—We have taken their means of financing themselves away from them, now that we have taken away their Customs revenue. Not one of the States would have entered the Federation if they had been told what the honorable member now advocates.

Mr. BROWN.—We have taken away a part of their previous means of financing in consequence of the consummation of federation, but the States still have large powers of taxation which they can exercise. My opposition to the Commonwealth Bill—an opposition that was consistently carried right through the different referendums—was largely based upon the financial weakness that I saw in the Constitution, as well as upon the undemocratic methods adopted for bringing about alterations of the Constitution, and allowing the people to adjust the Constitution to their own requirements. I placed those issues clearly before my electors, making no secret of my opposition. I believe that had others who are now singing out about the system been as faithful to their trust to the people as I and a few others were, the Constitution would have been rid of those blots that are found in it to-day. My complaint against the Government is that they have adopted this wrong basis. They are intensifying and perpetuating the evil by constituting themselves tax-gatherers for the States, and making the States dependent upon the Commonwealth for their ways and means of finance in years to come. I simply wish to indicate the foundation principles upon which I took exception to the methods of taxation adopted by the Government in the formulation of their Tariff proposals. I thoroughly believe that the functions of government are to bring about the best social and moral conditions for the community. I do not believe that the Government is constituted merely to collect taxes, to expend money on public works, and to maintain law and order in a community. I believe that where the functions of government can be used to make the condition of the people better and more humane, and to elevate the community, they should be so used. I know that in the great political struggles that have taken

place, and are taking place to-day, there is a difference of opinion as to the extent to which governmental interference should be carried, and as to the extent to which it is possible for the functions of government to assist in improving social conditions. Whilst I recognise that the welfare and prosperity of the community are largely affected by questions of taxation and methods of government, I believe that the powers of government can be advantageously used in other directions, and that if they are not used in the direction of bringing about better social conditions, the Government are responsible for the unsatisfactory conditions which remain. I consider that the fact that we have in the community an increasing wealthy few on the one hand, whilst on the other hand we have those who toil from daylight to dark under conditions that are as hard as it is possible for conditions to be, is the outcome of bad legislation in the past, and of the operation of our form of government. Where we find that the legislation passed has failed to bring about proper social conditions it is our duty, if we are loyal to our humanity, to remedy its defects. This is where I differ to some extent from some of my protectionist friends and from some of my free-trade friends. My protectionist friends seem to think that we shall have reached the millenium if we get an ideal form of protection; and some free-traders think that all that is desired is an ideal form of free-trade, and that then everything will be just as it ought to be. I do not believe that. I believe there are other matters we shall have to deal with in our legislation and in our administration of the government with which we are charged, and that we must deal with them upon proper lines before we can bring about the improved social conditions we aim at. I have to make my choice as to which of two systems will be most conducive to the reforms in the direction I consider legislation should take in order to attain that ideal—whether a system of freedom of commerce or trade, or a system of restricted commerce and restricted trade. I have no hesitation in arriving at a decision, and as the outcome of the best intelligence I can bring to bear upon the question my decision is that while I will not say that advancement or good social legislation is not possible under a system of protection, I do say that the experience of the past is that protection is the mother of monopoly, and

that monopoly is responsible for the existing unsatisfactory social conditions. On the other hand, a system of freedom of commerce assists in bringing about reforms, and placing them on a sound basis, and that is why I favour that system. Any one who has supported any line of reform, will know by experience that he has to meet the opposition of those whose interests are against reform. Adam Smith says that—

A Member of Parliament who supports every proposal for strengthening monopoly is sure to acquire, not only the reputation of understanding trade, but great popularity and influence with the order of men whose numbers and works renders them of great importance. If he abuses them, and still more if he have authority enough to be able to thwart them, neither the most acknowledged probity, nor the highest rank, nor the greatest public services can protect him from the most infamous abuse and detraction and personal insult, and sometimes from a real danger, arising from the insolent outrage of furious and disappointed monopolists.

No doubt that was the practical experience that fell to the lot of the reformer in the time of Adam Smith, and it is the same to-day. The man who opposes vested interests, or the man who opposes monopoly, meets with the experience in the political and social life of to-day that Adam Smith so faithfully and graphically describes in the paragraph I have read. I have noted the criticisms passed upon the men who take part in these fiscal controversies, and I find that the man who takes the side of the protectionist, and advocates this theory, is the white-headed boy, if I may so express it. To the lot of the man on the other side, who wishes to secure freedom of commerce and trade, as well as social and democratic reforms, falls the experience so vividly described by Adam Smith. That induces me to believe that the system of freedom of commerce and the extension of the conditions accruing therefrom goes at least in the direction of destroying monopolies and bringing about better social conditions. Reverting to the Tariff proposals of the Government, I should like to show what are the burdens of taxation they represent. For the simple reason that it went more largely into the avenues of direct taxation, New South Wales suffers under these proposals to a greater extent than does any of the States which relied more fully upon customs and excise for its revenue. I find from the statement put forward by the Minister for

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Trade and Customs that for a normal year the total customs receipts of New South Wales are £2,679,917; while the excise receipts amount to £549,521, making a total of £3,229,444. That entails taxation through customs and excise amounting to £2 7s. 9d. per head of population. It is shown that under the Government proposals New South Wales will have an increase of £1,443,667; Victoria an increase of £270,881; and South Australia an increase of £45,089, or a total increase of something like £1,759,637 in respect of these States. The basis of taxation adopted by the Treasurer will not give any increase to Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia. As a matter of fact their total losses will amount to something like £579,888.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Independently of their share of the new expenditure.

Mr. BROWN.—That shows to my mind that the Treasurer has not been able to attain the ideal which he set before him of financing the States. That is not his fault. It is the fault of the conditions under which he is called upon to make this effort. If he could have taxed the imports up to the point that would avoid a loss in the case of any of the States, undoubtedly he would have done so; but every one knows that only a certain amount of revenue can be raised upon a given volume of imports. After the maximum taxable amount has been reached, the revenue derived diminishes with any increased incidence of taxation. I have not the least doubt that the £9,000,000 which the Treasurer proposes to raise is the maximum amount which it is possible to obtain in this way. In order to fulfil his ideal of how the federal and State finances should be managed, the Treasurer would have to raise not £9,000,000 but about £19,000,000 to provide for Western Australia's requirements. According to his Budget papers it would require a revenue of £10,000,000 in order to meet the requirements of Tasmania, £11,000,000 in the case of Queensland, £7,000,000 for Victoria, £6,000,000 for South Australia, and £4,000,000 for New South Wales. Under a £4,000,000 Tariff New South Wales would require to raise from customs and excise only £1,785,781, instead of the amount that she is called upon to raise on the £9,000,000 basis. If a £19,000,000 revenue were adopted she would be required to raise £7,000,000, and

that, of course, would be utterly impossible. That is the position, and I think it is to be regretted that the Treasurer did not stop at the point at which the volume of his imports limits him, or even at a lower point.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I could do that, but for the bookkeeping sections in the Constitution.

Mr. BROWN.—I admit that those provisions in the Constitution are of such a character that it would have been very much better for the sound finance of the Commonwealth and for the future of Australian federation if they had been eliminated before the people approved of the Bill.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They do not compel the Treasurer to raise this money.

Mr. BROWN.—There is a certain amount of compulsion. The Commonwealth has to raise four times the amount of revenue that it needs for its own requirements.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is a good excuse for a high Tariff.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The high Tariff is made up of revenue duties.

Mr. BROWN.—I think the Treasurer has made the Tariff very much higher than the requirements of the Constitution demand, and I want to reduce it to that point at which it will fit in with the demands of the Constitution. We are told that this is a composite Tariff. It is neither a free-trade nor a protectionist one, but a mixture. We understood all these financial difficulties when we entered into federation. We understood them when we entered upon our first federal elections, but we were given to understand that the Tariff proposals would be of a reasonable character. That they would not run into extreme protection, nor could it be of that free-trade description which would have been possible had not those provisions obtained. I remember that, at the time when parties were being formed, the leader of the Government delivered an address at Bathurst which, whether he so intended it or not, certainly the press and the people took as an indication of the political lines which he proposed to adopt in the impending campaign, and the keynote then sounded to the electors was not to vote on the question of protection or free-trade, but to make the one cardinal principle of the elections the defence of the Constitution. What they were to defend it against was not made very clear, but apparently what was aimed at was that not

a man who dared to oppose this model constitution, who dared to think that it contained a Braddon blot, or any unworkable bookkeeping provisions, should find a place on the floor of the first Federal Parliament. The Prime Minister, in formulating his policy, had to deal with taxation proposals, and I find that at Maitland, where he issued his manifesto, he said—

I have not come here to conduct a protectionist campaign, though, under other circumstances, I should have been prepared to do so.

Again, in the Sydney Town-hall, he said—

We must have revenue, and it could be raised by neither a prohibitionist Tariff nor a free-trade Tariff.

Then, at Brisbane, he said—

The difference between their policy and that of the other side was only a thin veneer.

And again, at Maitland, he said—

Shall we pile the duties on the cottager and the artisan?

His very able and worthy lieutenant, the Minister for Home Affairs, in a political address, is reported to have said—

He could only call it criminal to raise the fiscal question now, when the very Constitution itself rendered free-trade or protection alike impossible.

In the course of his address, according to the press, that Minister very freely admitted to the public that the Federation could be financed in accordance with the Constitution upon a Tariff of from 10 to 15 per cent., and it was generally thought that he voiced the intentions of the Government. It was further considered that the free-trade leader could not bring in a Tariff which would be very much lower than that. And this point was very often raised—where was the line of demarcation between the two parties led by these two worthy political warriors. But it was contended by the free-traders that the Tariff introduced by this Government would, in addition to being a revenue Tariff, have a strong protectionist complexion, and that to that extent it would be distinguished from a Tariff designed for purely revenue purposes. We now have the Tariff. In the course of this debate it has not been denied that as far as it was possible for this Government to do so, consistently with getting the amount of revenue they aimed at raising for the purposes they have taken in hand, they made the Tariff as protectionist as it is possible for a Tariff to be made.

The Minister for Trade and Customs is reported to have said, in his opening address—

This is a protectionist policy. We were sent here by the people to support that policy, and we place it before you with the force of our majority behind us.

No declaration could be more definite than that, and it is on these grounds that we must consider it. Rightly or wrongly, the people of New South Wales consider that they have a legitimate grievance against the leader of the Government in not taking them more completely into his confidence prior to the elections, and telling them the kind of Tariff he would introduce. From the platform utterances and from the manifesto of the Prime Minister they were led to suppose that it would be a revenue Tariff. By the observations I have read, they were led to suppose that it would not be a protectionist one, and, consequently, would not have the burdensome provisions to them which it possesses. I am borne out in this contention by no less an authority than a gentleman who discharged the duties of chairman to the Prime Minister's election committee at Maitland, Mr. W. R. Thompson. When the character of the Tariff was made known to Mr. Thompson, he is reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 11th October to have said—

In his opinion the implied promise of Mr. Barton in the Maitland address was not carried out.

Mr. SALMON.—What does the honorable member mean by the "implied promise?"

Mr. BROWN.—That is for him to say.

Mr. SALMON.—That is something from his own inner consciousness. I heard the speech, and I say that every promise is carried out in this Tariff.

Mr. BROWN.—The honorable member considers that the promise is carried out, but this gentleman, who is equally entitled to his opinion, says it is not.

Mr. SALMON.—He talks about the "implied promise." I do not know anything about it.

Mr. BROWN.—I am reading Mr. Thompson's opinion. I did not say they were actual promises.

Mr. SALMON.—I say they were, and that they have been carried out.

Mr. BROWN.—This gentleman says that—

In his opinion the implied promises of Mr. Barton, in his Maitland address, were not carried

out, because the present proposals are not in any sense a compromise, but cast the burden of taxation on the poor. As a free-trader he was prepared for a heavy revenue Tariff, but never expected one which would be prohibitive to such an extent. He was utterly disappointed, because Mr. Barton's promises were not fulfilled.

Mr. Thompson's opinion is entitled to some consideration, especially as it is shared by so many electors in New South Wales who voted on the same side. I gather from the *Age* of 10th October that this Tariff has the approval—despite its strong protectionist colouring—of one of the leading free-traders in New South Wales, a gentleman who holds the distinguished honour of being a Cobden medallist, and who discharges the high duties of Attorney-General to the State Government. He describes this as a poor man's Tariff; but, although this debate is now drawing to a close, I have not heard any honorable member give it that character. Even the protectionists are not satisfied with it, because it does not go as far as they wish, whilst the low tariffists consider that it goes too far.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Was a model Tariff possible under the conditions?

Mr. BROWN.—Mr. Wise says that it is a poor man's Tariff, but, of course, that depends upon the particular point of view from which it is regarded.

Mr. KIRWAN.—That is because it taxes the poor man.

Mr. BROWN.—My experience of all Tariffs is that they make the poor man pay, and that the higher the Tariff the more it drags out of him. Under all forms of Customs taxation the poor man is made the working bullock, and if it were intended to convey that this was a poor man's Tariff in that sense, then I say that it was very properly described. It would be hard to devise a Tariff that would more completely place the burden of taxation upon those least able to bear it. The Attorney-General of New South Wales says—

It must not, however, be forgotten that the Tariff is essentially a poor man's Tariff, that is to say, the increased cost of living will fall more heavily upon the middle and wealthy classes than it will upon the artisan classes.

Now, let us see how this will work out. I have a list which I have every reason to suppose correctly states the facts. Under this Tariff cement is taxed 50 per cent., and timber for butter-boxes, which enters as a raw product into the dairying industry, bears a duty of 45 per cent. Flooring and lining boards which are required by our

farmers and settlers are subject to a 42½ per cent. duty, white printed bowls are taxed at 45 per cent., common jugs at 45 per cent., and cups and saucers at 40 per cent. Men's hats, costing 7s. 6d., are taxed to the extent of 40 per cent., and men's dress hats at 28½ per cent. I wonder how the Treasurer can explain the great difference between the hats that are used by the ordinary working men and those which are commonly patronized by the wealthy. Condensed milk has a duty imposed upon it of 30 per cent., coarse salt 125 cent., starch 100 per cent., and blue 33 per cent. Waggon and buggies bear a tax of £5 with a duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* duty added, or in all, 88 per cent., nails are taxed at 7s. per cwt., or at 35 per cent., salt 20s. per ton, or 70 per cent., and safety matches 6d. per gross, or 55 per cent., and so on. I could read a long list of these items, which would go still further to prove conclusively that this is a poor man's Tariff, in the sense that it places the burdens of taxation upon the working classes. I have here a copy of the letter that was written to the *Age* by Senator Sir Frederick Sargood, in which he deals with the duties upon hats, and shows that hats costing 8s. 6d. per dozen are taxed to the extent of 134 per cent.

Mr. TUDOR.—He is an importer, and he wants to import the hats, so that he may make more out of them.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member for Yarra say that the figures are not correct?

Mr. TUDOR.—Yes, I do. And I will show that they are not.

Mr. BROWN.—A great number of people believe these figures to be correct, and, if the particulars are not reliable, the sooner the truth is told the better. The letter is signed by Senator Sir Frederick Sargood, who ought to be an authority on the matter. He says that hats costing 8s. 6d. per dozen are taxed to the extent of 134 per cent. of their value, and that hats costing 34s. per dozen are subject to a duty of only 46 per cent. He also deals with boots, and states that men's boots of sizes above five, costing 3s. 9d. per pair, are taxed to the extent of 61 per cent., whilst those costing 10s. bear a duty of only 33 per cent.

Mr. KENNEDY.—What is the increased cost to the consumer by reason of that duty?

Mr. BROWN.—If there is no increased cost to the consumer, where does the need arise for the imposition of the duty? For what are duties imposed?

Mr. KENNEDY.—We prefer to have these goods made locally instead of importing them from London.

Mr. BROWN.—I have simply indicated the character of this "poor man's" Tariff. In Sydney a meeting of those interested in laundry work was recently held.

Mr. SALMON.—Chinese?

Mr. BROWN.—No, they were not Chinese. There are more Chinese doing laundry work in protectionist Melbourne than there are in free-trade Sydney. This was not a gathering of Chinese, but of people who have the same coloured skin as the honorable member who has interjected. They are engaged in a very arduous class of work which is not too well remunerated. The laundry association of New South Wales convened this meeting for the purpose of considering how its members were affected by this "poor man's" Tariff. After discussing the matter, the following resolution was passed:—

We, the members of the laundry trade in meeting assembled, view with surprise and indignation the excessive duties (nearly 190 per cent. in some instances) about to be levied on laundry supplies, which represent the raw materials used in the laundry trade. Whilst strongly protesting against such prohibitory duties, we cannot too highly condemn the cunning and shameful act of putting on the free list articles that are well-known to be extensively adulterated in the locally-manufactured laundry supplies.

In regard to the effect of this Tariff upon the producers, the farmers, and the miners, I wish to point out that a number of interesting interviews with members of the State Parliament of Victoria have recently been published in the *Argus*. The opinions of these gentlemen are, I think, entitled to some consideration, because unquestionably they speak with authority upon this matter. Mr. Foster, who represents Gippsland East, says—

This Tariff will play the mischief with country industries. The producers feel that they are being heavily taxed for the benefit of the big cities. The mining industry will feel the stress most.

Mr. SALMON.—And that honorable member supported the high Tariff in 1895.

Mr. BROWN.—Well, he has learned a lesson since. The mining industry will feel the effects of this Tariff most acutely. It is

essentially a "poor man's" Tariff, not in the sense that the poor man escapes taxation, but that he bears the burden of it. Mr. Cullen, who represents Gunbower, is reported to have expressed himself as follows:—

I have had a good opportunity of ascertaining the views of the producers in my district in regard to the Tariff. I find there is a unanimous and strong feeling against it. The farmers feel that the duties on machinery, timber, iron, and twine are most unfair to them.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Why did not the *Argus* state all that Mr. Cullen said?

Mr. BROWN.—I wish it to be understood that I am not reading all that appeared in the *Argus*. I am merely quoting extracts from that newspaper in confirmation of my contention that this Tariff presses unduly upon the farmers and the workers. Mr. Graham, who represents Numurkah, says—

Although my district has been looked upon as protectionist, there is a very strong feeling against the duties which the farmers will be called upon to bear under the present Tariff. When on the public platform, in connexion with the Federal Constitution referendum, I stated that an Australian Tariff, which imposed heavy duties upon the producers, would at once convert this class of the community into free-traders. This prophecy is already coming true. Farmers who have been consistent protectionists in my district are beginning to have strong leanings towards free-trade. The protection which has been afforded the farmer under the Tariff is only in name.

Mr. Nichols, who represents Gippsland West, says—

I have just returned from a visit to the principal centres of my electorate. I find that there is a remarkably strong and unanimous feeling against the Tariff in the ranks of the producers. They feel that the extra taxation which they will be called upon to bear is most burdensome.

Mr. Oman, who represents Ripon, says—

The dairymen object particularly to the tax on timber for butter-boxes, and also to that on salt, which will add greatly to the cost of production.

Mr. McCAY.—Read all that Mr. Oman says.

Mr. BROWN.—Certainly. I have no objection to acceding to the honorable member's request. That gentleman continues—

The raw material taxes, hitherto almost unknown in Victoria, are strongly objected to, and complaint is made at the reduction of the Victorian free list. The producers, however, realized that they would have to share the cost of federation, and they are willing to do so. It is unquestionable that the producers throughout Victoria will have to pay more in taxation under this Tariff than they had previously.

A great deal has been said about the admission of raw material. But what is one man's raw material is another man's manufactured article. The sugar growers of Northern Queensland want a duty on sugar because it is a manufactured article, but when the product comes to New South Wales or Victoria, and is used as a constituent in jams and preserves, it is a raw material. In New South Wales, with all the great possibilities and natural opportunities for the production of fruits, which have been taken advantage of by farmers there on an extensive scale, no jam or preserve manufactures worthy of the name were carried on while there was a duty of £5 per ton on sugar.

Mr. KENNEDY.—In New South Wales they are not intelligent enough to give a rebate, as in Victoria.

Mr. BROWN.—It was only when a reduction in the duty was made that the jam manufacturers were put on their feet, and to-day they can hold their own against protected Victoria.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is there not a difference between a log of timber and a butter-box?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Chair, chair!

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member for Parramatta has two or three times had his attention called to the fact that he does not obey the order of the Chair. I must ask him to do so now, and not to interrupt other honorable members, who are simply interjecting, while he himself speaks across the floor of the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have to apologize, Mr. Speaker, but, rightly or wrongly, I think I am called to order much more frequently than are other honorable members.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member to withdraw that remark. If the honorable member is called to order more frequently than other honorable members, it is because he transgresses more frequently.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I apologize, Mr. Speaker; I suppose I must, as it is parliamentary.

Mr. BROWN.—The next gentleman who was interviewed was Mr. Duffus, of Port Fairy, and what he said is reported in the *Argus*—

Among the farmers in my electorate there is a very strong feeling against the Tariff—so strong, in fact, that if my constituents were called upon to vote for or against federation at the present

time, I feel certain there would be a large majority against it. While almost everything required by the farmers, both in their homes and for the purposes of their occupation, will be increased in price by the duties proposed, there are some articles in regard to which the burden will press with particular severity. Binder twine is one of these. Owing to the heavy crops taken from the land in the Port Fairy electorate generally, a greater quantity of binder twine is used per acre than in most of the agricultural districts, and for that reason the effect of the duty will be felt to a much greater extent. There are many other articles, necessary to agriculture, upon which imposts have been placed which will decidedly handicap the industry. People in the city have no idea how hard the farmers already find it to make both ends meet, and if they have to face a large increase in the cost of production their condition will become really desperate. The dairymen are also complaining bitterly about the duty upon butter-box timber. Notwithstanding the attempt made by Sir George Turner to remove their apprehensions on the point, the fact remains that the largest firm in that part of the country, after having given quotations for the supply of butter-boxes to the dairymen prior to the introduction of the Tariff, have since cancelled all their engagements.

Mr. Even Cameron, of Portland, says—

Timber duties will affect an important industry in my constituency. The Portland Freezing Works of necessity use an imported timber for the packing of their tinned produce.

Then we have Mr. Brown, of Shepparton and Euroa—

The Kingston Tariff will load the people of the State with a burden that no one ever contemplated. The farmers consider that the scientific method of taxation is by raising revenue through the Customs, but in such a way that a man pays for what he consumes—the man who consumes little pays little, and the man who consumes much pays more.

Mr. O'Neill, of Mandurang, writes—

Although I have not had a chance of visiting my constituents, I know that they feel the injustice of the duties in some respects. The tax upon binder twine affects them particularly, but there are others almost equally objectionable.

Mr. McCay.—Does the honorable member know that the tax on binder twine is the same as it has been for years in Victoria?

Mr. BROWN.—I know nothing about Victoria; but the tax is not the same as it was in New South Wales; there is a big difference in that State.

Mr. SALMON.—But the honorable member is quoting Victorians.

Mr. BROWN.—The fact that the duty on binder twine is the same in the Commonwealth Tariff as it was in the Victorian Tariff does not make the tax any the less burdensome.

Mr. SALMON.—It does not make the tax any more burdensome.

Mr. BROWN.—But the farmers no doubt expected that under the Commonwealth Tariff they would be relieved of some of the burdens from which they suffered under the Victorian Tariff. Mr. G. Mitchell, of Talbot and Avoca, writes—

Producers and workmen with four or five of a family are looking for considerable relief in the direction of cutting down the duties on the necessities of life, especially those on sugar and kerosene. I believe the unanimous feeling is that the tax on tobacco is unjust.

Then we have Mr. Holden, of Warrenheip, who says—

On the whole, the country people complain about the Tariff. The duty on timber affects them particularly. On butter-boxes alone it will mean a charge of £300 per year in a factory whose weekly output is from 15 to 20 tons. These factories are owned by the producers themselves. Galvanized iron is another item which the country people use largely. Kerosene, too, is much used in engines for driving separators and chaffcutters, because hitherto it has been more economical. There have been many complaints from miners that almost everything used by them is taxed. The necessities of the poor have been hit heavily. Luxuries should have been taxed more freely before the articles used by the working classes were trencned upon. The duties on reapers and binders and reaper and binder twine are another great tax on the producers.

Mr. Irvine, in reply to a toast, made the following statement.

Mr. SALMON.—He may be looked upon as the only authority among the lot!

Mr. BROWN.—I am glad the honorable member accepts my estimate of this gentleman—

He could not help referring to the great burden that it was proposed to place upon the people of this State as part of the whole of Australia. Without going for one moment into the question of free-trade or protection, he would say that the attempt to obtain the enormous sum of £9,000,000 through the customs and excise duties from a population of three and a half millions was a task never before undertaken in any country. It would impose a burden too great even for this prosperous country. Though average incomes might be larger, the taxable power of a new country in which so much had to be spent upon reproductive agencies was even less than that of older countries. The imposition of this huge burden of taxation could only be done by crushing down the vitality of the producing energies of the country.

That is a very strong indictment against the Tariff.

Mr. SALMON.—From an unsuccessful free-trade candidate!

Mr. BROWN.—I had it from the honorable member just now that Mr. Irvine was the best authority in the crowd.

Mr. SALMON.—It was sarcasm!

Mr. BROWN.—Whatever he may be on other matters, he is certainly an authority on the incidence of this taxation.

Mr. SALMON.—He is a single taxer.

Mr. BROWN.—I do not know of any attempt in the history of taxation to raise such an enormous amount of money from such a small population as is proposed by the Government. I also have here an expression of opinion from a Mr. McKenzie, who is likewise a State member. He said—

He was bitterly disappointed with the Commonwealth Tariff as submitted to the people. If the Tariff had been promised in the Maitland speech, Mr. Barton would not now be in office. The Maitland speech had been departed from, and the Tariff was a breach of faith with the people. The result would be a rapidly diminishing revenue. The Tariff was wrong in principle, and could not be improved upon by meddling with it. He considered the Government had broken faith with the people, and the people should pass judgment by removing it from office at the earliest opportunity.

I have also another extract that appears in the *Argus* of the 29th inst. from Mr. Prendergast, another State member. He says—

There is no doubt that the farmers and the workers in the cities are the people who will have to pay under this Tariff. To the householder, it will mean an increase of 5s. per week for an ordinary family. I am speaking of what I know, because that is my experience in my own household. The duties on kerosene, tea, and the cheaper description of clothing used by the poorer classes will make a considerable addition to the housewife's bill. Whatever a farmer may or may not have of other things, he must have those three commodities. Not a day passes but he will make his contribution to the revenue.

These are valuable expressions of opinion, which have been collected by a leading newspaper in this city. They are the opinions of men who have won positions in politics in Victoria. My honorable friend, the member for Laanecoorie, may not think their opinions are of much account, but I presume that they are honestly expressed, and reflect the views of a large section of their constituents.

Mr. SALMON.—The opinions of Mr. Prendergast and Mr. Cullen have since been corrected.

Mr. BROWN.—But Mr. Prendergast does not correct the statement I have read. He corrects another part, which I did not quote, and leaves uncorrected what I have

cited. If that is the opinion in Victoria, what must it be in New South Wales! In this State the increase of taxation amounts merely to £270,884, but in New South Wales it amounts to £1,443,667. If those opinions are held by the farmers and producing classes in Victoria, how much more intense must the feeling be in New South Wales! Yet this Tariff has been described as a poor man's Tariff.

Mr. WILKS.—It is a Tariff that will keep him a poor man.

Mr. BROWN.—It will keep the poor man poor the whole of his days. That is not the kind of Tariff that I want. I do not believe that it is possible to tax a poor man into prosperity. It has never been done in any country. It is true that it is possible to tax a few into prosperity, but always at the expense and to the detriment of the many. That is how millionaires are made. It is because I have a great sympathy for the poor man and come from his ranks that I do not believe in this kind of taxation. In the course of the discussion many arguments have been advanced in support of the principle and theory of protection. I should like to deal briefly with two or three matters which suggest themselves to me at the present moment. I find that one of the claims put forward on behalf of protection is its hoariness. Protection, we are told, has dominated the world for so long and to such an extent, and the free-trade principle is of such recent date, that those who espouse protectionist views consider that upon this ground they have substantial justification for their faith. Many other doctrines could be sustained on the same ground. Whilst this argument was being put forward one honorable member interjected that the religion of Buddha could be sustained on similar grounds. A principle does not win my approval solely on the ground that it happens to be old, and to have dominated a large section of humanity. If it does not appeal to my reason as substantial and sound, I do not adopt it merely because it is accepted by a majority. I admit this claim of age for protection, but I contend that it has dominated the world, and has been so general because the world has been ruled by the few, and the many have never yet had a complete say in its government. When the many become sufficiently educated to take the power of governing

themselves into their own hands, they will begin to see that this method of running the government is not as fair as many people would have us believe, and the simple method of securing the acceptance of a Tariff merely on the dictum that it is a poor man's Tariff, though it presses heavily upon him, will no longer obtain. With the advance of education and science, which are deadly enemies of the narrow restricted spirit that underlies protectionist ideas, protection will gradually disappear. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports laughs at that.

Mr. MAUGER.—I laugh at the idea of a trades unionist talking about restriction.

Mr. BROWN.—The honorable member does not know what trades unionism is. When the House met first, the honorable member interjected from the opposite corner that he could not understand how a man could be a free-trader and a representative of labour. In this debate the honorable member followed the honorable member for West Sydney, as true a labour representative as ever stood upon the floor of a legislative chamber, and as able a man as the labour ranks of New South Wales have produced; and though on the first occasion he doubted how a man could espouse democratic legislation in the labour interest, and claim to be a trades unionist and a free-trader, on this occasion he claimed for himself the same disinterested sincerity that he was prepared to concede to his fellow member. Seeing that in so short a time the education of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports proceeded so far, I have yet hope that he will learn what trades unionism really means, and that it does not necessarily mean the placing of burdens upon the shoulders of trades unionists. Before I leave the argument, that because of the antiquity of the protectionist theory and doctrines, and the extent to which they have dominated the world, the Federal Parliament cannot go very far wrong in accepting this form of taxation as a policy for the Commonwealth, I would like to remind honorable members of the comparisons which have been suggested between England and America. The honorable member for Gippsland seems to think that because England is importing a great deal of the wealth of the world she must very quickly go into the Bankruptcy Court.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That was not his contention; he also introduced the factors of Dr. and Cr. nations.

Mr. BROWN.—I understood that the honorable member laid it down, and certainly protectionist theorists lay it down as a cardinal principle, that the exports of a nation should exceed its imports, and that the country which imports more than it exports is becoming a debtor nation. If that contention is correct, a number of the great nations of Europe are gradually drifting towards the Bankruptcy Court. While the imports of Great Britain are £178,000,000; those of Germany amount to £56,000,000, and are gradually mounting higher; France, £40,000,000; Holland, £21,000,000; Switzerland, £17,000,000; Belgium, £11,000,000; Denmark, £7,000,000; and Sweden, £6,000,000. They are all gradually going along this supposed road to bankruptcy. If we come to compare New South Wales and Victoria in this respect, we shall see the way in which their policies have been operating. We find that in 1881, according to *Coghlan's* statistics, the internal trade of New South Wales was £20,683,445; and of Victoria £22,284,415. The principle of protection was brought into operation, and we see its effects. In 1899 the New South Wales trade amounted to £32,402,148, or an increase of £11,718,667 between the years 1881 and 1899. Victoria's volume of external trade in 1899 was £22,930,572, or an increase during the same period of £646,121. The State in which free-trade principles operated, and which, according to the protectionist theory, should have been going to the bad, had a surplus trade of over £11,000,000 compared with the protectionist State.

Mr. McCAY.—What inference does the honorable member draw from the excess of external trade?

Mr. BROWN.—I draw the inference that this cardinal principle of protection is wrong. I was somewhat surprised to hear the Treasurer refer to what he called the wage fund. The idea that he conveyed was that there was a certain wage fund in this State which had to be protected, otherwise the working man would come to grief.

Mr. McCAY.—The Treasurer did not say that.

Mr. BROWN.—He did not use those words, but that is the basic principle which

underlies the idea of a wage fund. It is one of those economic fallacies which obtained currency in the distant past, and on which the protectionist doctrine was largely founded.

Mr. McCAY.—Was not Adam Smith one of the fathers of it?

Mr. BROWN.—Adam Smith admitted the existence of the wage fund theory. Later inquiries and research by equally competent economic writers and thinkers have disproved the wage fund theory in its generally accepted sense. One of the modern writers upon this question, Professor F. A. Walker—an American—in his work entitled “The Wages Question,” deals with the matter in Chapter VIII. in this way—

The popular theory of wages is based upon the assumption that wages are paid out of capital, the saved results of the industry of the past. Hence it is argued capital must furnish the measure of wages. On the contrary, I hold that wages are, in a philosophical view of the subject, paid out of the product of present industry, and hence that production furnishes the true measure of wages. . . . The employer purchases labour with a view to the product of labour, and the kind and amount of that product determine what wages he can afford to pay.

I do not agree with the theory that a wage fund is provided out of the money that holders of capital invest in an industry, and that their interests must be conserved, even if it is to the detriment of those who have to labour. If it is sound, then protection is sound. If that theory is correct, then the only way in which we can advance the interests of the workers and improve their condition is by making the conservation and protection of accumulated capital our primary consideration. That is what I understood the Treasurer had in view when he referred to this principle. I hold that the working man makes his own wages.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—That is exactly what I want to give him a chance of doing.

Mr. BROWN.—I am glad to have had that expression of opinion from the Treasurer. All that I ask in addition is that the working people shall not by legislation be placed under the heel of capital, but that they shall be given as free access as possible to the forces of nature. That will enable them to produce their own wages, and to obtain the greatest amount from that production.

Mr. McCAY.—Freedom of contract,

Mr. BROWN.—There is no freedom of contract or competition about that. Competition comes in where, by legislation and Governmental enactment, we shut out the great mass of humanity from their natural opportunities, and give the right to a few individuals to say whether or not a man shall live on God's earth. In that way we set him in competition with his fellow man. In that way we create the wage fund and the iron law of wages, which is not a natural economic fact, but the outcome of our unnatural social and legislative conditions. There is another theory, that the imposition of customs duties is necessary, in order to keep money in the country. I think the Treasurer used that expression in the course of his speech. It is a most extraordinary thing that, notwithstanding the taxation imposed by countries which have adopted the principle avowedly for that purpose, they do not succeed in retaining the money within their boundaries. I find that this principle does not work out in America, as those who espouse the protectionist policy for that purpose would lead us to believe. Whilst there was a low Tariff in America the exports of money were less than under the high Tariff which obtains there. Victoria has produced as much gold as any other place in the world of corresponding size. Its total gold production amounts to about £250,000,000.

The SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member think that that bears upon the question before the Chair?

Mr. BROWN.—Yes. I am answering the argument that it is necessary to adopt a Tariff of protectionist incidence in order to keep money in the country. If that is a desirable thing to do, would it not be simpler to enact that no money should be allowed to go out of the country, and see how that would operate. The honorable and learned member for Indi made one of the ablest speeches which have been delivered from the protectionist stand-point, and did full justice to his high legal training. The only exception I feel disposed to take to his address is that it was largely in the nature of a special pleading, and if his arguments were carried to their logical conclusion, the deductions would not have been those which were drawn by him. One of the reasons for which this Tariff commended itself to him was that it would tend to equalize wages. I should like to know how it is possible to do

that under some of the conditions under which factories are being conducted in Victoria. The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, quoted from a Government report respecting the manufacture of matches in this State. That report shows that in 1894 the importation of matches was, 190,000 gross, and the Customs revenue £14,500. In that year it was decided to provide a further avenue for employment in Victoria, and duties were imposed to encourage the establishment of a match factory here, with the result that Messrs. R. Bell and Co. commenced operations. Since then the importation of matches has fallen to 58,300 gross, and the Customs revenue to £2,915, while the local production is put down at 231,700 gross. Now, in Sydney the price of matches is 2s. per gross, while R. Bell and Co. sell their matches at 2s. 10d. and 2s. 11d. per gross, so that they obtain from the consumers of matches in this State 11d. upon every gross, or £10,620. The factory employs eight males, whose wages average 18s. 8d. per week, and 41 females, whose wages average 14s. 11d. per week, while the total amount paid in wages per annum is about £1,750. Therefore, the result of the duties is to give 49 employes £1,750, and the manufacturer who employs them £8,870. The honorable member for Bland made reference to this industry as a hot-house industry, and spoke of its insanitary conditions. No doubt those who are not acquainted with the methods which obtain there are apt to associate it with the unhealthy factories of the old world, where phosphorous poisoning is so greatly complained of; but from personal observation I am able to say that all the arrangements are highly creditable to those who conduct it. The process of phosphorizing is conducted in the open air, and the work is performed by competent men, not women or girls, and I have been told that the danger of phosphorous poisoning is not nearly so great as in the factories of the old world. But I agree with the honorable member for the Bland that it is a hot-house industry, and that there is no reason why it should be fostered at the expense of the community.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely the honorable member does not think the figures quoted are correct?

Mr. BROWN.—They are supplied by the Inspector of Factories in Victoria.

Mr. MAUGER.—As to the profits?

Mr. BROWN.—Yes.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is wrong.

Mr. BROWN.—If the honorable member assures me that I am wrong, I can only say that I did not see the return on which they are supposed to be made. I took the information from a quotation which appears in the address of the honorable member for South Australia. There are a number of other matters which might be considered at length. I listened last night to the address of the Minister for Home Affairs, in which he laid down another protectionist theory, that the man over the water pays the duties. That is a very comfortable theory.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is not a new one either.

Mr. BROWN.—It is not a new one by any means.

Mr. McCAY.—It is a true one, too, in many cases.

Mr. BROWN.—I am glad to hear the honorable member say "in many cases," because it is true in only those cases where the manufacturer exports at a loss.

Mr. McCAY.—Not necessarily then—in more cases than that.

Mr. BROWN.—But the manufacturer makes good the loss out of the pockets of the people who give him his protection. If, as the Minister for Home Affairs contended, the exporter paid the duty on the goods consumed here, we should be very glad to encourage him to export, in order to get from him the sinews of war for financing the Commonwealth and the States.

Mr. McCAY.—But you must have local production to produce that result.

Mr. BROWN.—I notice that this is not the theory which has been strongly put forward by a friend or a supporter of the Minister for Home Affairs—Mr. J. P. Wright, a large boot manufacturer in Sydney. At a meeting of the boot manufacturers held in Sydney on the 11th October, this gentleman moved this motion, which was carried—

That in the opinion of this meeting it is advisable that the price of boots and shoes should be immediately advanced in proportion to the extra cost of production consequent on the imposition of the Federal Tariff.

As soon as this Tariff was submitted, these manufacturers held a meeting and decided amongst themselves that they must advance the price of their boots to compensate them for the extra money which they had to pay

for their raw material which comes into the country. If the theory of the Minister for Home Affairs is correct, then this taxation is not paid by the boot manufacturers, and should not be passed on by them to the consumer, but is paid by the producer of the export. But I think that, as in a good many other cases, when it comes to the working out of the theory, it must give way before actual practice. I shall leave the different theories which have been advanced by the previous speakers with these brief criticisms. There has been a great number of figures quoted here about the relative positions of New South Wales and Victoria, to show the advantages of one Tariff as against another. If certain figures can be produced which tell in favour of Victoria it is claimed that it demonstrates that the Tariff which obtained here was superior to that which obtained in New South Wales, and *vice versa*. There may be some truth in this contention, but I freely admit that the mere setting opposite each other of tabulated sets of figures, and attempting to prove from them a theory is very unreliable ground to work upon. There are other factors which play an important part in determining any conclusions which may be arrived at, and unless weight and consideration be given to those factors there is the possibility that figures used to prove a certain thing do not do so at all. But on both sides it is generally admitted that fair deductions may be drawn from a comparison of the increase of population, and making certain allowance from the relative increase and prosperity of the manufactures in the States, the wages which are paid and the conditions under which labour operates, I find from Mr. Coghlan's invaluable statistical work, *The Seven Colonies*, that the increase of population between 1851 and 1860 was 123,097 in New South Wales, and 398,753 in Victoria; that between 1861 and 1870 New South Wales showed an increase of 45,539, and Victoria an increase of 38,935; and that between 1871 and 1880 New South Wales showed an increase of 109,341, and Victoria a decrease of 12,672. The table from which I am quoting shows distinctly the excess of immigration over emigration, or the reverse, as the case may be. Whilst Victoria started with a lead of something like 200,000 in the shape of an increase during the decade from 1851 to 1860, she showed a decrease, during the

Mr. Brown.

decade from 1871 to 1880, of 12,672. New South Wales, during the same period, showed an increase of 109,341. Therefore, whatever advantages may be claimed for the system of protection, it must be admitted that in the case of Victoria it did not operate to increase the population at anything like the same rate as in previous years; whilst the opposite principle of free-trade did not operate against New South Wales, inasmuch as the increase of population in that State during these decades was substantial. From 1881 to 1890, New South Wales showed an increase of 164,205, and Victoria gained in population to the extent of 112,097. Coming to the last decade, from 1891 to 1899, New South Wales exhibited an increase of 30,225, but the population of Victoria decreased by 127,221. *Coghlan* sums up the position thus:—

If the results for the last nine years be compared, it will be found that Victoria lost 127,221 by excess of emigration, while on the other hand Western Australia gained 112,689 persons during the same period. South Australia also lost to the extent of 1,933. The remaining colonies all gained slightly. Dealing with the year 1899, the exodus from Victoria was sufficient to more than counterbalance the arrivals in all the other colonies, so that for the first time in the history of Australasia there was displayed the remarkable fact of the departures exceeding the arrivals.

Notwithstanding the fact that from the very foundation of the colonies up to 1899, there had been a gradual increase in all the States, and the population of the Commonwealth had been considerably added to by excess of immigration over emigration, in 1899 the tables were reversed, and the Commonwealth showed an excess of emigration over immigration. That is to say, it lost a proportion of its population, and was on the down grade. This retrograde movement in population was almost wholly attributable to the State of Victoria. Victoria more completely than any other State had adopted the protectionist policy of taxing out the goods of the foreigner for the purpose of finding increased work for her population; and it must be a matter of very grave concern to staunch protectionists in Victoria to find that in spite of all their efforts their State is almost entirely responsible for this retrograde movement. On the other hand, New South Wales, notwithstanding her free-trade policy, contributed her fair share towards the increase of the population of the Commonwealth. In the year 1899, according to *Coghlan*, Victoria had 3,027 separate factories, whereas in New

South Wales there were 12,912; or a difference in favour of Victoria of over 100. There were employed in Victorian factories 44,041 males, and in New South Wales factories 47,063. In the Victorian factories there were 16,000 females employed, against 8,000 in New South Wales. *Coghlan* sums up the figures relating to this subject as follows:—

Compared with other colonies the proportion of factory hands who are women is larger in Victoria. There, out of 57,433 hands in 1889, 8,327, or 14.50 per cent. were females, while in 1899, of 66,070 hands, 16,029, or 26.7 per cent., were females.

In 1889, prior to the great financial crisis, when things were prosperous throughout the whole of Australia, Victoria had 3,000 factories, and New South Wales had the same number. Victoria had 49,000 males employed, or 7,000 more than New South Wales, and she had 8,000 females working in her factories compared with 4,000 in New South Wales. Her factory hands numbered 11,864 in excess of those employed in the New South Wales factories. In 1893, when the financial crisis occurred, and when the true stability of the factories of the two States was thoroughly tested, the results disclosed, according to *Coghlan*, are very much to the disadvantage of Victoria. At that time the number of factories in Victoria was reduced to 2,673, as against 2,052 in New South Wales, thus leaving an excess of 625 in favour of Victoria. The males then employed in Victorian factories numbered 32,000, as against 36,000 in New South Wales. There was thus an excess of 4,000 males in favour of New South Wales. Altogether, 39,473 hands were employed in Victorian factories, as against 38,918 in those of New South Wales. Thus it will be seen that the number employed in Victorian factories between 1885 and 1899 was reduced from a surplus of 11,000 over that of New South Wales to an excess of only 555. To put the matter in another way, the increase of male hands employed in New South Wales factories between the years mentioned was 10,673. The increase of males in Victorian factories during the same period was 2,499. New South Wales, therefore, under this condemned system of free-trade, which it is urged is inimical to industry, found an outlet for 10,600 of her surplus population, whilst Victoria, with all the artificial assistance which her industries had received

through the medium of protection, could provide an outlet for only 2,499. The decrease of males in New South Wales between 1889 and 1893—that is, during the time of the financial crisis—was 6,546, whilst the decrease in Victoria was 17,956. Of the native-born population of the latter State, 120,000 had matured to manhood during the period indicated. Victoria had established her factories, had levied upon her people largely through customs and excise, and had called upon those who were engaged in her primary industries to specially subsidize these factories in order to open up avenues of employment for her boys. New South Wales, on the contrary, had worked out her progress upon sounder and more natural lines, with the result that she found an outlet for 10,600 of her population as against Victoria's 2,499. My friends, the Victorian protectionists, will have a very hard task to destroy the significance of these figures. If they could be quoted against New South Wales as they can be against Victoria, what a different tale we should have heard from honorable members of this House. How our ardent protectionist friends would have brought them forward as evidence of the superiority of their fiscal doctrine as against that which obtains in the sister State of New South Wales. I think that these facts disclose a state of affairs which must be of very grave concern to those who believe in protection, and who hold that that fiscal policy is really intended to develop our resources by opening up remunerative avenues of employment. It has been contended that the increase in the factories of New South Wales has been chiefly in the primary avenues of production rather than in the complicated avenues of manufacture. I have a set of figures here compiled from the same source which show the increases that have taken place in New South Wales in industries which in Victoria are supposed to have been specially assisted by the Tariff. Comparing the year 1896 with that of 1900, I find that in biscuit manufactories there was an increase of hands from 485 to 830—a substantial advance. In confectionery manufactories the employes increased from 475 to 706; in jam and fruit factories, from 452 to 713; in boot and shoe factories, from 3,526 to 3,953; in hat and cap factories, from 73 to 280; in furniture and bedding manufactures, from 1,039 to 1,773; in coach and waggon

factories, from 1,230 to 1,574 ; in glassware factories, from 190 to 369 ; and in clothing factories, from 2,724 to 5,568. These are industries which have been specially fostered by the protectionist policy. Similar industries receive no special assistance in New South Wales, and yet in that State they have contributed very largely, as I have shown, to the increase in the avenues of employment. With reference to the wages paid and the conditions which obtain in these industries, the difference between the two States is not very marked when all things are taken into consideration. In Victoria there is special legislation providing for wages boards, of which there are something like 24 in operation. In New South Wales there is no special legislation for the regulation of wages. From a return compiled recently we learn that in the industries I have mentioned there are in Victoria 13,000 males over eighteen years of age employed at an average wage of £2 0s. 5d., while the total number of persons engaged is 17,286, at an average wage of £1 13s. 10d. In similar industries in New South Wales there are employed 10,755 males over eighteen years of age, at an average wage of £1 18s. 11d., while the total number employed is 13,297, at an average wage of £1 13s. 6d. This shows an advantage to Victoria of 1s. 6d. or 2s. in the case of adult males, and of 4d. in the case of those under the age of eighteen. In females the difference is more marked. In Victoria there are 6,614 females over eighteen years of age employed at an average wage of 18s. 4d., while the total number employed is 9,274, with an average wage of 15s. 3d. In New South Wales there are 2,486 females employed at an average wage of 14s. 11d., while the total number employed is 4,455 at an average wage of 11s. 5d. In this class of labour Victoria shows an advantage of 2s. 8d. for adults, and of 3s. 10d. for those under eighteen years of age. These differences have been created largely by the operations of the wages boards, which have no doubt had a good effect in this particular direction. But these boards were called for as absolutely necessary in order to deal with the question of wages and of the social condition of the working people in Victoria. That the boards have been successful to the extent I have shown every one must be pleased to know. I am glad that these boards have resulted in obtaining better

conditions in the factories, better payment for work, and in the suppression to a large degree of the sweating which previously obtained. We can see very readily how these reforms have been resisted by manufacturers who are supposed to be advantaged by protection, but who complain that if the boards are allowed to continue they will be compelled to close their establishments, because they cannot compete under the wage system which is insisted on. If the Victorian industries cannot compete with those of New South Wales under the circumstances, there must be something radically wrong, and whatever the cause of that may be, it is something which the system of customs taxation cannot remedy. At the present time I understand that there is a committee of inquiry investigating the complaints of the manufacturers, and is eliciting evidence primarily for the purpose of showing that the conditions which are insisted on by the wages boards are too stringent, and so much to the advantage of the workers as against the manufacturers as to render the latter unable to successfully compete with the manufacturers in the sister States, particularly in New South Wales. While it may be difficult to draw these deductions from the mere statement of figures, the latter indicate what is being contended ; and I should like to read a quotation showing the need there was for wages boards in Victoria. The quotation, which describes the conditions which obtained amongst the factory hands of Victoria under the protectionist system before these boards were established, is from an address by Senator Barrett in the Carlton Orderly Room, on 6th March, 1895, during the agitation for the reform legislation. Senator Barrett, a gentleman well known, who ought to be an authority on these matters because of his connexion with the labour movement, stated—

The conditions were such that the worst forms of sweating existed in the colony to-day, and were worse than in Great Britain. England was immeasurably superior to Victoria in that respect just now.

Senator Barrett, who is an ardent protectionist and a strong believer in the efficacy of assisting labour and promoting industries under that system, was compelled to confess that in Victoria, at that time, the conditions were worse than in free-trade England, where there is a greater pressure of population,

and where, according to him, there is a wrong fiscal policy. There is another matter, in dealing with which I do not wish to be understood as saying anything derogatory to the Victorian working men. I have seen the Victorian working man in New South Wales. He has assisted wonderfully to develop the productive resources of that State, despite the supposed disadvantages of free-trade under which he had to work. But our complaint against the Victorian working man has been that whenever it became a question of an industrial dispute, and of pitting against inert metal on the part of capital against hunger and need on the part of labour, we have been compelled to continue the struggle on very unequal terms, because the Victorian working man was prepared to accept conditions to which our workmen refused to submit. I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. We have in New South Wales men who will blackleg on their fellow men, but these are the parasites of labour. The squatter or mine-owner who recruits his surplus labour from amongst that class of men finds one experience of them sufficient. It is a much more costly form of labour, and much more unsatisfactory than the labour against which he is fighting. The Victorian working man, however, is no parasite. He is a real worker, but he has been shoved out of employment in his own State, and his need has compelled him to become a blackleg in New South Wales. When he has obtained a position in our State that gave him greater independence than he had previously, he has become amongst our staunchest unionists. If the Lucknow mine-owners were compelled to get sufficient men to replace those who went on strike, and obtained them from the parasite class I have described, they would find that they would be better without them. But, instead of that, they came over here and engaged Bendigo miners, practical men, to replace New South Wales miners. The same has been the case when we have had strikes of printers, bootmakers, shearers, and other workmen. This matter appeals practically to our New South Wales working men. It is better than a bushel of statistics to them. They ask, "If the working man in Victoria is so well off under a high Tariff, how is it that he is willing to come to our State to work for lower wages than satisfy us?" We have also had a similar experience in

regard to working men from New Zealand. In 1890, men from New Zealand were brought to New South Wales to take the place of our own men in the shearing sheds in connexion with a dispute which took place. But from 1895, or thereabouts, since New Zealand has married her protective Tariff to an enlightened progressive policy, and has developed her natural resources, we have been relieved of that trouble so far as she has been concerned. In our recent strikes and labour troubles we have not been called upon to pit our working men against working men from New Zealand.

MR. MAUGER.—New Zealand is protectionist.

MR. BROWN.—But New Zealand is something more than protectionist. What I am saying is that the Victorian working man has been educated to suppose that protection is a panacea for all his evils, with the result that the reforms that would have tended to his betterment have been neglected. Those reforms have been taken up in New Zealand by the progressive democratic spirit there, which is responsible for the improvement in the condition of the workmen. There is another matter I should like to deal with, and that is the agricultural developments that have taken place. In the year 1881 we in New South Wales had 281,888 acres of land under crop. In Victoria there were 926,729 acres under crop. In 1891, ten years later, New South Wales had an area of 365,366 acres under crop. In Victoria the area was 1,332,683 acres. In 1899 the area in New South Wales had increased to 1,426,166 acres, and in Victoria to 2,165,693 acres. In 1891 the wheat returns of New South Wales showed a yield of 3,966,668 bushels, and in Victoria 13,629,370 bushels. In 1899 the yield in New South Wales was 13,604,166 bushels, and in Victoria it was 15,237,948 bushels. Mr. Coghlan in a paragraph dealing with this table of statistics says that—

The greatest increase in production is shown by New South Wales, which in 1899 produced nearly 10,000,000 bushels more than in 1891, and from the following statement, which gives the proportion of the total crop produced by each colony between 1891 and 1899, the progress made by New South Wales will be evident, for whereas in 1881 and 1891 it only produced 11 per cent. Victoria and New Zealand show the largest declines, the proportions falling from 38 per cent. and 28·6 per cent. in 1891 to 31·4 per cent. and 17·7 per cent. respectively in 1899.

We are led to believe that the duty on wheat is of great benefit to the farmers by shutting out the external competition against which they are supposed to have to contend, but Mr. Coghlan points out that instead of the duty being a benefit to the farmer, it is simply a make-believe, one of those things which look well on paper, but which in practice confers no benefit at all. At page 515 of his *Seven Colonies*, there will be found this important paragraph relating to this matter—

The records of the six States forming the Commonwealth show that since 1879 there were only four years during which they were forced to import wheat from places outside their boundaries. Those years were 1886, 1889, 1896, and 1897. In the first year the wheat crop was a partial failure in Victoria and South Australia, and almost a complete failure in New South Wales and Queensland. In 1889 there was a general failure in New South Wales and Victoria. In 1896 the crop failed in Victoria, and in the following year that colony, for the first time in 22 years, was compelled to import wheat. The net import, however, being only 61,160 bushels.

Mr. Coghlan there clearly demonstrates that the wheat production of the Commonwealth is such that, except in times of drought, we can not only provide for our own needs, but must find an outlet for surplus production. So that the farmer of Victoria, who is bearing the burdens of this Tariff, which have been described by members of the Victorian State Legislature in the way I have already referred to, has to find a market for his produce, the price for which is regulated by what can be obtained in Mark-lane, which regulates the wheat markets of the world. The latest statistics I can find show a decrease in the area under wheat in New South Wales and Victoria, due to drought and other causes; but while the decrease in area in Victoria amounts to 200,000 acres, in New South Wales it amounts to only between 60,000 and 80,000 acres.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is accounted for by the fact that the value of the return per acre has decreased from £2 in 1891 to £1 5s. in 1899.

Mr. BROWN.—It must be remembered that the New South Wales farmer has had to compete with an open market and with the Victorian farmer, though he was not on the same footing with him to the extent to which the Victorian farmer was protected. Still, despite that disadvantage, with the other advantages he possesses he has been able to make headway, and the returns I

have quoted indicate the relative positions in which the farmers of the two States stand to-day. Two or three speakers have discussed the price paid for reapers and binders, and it has been stated that, because of protection, the farmer in Victoria can obtain a reaper and binder much cheaper than can the farmer in New South Wales, who, it is said, is under the iron heel of an importers' ring, from which the Victorian farmer is able to escape. I know a little about this particular matter, as I can claim to be one of those who have taken a leading part in the farmers' movement in New South Wales. I can claim to be one of those who assisted in the formation of the valuable representative organization known as the Farmers and Settlers' Association of New South Wales. Among the delegates to our conference about four years ago was one who had visited America, and who, being of an inquiring turn of mind, had made exhaustive inquiries into the conditions under which farming was carried on there. He discovered that these machines for which we were paying from £55 to £65 each could be purchased in America at prices ranging between £18 and £26. We were told that the importers were responsible for the difference, and we believed that statement. Eventually we decided to do our own work. We formed a Settlers' Co-operative Association, and such a body, worked on sound financial lines, can do more for the farmers than any protective policy could do. We resolved to import the reapers and binders for ourselves, and communicated with a firm doing a large trade in Australia with a popular make of machine. We discovered that it could not be obtained at the reduced price because of the existence of a combination, but we were advised that another machine, built for the South American fields, and differing only slightly from that to which we were accustomed, was not within this combination, and could be landed here at a price more in accord with the cost of production in America. When we entered into negotiations for its purchase, however, we were informed by the representative of the manufacturer's agent in Australia that the undertaking which he had made with us was not approved by the American and Canadian manufacturers. They had formed a ring to control the Australian trade, and had an understanding among themselves that they would not sell

under a certain price. Our efforts were thus defeated for the time being. As the result of further negotiations, we got in touch with a manufacturing firm in America which was outside that ring, and obtained from it a number of machines. We were able to sell them at a profit of £35 each, as against the £55 and £65 which we had been paying previously. The Minister for Trade and Customs had something to say about wheat-growing in South Australia, and he may be interested to learn that we came to the assistance of farmers there by selling them a number of our machines. As soon as we introduced them, the syndicate in New South Wales considerably reduced its prices. A much larger reduction was made in Victoria, but that was due to the fact that the agents here got at loggerheads. As soon as the parties come to terms, however, we may be sure that the prices will rise. This fact serves to show that the high prices, instead of being the work of the importers, have been due primarily to the manufacturers' combination. They refused to deal with us when we were prepared to do business with them direct. This incident shows also that the farmers and settlers, under a sound system of co-operation, can do more for themselves than under any protectionist system that could be devised. I have occupied considerably more time than I had intended at the outset. I want to say, in conclusion, that I am a poor man. I had the misfortune to be bred and born in the back parts of New South Wales.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is no misfortune in being born in any part of Australia.

Mr. BROWN.—I agree with the right honorable gentleman who interrupted me before I had completed my sentence. I was bred and born in the back parts of New South Wales when pioneer conditions prevailed. I had to bear the burdens of the pioneer, and shared none of the advantages of those who live in the city. I have had to work hard to cut out a home in the forest of Australia, and I had to commence work at a time when most young people are pursuing their educational studies. Despite that fact, the electors out there, believing in my sincerity of purpose, and in my desire to advance the democracy of this country, have placed me in the high and honorable position that I hold as a Member of the Parliament of the Commonwealth. Whilst I occupy a seat

in this House I do not want to do anything that would be to the detriment of the democracy that I represent, or to the working people from whom I come. It is because I view the matter earnestly and seriously in that light that I intend to vote against the Government proposals. I do not claim a monopoly of experience or of brains, nor do I wish to insinuate anything against my fellow countrymen. I give honorable members on the Government side of the House the credit that I take for the Opposition; but, viewing the issue from the stand-point which I have endeavoured to put forward, I should regret the fact all my life if, at the outset of this new nation, in the moulding of which I hope to have a part, I gave my vote for a piece of legislation such as a Tariff, placing the burdens of taxation upon the working people of Australia.

Mr. TUDOR (Yarra).—After such a lengthy debate on a question which has been already worn threadbare, an honorable member who rises at this juncture to address the House is placed somewhat at a disadvantage. It is only because I have had a little experience in countries other than that which is my native land, and particularly in connexion with an industry which has come under the lash, that I desire to say a few words before the vote is taken. I am at one with the honorable member for Canobolas in wanting to do my utmost to improve the position of the workers, not only here but in other lands, and it is because I believe we can do that better under the fiscal system supposed to be set forth in this Tariff that I support it, not that I believe it goes far enough in the direction of protection. It is well known to many honorable members that I am a Victorian who had the good fortune, which does not fall to the lot of every one, to work at my trade for a number of years in England, and for about a year in the United States. The conditions I found as a workman were not those which have been quoted by many honorable members on the other side from a book, circulated from one to the other, in which Mr. John Burns, whom I respect, and Mr. Keir Hardie put forward their impressions of the United States. I admit that my impressions of that country are not the result of a visit of a week. I did not go away after a week's visit and write a book telling people all about a country of which I had only a very superficial

knowledge. I have worked there, and what I am about to state is my practical experience gained in different parts of England, and in different parts of the United States. I was told by one gentleman that even if I proved that my wages were higher in the United States or Victoria than in England it would mean nothing, that these were representative men, and, therefore, better qualified than I am to speak upon the question. My name as a man who has taken an interest in labour politics is not so well known all over the world as is that of Mr. John Burns or Mr. Keir Hardie. But I have held, if I may say so without egotism, the highest position which a trade unionist can occupy here. I have also held high official positions in my own trade union in England and the United States, so that I can speak with some degree of authority as a representative of the workers in those countries.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—In what part of America?

Mr. TUDOR.—I worked in the States of Connecticut and New Jersey. In Victoria my wages had been 1s. 3d. per hour; but in England they were 7d. per hour, and that is the rate ruling there to-day. Honorable members may say that that condition might be owing to the trade unions not being so well organized in one place as in the other. But we pride ourselves that our trade union is pretty well organized, and in several districts in England, the United States and Victoria, we can say what perhaps no other society can say, that every man who is eligible is a member of the union. I do not think that even the strongest trade union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, can say that in regard to any district in Australia, England, or the United States. Honorable members on both sides have compared the conditions in Australia with those in England or those in the United States. For a number of years I lived in a manufacturing town in the north of England. I find that the standard of life in a manufacturing village is not so high to-day as it is either in Victoria or in the United States. I am comparing the workers in the same trade, and not a worker in one trade in one place with a worker in another trade in another place. I am comparing men with whom I lived and worked, not for a few days, but for nearly a year in

one case, and for a number of years in another. A little work I hold in my hand describes the conditions in a manufacturing town in England to-day. I visited most of the manufacturing towns in the North of England—cotton towns, woollen tradetowns, and others, and the conditions are set forth more clearly in this book than I could describe them. I am about to quote from "The Effects of the Factory System," written by the editor of a newspaper in a manufacturing town in the North of England. I refer to Mr. Allen Clarke. He is speaking of the cotton trade, which, perhaps, is one of the most representative of all the free-trade trades in England, and it was practically as much for the cotton trade as for any other that England adopted free-trade. He draws a picture of Bolton, although he could draw a similar picture of nearly every manufacturing town in the north. We have been told by honorable members on the other side of the House that if we had protection we should get shoddy. Taking the number of factories in England and tabulating them, I find that there are no less than 125 doing nothing but manufacturing shoddy to-day. Out of 1,184,431 persons employed in factories of all kinds in England, no fewer than 528,795 are employed in cotton mills, so that nearly one-half are employed in cotton mills of which he draws this picture—

Everywhere you will find steam hissing and smoke scowling; factories, forges, furnaces, chimneys, coal pit-heads, streams fouled by chemical works—these are the bulk of the scenery in the Shire of Smoke. That is the general aspect of the county. Now, let us take a typical cotton manufacturing town. We will take Bolton, because I know it best (and as I said before, I only intend to write about what I know). Let us stand in Bolton Park, which is like an isle of dingy green in a black sea, the charm of the place being utterly obscured by the fact that, from whatever part of it you raise your eyes you meet a prospect of smoking towers. Looking south we can count nearly 200 tall chimneys rising ugly over a mass of brick buildings that look as if they had stood for years in a climate where it rained ink every day.

There are 152 cotton-spinning firms in Bolton at the present time employing 12,000 cotton operatives. We have been told by honorable members opposite that in protectionist countries the tendency is to displace males with females, and adults with children. We find that out of the 12,000 operatives who are employed in the cotton mills of Bolton

to-day there are no fewer than 2,400 half-timers. I feel confident that if honorable members had seen the children going to the mills in the way that I have seen them, and had realized that the employment of child labour had been one of the factors in bringing about England's greatness, they would not be so fond of preaching about the good that free-trade has done for her.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Is there nothing of that sort in America?

Mr. TUDOR.—No, I did not come across anything of that kind in America. Although we have had continental countries held up to us as terrible examples so far as the workers were concerned, I may mention that the age at which children are allowed to go to work in England is lower than in any of the continental countries. When conferences of workers from different countries have been held, complaints have been made that England is one of the most backward of nations with regard to the employment of child labour. It has been said by some honorable members that if wages are high in any particular trade, the purchasing power of the money received by the workers is relatively not so great. It has been argued that a man receiving 32s. or 33s. a week in England would be as well off as if he were getting £3 a week here. My experience does not bear out any such idea. I find that I can make 20s. go just as far in Melbourne as I could in Manchester. I admit that in some instances articles would be cheaper in Manchester than in Melbourne, but food products and articles of daily consumption would, on the whole, be much cheaper in Melbourne than in England. Clothes and boots might be a little cheaper in England, but not so very much. Referring to the half-timers in England, I can draw upon the experience gained in the county in which I was working for the greater part of my time in England. According to the Statistical Abstract for 1894, there are 48,133 boys and girls working half time in the cotton industry. We are told that it is only in protectionist countries that females are replacing males in the factories, but out of 48,133 half-timers there are 25,432 girls as compared with something less than 23,000 boys. In the woollen trade there are 19,000 half-timers employed. and in the worsted trade 37,000, making a total of 101,000 half-timers engaged in the cotton, woollen, and worsted trades alone.

The writer from whom I have quoted these figures says—

Figures can give no idea of the hideous truths that we can see in the pale faces and thin weary heads. These cannot be put into statistics.

This gentleman, prior to becoming an editor on a newspaper, was a teacher in a school. He says—

For eight years I taught in public elementary day schools in a cotton town, and in all the schools in which I was a teacher there was a great proportion of half-timers, and I speak from experience when I say that I often pity the half-timers and excuse their lessons.

I have seen these children going to the factories in the early morning when I have been going to work at half-past five. They start before breakfast, and work for about two hours in the morning, and then, after getting some breakfast, they work four hours, and having had a small meal at the mill, rush off for their books and go to school for the afternoon. The writer continues—

I have seen them fall asleep over their lesson books or tasks, after they have been in the factory all the morning (six hours). They were generally dull and sleepy, and it was often downright cruelty to force them along the curriculum fixed by the education code; but the schoolmaster, no matter how tender his heart, was forced to prick them to the pace, or risk censure, and perhaps loss of place, for not keeping the school up to the standard and getting the expected amount of Government grants at the annual examination. In spite of the alleged sharpness of half-timers, no schoolmaster likes them. The testimony of all the teachers in Lancashire is with me on this point, that half-timers, as a rule, hamper and hinder the progress of the rest of the class.

Archdeacon Wilson, of Rochdale, in an article on "Half-timers," writes:—"There is the physical health point of view. Now, from this point it is perfectly clear that the children, especially from the neglected homes, suffer. I caused all the boys in my boys' school to be weighed and measured in the autumn of 1891, before the half-time age was raised from ten to eleven."

I was there during that year, and I know the outcry that was raised by the parents against what they considered to be the uncalled for legislative interference by Parliament with their sending their children to work when they liked. It is further stated—

The results were disputed, and the Rochdale School Board of that date willingly took the matter up, and made similar measures in their schools. Their figures confirm mine, and showed that while children who are not half-timers grow uniformly in height and weight from the age of eight to that of twelve, our Rochdale children, many of whom were half-timers, received a sudden check in the rate of growth at ten, and the lower

rate was continued till the age of twelve. Our children are below the average size, even at eight, nine, and ten, from many causes, chiefly improper food and early neglect; but the disparity was even greater at eleven and twelve. These measures were repeated at the end of 1894 in my school (the newly-elected school board refused), and, since the half-time age had been raised in the meantime to eleven, the measures were of much interest. It became quite plain that the check in the growth at ten had disappeared, and that a much slighter check was apparent at eleven. In other words, these measures, so far as they went, proved that the work of these children in the mills from ten to eleven stunted their growth.

We have been told by the leader of the Opposition that in England the trades unions are so strong that practically they have only to ask in order to receive what they want from their employers. As one who has had a little experience in that matter, I am sorry to say that the honorable member is not exactly correct in his statements. I went through a very long strike in England in 1892, when the society of which I had the honour of being assistant secretary—one of the strongest societies in England—went down before the employers in one of the midland districts. We only asked for one penny farthing per dozen; but we lost. If the right honorable gentleman will take the trouble to read *The White Slaves of England*, he will see that many societies have been crushed by the employers when they only asked what I consider were fair terms and improved conditions to which they were entitled. The leader of the Opposition has declared that the trades unions of England are practically in a position to secure compliance with their demands. That has not been my experience of trades unions in the old country. In reference to the effects of the factory system of England upon children who have to work half-time, I wish to read a quotation from Dr. Torrop, of Heywood, one of the largest manufacturing centres in Lancashire. Speaking of that system, the writer says—

The promising child of ten degenerates into the lean and sallow young person of thirteen; and this process is continued until a whole population becomes stunted; and thus the conditions of life in factory towns become a real source of danger to England's future. After 25 years' observation of factory life, I have no doubt that the height, weight, and physique of Lancashire factory hands is below the average of England. The deficiency is greater in full-timers than in half-timers, and is not made up in adult life, but goes on in accelerated ratio.

Further on he states—

It must be borne in mind that the medium average of Lancashire factory children is not equal to the average elsewhere. The latter standard is hardly reached by the 341 children described as superior (out of 2,000 examined), while the medium division (1,106 of the 2,000) is greatly below the standard of good health. This is much more distinctly marked amongst children of thirteen—"full-timers" who have passed some years in the factory—than it is in those of ten years of age. Of 60 healthy children, averaging thirteen and a half years, and taken as they came (31 girls and 29 boys), the average weight was 74 lbs., or 14 lbs. below the average of good health elsewhere.

It will be seen, therefore, that the children who worked half-time in the mills were 12 per cent. smaller than were the average-children all over England. This result is not creditable to a country which boasts of the position it has attained under free-trade.

Mr. POYNTON.—Is not that an argument against factory work altogether?

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member knows we have been told that the children in protected countries go to work at an earlier age than they do in free-trade countries. Figures have been set before us with a view of proving that factory children go to work earlier in protectionist Victoria than they do in free-trade New South Wales. I am attempting to prove that in England they go to work at a more tender age than they do in any protected country throughout the whole of Europe. The right honorable and learned member for East Sydney says that the trades unions of England are strong enough to get exactly what they want. I will show what one of the strongest unions in that country—the Bolton operative spinners—said in their annual report, which was issued in April, 1891, of the disadvantageous conditions under which the adult spinner has to labour. That report states—

He has to work in a temperature ranging from 80 to 110 degrees Fahrenheit, and in a vitiated atmosphere, which is not completely changed even once a week. These conditions render him peculiarly liable to contracting chest complaints and rheumatic affections.

Mr. Allen Clarke, speaking of the statements contained in the document from which I have just quoted, says—

That is true, as medical evidence testifies. Now, read what the very same body of men, the Bolton operative spinners, said at a meeting held to consider the half-time question only a month after they had issued the report containing the preceding statement. Mark! "Having carefully

the proposal to raise the age of half-timen to twelve, we are strongly of the opinion that such a step is entirely uncalled for, rests of the child itself, as, speaking of the knowledge of the question, we do not think that a child does not suffer, either physically or intellectually, as a result of becoming a half-timer, and we would, therefore, respectfully urge upon the Government not to accede to the proposal for raising the age."

It should be remembered that this is the case of the day of spinners who a year later de-
clat—

hours a day was sufficient for adults under such trying conditions.

Mr. Allen Clarke continues—

reluctant to write it, but it is a sad fact that the majority of parents in Lancashire regard the employment of children only as commercial speculations, to be entered into for the sake of money, and not into wage-earning machines as soon as the age and the law will permit. For this they are raising the age of half-timers; for they do not want all legislative interference, either physical or hygienic, in the matter of their children. Instead of fighting for wages to keep their children they are cowardly enough to let their children be forced to keep them.

is the position of one of the strongest trade unions in England to-day.

HONORABLE MEMBER.—Who is the speaker?

MR. TUDOR.—Allen Clarke, editor of the *Northern Weekly*—a man who worked in the mills himself, and who was school-teacher in the Bolton district for eight years. In Lancashire there are 172,000 children employed under this system—the most inhuman system in existence in any part of the world. As we all know, Manchester is practically the home of the free-trade school. It is, in reality though not nominally, the heart of Lancashire. Out of that 172,000 employed in the factories of England, 93,969 are the "half-timers" belong to Lancashire. I have been told that many children there are born minus a finger or a limb. During my stay in that county I saw more cripples and deformed children amongst children than I have seen elsewhere in all my life.

MR. O'MALLEY.—Was the honorable member ever in America?

MR. TUDOR.—I worked there for about twelve months. I am not like some people who go to a place for a very brief period, and get themselves interviewed by some newspaper journalist, with the result that an extract from their observations is quoted time after time by various speakers in this Parliament. I resided and worked in Lancashire, and I claim to know more about the conditions of its people than a person

who sojourns there for a few days only can possibly know. We are told that in free-trade England the trades unions can win their strikes. Did the strongest organization in that country win in 1897? I refer to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. No; they went down. I was in Lancashire at the time of the coal miners lock-out in 1893, when the employers demanded a 25 per cent. reduction in the wages, and I know that upon that occasion workmen had to submit to a reduction of 12½ per cent. after they had been locked out for four months. The cotton operatives were locked out in 1892 in connexion with a proposed 12 per cent. reduction of wages, when the operative spinners held meetings to protest against the machinery of manufacturers being sent to India to be used against them. Yet honorable members tell us that protection is not heard of in England. I did not go as a visitor for a couple of days, and then write a book about the place; but I worked there, and I found throughout the working classes of England, especially amongst the manufacturing classes, an anxiety to obtain protection for their industries. Hundreds employed in my own trade have said to me, "We believe in free-trade for the stuff we cannot produce here, but we do not like to see German and Italian hats being imported." When I worked in London and in the Lancashire district, I found hundreds of people expressing the same sentiment. Instead of being dead, as many honorable members would have us believe, the feeling in favour of protection is very much alive, and I think there is likely to be an awakening in England in that direction. We know that strong trades unions in many trades have had to be disbanded. What was the case with the Alkali Workers' Union in Lancashire after that trade had been absorbed by a trust? There was a large trust in the alkali industry in Lancashire before there were many trusts in America, and I learn from the secretary of the union that the wages were reduced after the trust was formed, although the price of the commodity was raised. The employés are now receiving about 4s. a day; and this is the information given by Mr. Healey, the secretary to the union, when speaking to the gentleman who wrote the book from which I have quoted—

Mr. Healey declared to me that, taking an average, the wages paid to the alkali workers to-day are 50 per cent lower than they were five

or six years ago, before the various masters syndicated their interests. On the other hand, the manufactures have, in the same period, notably advanced in price. On 28th December, 1889, bi-carbonate of soda was quoted at £5 5s. per ton. During my visit to Widnes it was quoted at £7 per ton. Salt-cake has advanced from 1s. to 2s., caustic soda from 2s. 6d. to 5s., while bleaching-powder, packed in hardwood barrels, which was quoted in 1889 at £5 10s. per ton, has advanced to £7 5s.

And yet the wages have not been advanced. There are trusts in England just as in America. These are not the results of any fiscal system, but are amongst the growths of our civilization, and it is because the people in America are more advanced that they are taking advantage of the method of syndicating interests. As we all know, the English manufacturer is very conservative, and loth to give up the idea that he can do better by himself than when amalgamated with others. We have been told that women are not allowed to work in the coal mines of England to-day, and I do not think they are; but I know that they work on the pit bank, where I have seen them in Lancashire, pushing the trucks. I do not know that the practice is confined to that county.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes; it is, absolutely.

Mr. TUDOR.—I know that in the county of Staffordshire, from which the honorable member for Parramatta comes, women work in the brickyards, and carry 100 lbs. of bricks at a time to and from the heap. That is what may be seen in England to-day, and that is what some honorable members wish to see in Australia. They desire to reduce our school age, and have our children working half-time as in England after 50 years of free-trade, and they would like to see women working on pit banks and in brickyards. I for one am prepared in the interests of the worker to fight for improved conditions. If we manufacture the goods here I am convinced that either this Parliament or the State Parliaments will be able to enforce such terms as will materially improve the condition of the workers, whereas, if our goods are manufactured 12,000 or 15,000 miles away, we can have no knowledge of or control over the circumstances under which the work is done.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Did the honorable member ever come across the Pinkerton police?

Mr. TUDOR.—No; but I was in England at the time of the coal lock-out in 1892,

when two miners were shot down at Fetherstone. Perhaps the honorable member has forgotten the occasion when the military were drafted into the district as the police were on duty elsewhere—Lord Masham's were the mines concerned—in order to protect the present King of England, who was visiting Doncaster races. There was fear of a riot, and two miners, who were walking along the road, nearly three-quarters of a mile away, were shot down. America is not the only place where workers are shot down when striving for their rights. We have been told by the honorable member for Parramatta that the trades unions are better organized in New South Wales than in Victoria; but, so far as I know, that is not the case.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I did not say that.

Mr. TUDOR.—Then I beg the honorable member's pardon. But he did say, I believe, that in Melbourne it was not possible to have such a successful Eight Hours Day procession as they had in Sydney on the last occasion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I did not say that either.

Mr. TUDOR.—Then it must have been said by some other honorable member. However that may be, I say that in Melbourne on Eight Hours Day we had a better procession than they had in Sydney. I had the honour, when working at my trade last year, to be a member of the Eight Hours Day Committee, on which there were represented 78 societies, as against the 38 societies represented on the Sydney committee. It will be seen, therefore, that in Victoria we have nearly double the number of societies that they have in New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the honorable member will read my speech he will see that I said the trades unions in Victoria were as good as those anywhere else.

Mr. TUDOR.—I thank the honorable member. Throughout Australia we have a very strong organization in the Engineers' Society, which is practically as powerful in one part of the continent as in another. I have here the last report of that society, issued in August last, and I find that the pattern-makers, who comprise about 25 per cent. of the members, are paid 1s. per day more in Melbourne than they are paid in Sydney, and that in all the other branches of the trade the wages are equal in the two States, while in Melbourne an allowance is

or overtime, which is not the case in 7. We have been told that whenever a lock-out occurs in any of the other blacklegs from Victoria take the of those on strike. I should be sorry were the case, and I trust it is not if it were, we are no worse in that than they are in any of the other. There has been a strike in an engineering firm in Melbourne, and the men came to take the place of the unionists blacklegs from Sydney, who are workers to-day. It will be seen that Victoria is not the only place which furnishes legs when a strike occurs; and what I stated is on the authority of the secretary of the Engineers' Society. If things are much worse in Victoria than they are in New South Wales, how is it that the ironworkers of Mort's Dock struck to get the terms as the Victorian ironworkers? Is it that the tailoresses struck to get same wages as tailoresses were receiving in Melbourne? We have heard a great deal about the boot trade. It has been said that this trade is in a worse condition in Victoria than in New South Wales—or at any rate in no better condition—although there are no wages boards in Sydney. Unfortunately, I have left at least two letters which I had intended to bear upon this question. One is from a manufacturer who employs the greatest number of hands in Australia in the manufacture of boots. He manufactures in Melbourne as well as in Sydney, in this letter he gives me the information which I shall quote later on, when the question of the Tariff are under consideration of the committee. The wages he mentions as being in Sydney are absolutely the same as the rates furnished by the secretary of the Sydney Boot Operatives Union. One of the representatives of the trade on the Trades Hall Council of Sydney told me that he cannot find 300 bootmakers in that city who have earned 25s. per week for the last three months. That is the position as stated by a man who is in a position to know, and is borne out by the manufacturer's letter. The wages received in Melbourne are set forth in the report of the Victorian Factories Inspector.

Mr. POYNTON.—Mr. McMurtrie has undertaken to show his books to prove the position.

Mr. TUDOR.—I hope it can be shown that Mr. McMurtrie that the men are receiving

good wages in Sydney. I desire that the workers should receive good wages throughout every State in the Commonwealth, and it is because I wish them to have good wages that I am advocating the fiscal system I do now. Although I was born and brought up in Victoria, my views on fiscalism were not shaken by my four years' residence in England, but were rather increased in strength. I came back more firmly of the opinion than ever that protection, if rightly applied in the interests of the worker as well as of the employer, is for the advantage of both. I am no believer in a one-sided system. I believe in the worker getting his share under protection, and I would secure that by means of Factories Acts, such as we have in Victoria. But it is to be remarked that the very newspaper which is leading the free-trade cause in this city has been persistently opposing the Factories Act, and recently was asking for its suspension. I find from the report of the Factory Inspector, that in the period dealt with by that document there were 1,564 bootmakers who were entitled to receive the minimum wage of £2 2s. per week but who received 44s. 9d. per week, or an average of 2s. 9d. per week more than the minimum. It has been stated that the minimum in Victoria as fixed by law becomes the maximum, but if honorable members will examine these figures they will see that what I have stated is correct. I know, of course, that the minimum wage of £2 2s. is not given to boys of 13, 14, or up to 19 years of age, nor is the wage set down for workmen received by similar persons in New South Wales. I have no doubt that Mr. McMurtrie, when he shows his books, will eliminate those cases. The highest wages paid for the same workers in New South Wales are 42s. 6d., and they go down to 42s. Those figures are based upon information supplied by employers. Let it be remembered, also, that the Victorian minimum is not only paid in Melbourne, but likewise in Ballarat and Bendigo. I am aware that in Sydney bakers have received, after consultation with their employers, a wage of £2 10s. per week. I am very glad of that, but the bakers in Victoria obtained the same wage twelve months ago. When I visited Sydney, on the occasion of the Eight Hours Demonstration some three weeks ago, there was an advertisement in the programme asking trades unionists to deal only with master bakers who employed workmen

who were paid this wage, showing that some employers in Sydney do not pay this minimum of £2 10s. per week. Some figures have been quoted in the course of the debate from an honorable member of the Senate, showing that in the case of hats and boots the duties in this Tariff range from between 30 to something like 400 per cent. I claim to know a little about the hat trade, and I can state this—that the duty in Victoria on the lower and medium class of goods has never been operative. Hats have been sold in Melbourne for 1s. 11d. each, and they were far better hats than could be obtained in Sydney for the same money. While I was in that city, I took the trouble to go into eight shops, making purchases for myself in the way of handkerchiefs, neckties, and so on, but really for the purpose of examining the quality and price of the goods sold there. I was able to satisfy myself from that inquiry that one can buy better value for the money in Victoria than in Sydney. I have fought for years as a trades unionist, and I have no doubt that if any fellow employé of mine were in this House he would tell honorable members that on numerous occasions I have been on deputations claiming the improvement of the condition of my fellow workmen. One of the principal advantages of protection to my mind is that it enables us to see that the workers who make the goods get their fair share of the advantage from the duty that is imposed. Although honorable members opposite have complained of the high duties under the Tariff, I have not heard any one of them say anything about the duty placed upon rice for the manufacture of starch. A good deal has been said about starch in general, but nothing on rice imported for its manufacture, although that duty amounts to 105 per cent.

Mr. POYNTON.—I said something about it.

Mr. TUDOR. — Honorable members opposite have had their eyes glued to the question of starch, to such an extent that they have not been able to pay attention to the duty on rice. If the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, claims to be an exception, I hope he will vote for a decrease in this direction. As to the trade in which I worked for a number of years, I wish to explain that I have not the slightest interest in it at the present time, except in so far as I wish to improve those with whom I have worked.

The manufacture of hats cannot be called an exotic industry. We produce here the raw material for the manufacture of hats. We grow the wool which is the staple product of the cheaper class of hats, and also the rabbit skins which are the principal product for the finer class of felt hats. On no ground, therefore, can the pursuit of this trade be said to be like "breeding polar bears at the equator." It may, however, be said that the rate of duty is too high. There has been a duty of 25 per cent. in Queensland for a number of years, though they have not yet manufactured a hat there. They have a 30 per cent. duty on hats in Canada, and there are not twenty men engaged in their manufacture throughout the whole of the Dominion. I happen to know, because I was anxious to go to Canada as well as the United States in order to get work there. The duties proposed here are entirely moderate compared with the duties in the United States. We were told by some honorable members, and notably by the right honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Edward Braddon, that hats cost more in the United States than in any other part of the world, and that the manufacturer practically puts the difference in the price into his pocket. I know that that is incorrect. The honorable member was probably quoting from Rudyard Kipling, who may aim at the truth, but who, like some members of this House, is a remarkably bad shot. Nearly all the hats used in America are manufactured there, and the workers obtain more than twice the wages paid in England. I may say that when I was in the United States I obtained three times the amount of wages that I was paid in England.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—And they are 25 per cent. higher now.

Mr. TUDOR.—The latest information I have from the secretary of our union in the United States does not bear out that statement. When I was in England the wages were not half as high as the wages paid in the United States, and less than half the wages paid in Victoria.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—How does the purchasing power compare?

Mr. TUDOR.—I have already explained that I could purchase as much for 20s. here as in Manchester or London, and I could purchase as much for five dollars in America as for £1 in England. I have admitted that as regards clothes and boots, they

might be a little cheaper in England than in Victoria or in America, but every article of food, and all vegetable products are cheaper in America and in Victoria than they are in England.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Mr. TUDOR.—I believe I have been in England since the honorable member was there. I went there for the purpose of studying the question on the spot, and remained there sufficiently long, I think, to bring away an intelligent idea of what I observed in that country. I worked in England for 56 hours a week, and for half the wages for which I worked 48 hours here.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is making a one-sided statement all the same.

Mr. TUDOR.—I am stating the conditions just as I found them in England. I know there are men in this State who worked with me, and if they saw a statement from me in *Hansard* which they could refute, they would be only too pleased to correct it. I regret that I have to speak in this way of England, for I love the country, and, during my stay there, I made many friends. I would rather speak well of England than of America, if the truth lay that way, but I have been anxious to speak of the conditions exactly as I found them. Some honorable members have said during the debate that they think the Tariff duties might be gradually reduced from time to time as industries become established. I do not believe they can. I believe that whilst the conditions of labour are different here from what they are in England, whilst hours of labour are less and the wages are higher, we cannot possibly continue the industry unless we have a reasonable measure of protection. Do honorable members think that Australians cannot produce as much in a week of 48 hours as the workers can in England or any other place? To say so would be to libel the Australians. I believe that man, for man, we can produce as much as any other people in the world. But we need the duty in order to make the conditions which the manufacturers here have to observe equal to the conditions observed in other States. We work only eight hours per day here, and they work longer hours elsewhere, and the wages are lower in England and in other countries. I know that in Italy, where we are likely to have great competition in some lines, the wages

are lower than they are in England. We were told by the right honorable leader of the Opposition that he was sorry to see the amount of duty placed upon tobacco, as it went entirely into the pockets of an American firm, and half was taken away to New York every year. I was surprised at the statement, because, believing in free-trade as he does, the right honorable gentleman should have been pleased if the whole went away. How can he complain about half going away? Personally, I am in favour of the nationalization of the tobacco industry, so that the whole community might reap the benefit now being secured by a few individuals. I do not intend to delay the House longer. I think it is right that in the interests of the workers of Australia we should have a fiscal system under which they will be able to reap some advantage as compared with the other nations of the world.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—On this want of confidence motion we have had a lot of discussion about the rights and wrongs of free-trade and protection. I want to set myself right before I go any further. I am a labour man, and whether it is free-trade or protection that is going to give labour something I shall vote for it. That is my fiscal faith. Although a free-trader, if I could see that the worker would be benefited by any protective measure I should vote for it. We have heard a lot of talk about "my country," but I may say that if the Victorians and New South Welshmen love their country, I love mine as much as they do theirs. I do not forget the country that gave me birth and infant nurture. I have heard my countrymen and women being run down and spoken of as being treated in the same way as white slaves; but there are proportionally just as many white slaves in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and the other States as ever there were in Great Britain. What was the condition of affairs in this State of Victoria only two years ago? We know that the Attorney-General and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports have taken an active part in the suppression of sweating. All honour to them, and I hope that the day is not far distant when the same men will take up the banner for the Commonwealth of Australia, and give us a Shops and Factories Act throughout the Commonwealth. If it is good for one State it should be good for all. There is just as much sweating going on in Queensland as there is in New South

Wales or Victoria. Queensland is a protectionist State, but I venture to assert that women and children and others engaged in manufactories in and around Brisbane are being paid to-day as low a wage as ever was paid in any part of Australia. The fact of the matter is, we have not got a wages board there. If we are going to protect the manufacturer, and to aid him in building up his industries, I do not see why we should not makelaws to compel him to pay a living wage. The honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. O'Malley, said that he would not help the primary industries. But if they were out of the way where would the manufacturers be? Fancy the skite of an honorable member—for that is what it is—who says that he would not help the primary industries of Australia! They do not want any help or assistance. They are willing and ready to compete with the open markets of the world. They are the backbone of the Commonwealth, and when an honorable member talks of them in the way I have mentioned, what can we think of other statements made by him? If we are to have protection, let us not forget the thousands of men pioneering out in the western country. Let them have a taste of protection. That is all we ask. Honorable members on the Opposition side of the House have told us, in season and out of season, that they do not believe in high duties. In my opinion no one does. When it comes to our own doors we say always—"Tax the other fellow." None of us like to be taxed. I have not yet met the man who was prepared to say that he did. We all try to avoid taxation. There is not one of us who has travelled backwards and forwards between Sydney and Melbourne, without doing a little bit of smuggling. I saw a Minister doing something in that line on one occasion, and is it any wonder that a layman should be tempted to do the same thing? The honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, has drawn up a list of duties that he desires to see removed. We know, however, that revenue has to be derived through the Customs. It is idle then for us to say that we are going to take the duty off this and the duty off that. No one is more sincere than I am in the desire to see the Custom-house done away with, and direct taxation imposed. If we have to raise revenue through the Customs the taxation must press heavily on some one, but how can we

obtain it in any other way? With the exception of the honorable member for North Sydney, no one on this side of the House has come forward with any proposal. The fact of the matter is that the worker finds himself in this position—The Barton Government would boil him, the Reid party would bake him, and whichever way we vote he is going to be cooked. The question for the working man to decide is who shall cook him! Is he going to be boiled by Barton or baked by Reid?

MR. SPEAKER.—The honorable member should refer to honorable members by the names of their constituencies.

MR. PAGE.—I am sorry that I should have referred to the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition in the way I have done. I am so accustomed to platform speaking, that I forgot for the moment that I should not refer to honorable members personally. I did so from no desire to speak of them in a derogatory sense. At the Queensland federal election I fought an ardent free-trader, who was a straight-out follower of the leader of the Opposition. I contested the election on the labour platform. I put labour in front of everything. I am so loyal to my party that if the majority were to say, "We have to vote for protection," I should be ready to sink my fiscal opinions and vote loyally with the party. That is how I feel in regard to fiscalism. Nevertheless, I gave my pledge to the electors that I would vote for free-trade. I said also that I would not vote one penny-worth of protection to any individual industry that could get along without it. If industries, such as are to be found in Victoria, which have been in existence for years, and have been protected up to 35 and 40 per cent, are unable to get along without further assistance, the sooner they are allowed to go to the wall the better it will be. The honorable member for Yarra has made some reference to child labour in Britain. No one deplores its existence more than I do, and I am sure that every honorable member shares with me that feeling of regret. But before we refer to the dirtiness of our neighbour's house, we should set our own in order. Children under thirteen years of age have been employed in factories in this State, and I give all praise to those who brought that fact to light. They deserve, not only the thanks of Victoria, but of the

Commonwealth as a whole. I have several statements relating to that matter, but I do not wish to quote them now, because, in my opinion, the question has no bearing upon the situation. We have to deal with the Tariff in the light of Australia's position to-day. What Britain was 40 years ago, or what Victoria's position was five years ago, has nothing to do with the question. The Tariff deals with the position of the Commonwealth to-day. We have to raise revenue, and how are we going to obtain it? I should like to see every duty swept away, but whether we have to raise a £9,000,000 Tariff, or an £8,000,000, or a £7,500,000 Tariff, the money must be collected through the Customs-house. If we slaughtered the Tariff as ruthlessly as the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Poynton, has suggested, we should have to impose duties on something else.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member will vote for striking out some of the items I have mentioned.

Mr. PAGE.—I know the money has to be raised, and I am not such a lunatic as to trouble the Treasurer. It rests with us as legislators to face the situation as we find it. We should not find fault with a proposal simply because it is put forward by the Government or by the Opposition. I am sent here to do my best for the Commonwealth and I am going to do it whether some people like it or not. I was returned practically on the free-trade ticket. I received a good many free-trade votes outside the labour party, and but for that fact, perhaps, I should not have been returned with the large majority that I secured. I recognise, however, that had I declared myself a follower of the Prime Minister I should still have been returned. I do not think, however, that the Government have treated us fairly and squarely. A few of us of the rank and file have been treated as second-raters. In the early stages of the debate all the big guns got off their speeches, and left us to mark time, and to do the scavenging. I honestly believe that if we had adjourned at half-past eleven o'clock last night, and resumed at nine o'clock this morning, we should have been in exactly the same position as we are in now. In fact, if that course had been taken I should have waived my right to speak, and I know that many others would have done the same.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I offered to sacrifice my right to speak in order to bring the debate to an end last night.

Mr. PAGE.—I am a youngster at the game, and others who spoke during the small hours of the morning are also novices in politics.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member is going fairly strong for a young one.

Mr. PAGE.—If I have to judge my capacity by the long-winded speeches to which I have listened, my constituents, when I return, will think that I am very long-winded. But when I address the House honorable members will always find that I am very short-winded. This morning I went through the speeches which have been made on this motion, and I found that they have swollen *Hansard* to an alarming extent. If an honorable member has to hump the reports round with him during his electioneering tour, he will need a special conveyance. My constituents are pretty well versed in *Hansard*, and they will be questioning me very keenly when I return, and unless I have all these books of reference with me I do not know how I shall get on. I shall have to get them photographed, and put in a condensed form, so that they will be handy for reference. I shall not say that all this time has been wasted, though, perhaps, some honorable members may think so. I hope that we shall finish the debate to-day, and let us know the position we are in, and get on with business. Some Ministers have said that the time has been wasted. But I do not look at the debate in that light. I consider that the speeches on this motion will be taken as part of the debate on the second reading of the Tariff Bill, and when the figures come to be analyzed, it will be found that the speeches in the two debates will have been very short ones indeed.

Mr. CRUICKSHANK.—How is the honorable member going to vote? He did not tell us.

Mr. PAGE.—I am going to vote with those with whom I sit.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I feel that it is necessary for every representative of a farming district to express his views. I regret very much that this debate has taken place because, in my opinion, it has been a very great waste of time. When the leader of the Opposition submitted the motion he said that he did not expect to win, and I do not suppose at the present time he expects to

do so. The motion was moved, as he announced, and as honorable members on his side have announced, purely for educational and advertising purposes—not that there was the slightest hope that it would succeed, but purely to demonstrate their principles to the people of Victoria, with the hope, as he said, of letting in fresh air. I only regret that he did not follow a rule which he recently adopted at two great meetings, representing, as he says, the voice of Melbourne and the voice of Sydney. At those meetings, before he indulged in any funny speeches, he announced to his audience that he would take a vote. My regret is that a division was not taken on the motion immediately it was moved before any of the speeches which have wasted three weeks of good time here were made. At the time I interjected that it was a shocking waste of time. Considering that the Kanaka Bill, the Public Service Bill, the Post and Telegraph Bill, in regard to which certain legal difficulties exist in New South Wales, and other measures, are waiting for Parliament to take up, and that the whole Commonwealth is expecting this Tariff to be debated and some finality arrived at, I think that those who have listened during the last three weeks to good time being wasted will, when the season comes to judge of these things fairly, put the cause of the delay, and the blame for the waste of time, on the shoulders of the leader of the Opposition. On the night the motion was moved we were charged by the whip of the Opposition, the honorable member for Macquarie, with a conspiracy of silence. It was known then that the numbers were up. I did not know of any conspiracy of silence, but certainly it was an act of wisdom on our part not to speak, because I think, as everybody must acknowledge, that it is no good to waste good shot on a dead dog, and that is really what this motion has been from the very first.

Mr. REID.—Then five Ministers have no sense, because they spoke?

Mr. CROUCH.—I am reminded by the interjection of the speech which the right honorable and learned member delivered two or three weeks ago. A very large amount of his indignation was bottled up because large duties were not put on silks, velvets, furs, plushes, pianos, and diamonds. Duties on such articles are really not protective duties; this State does not want them, and it has never desired them. When the right

honorable and learned member chose those duties for his especial attack, and caused the press throughout Australia to make attacks on the Government because the articles had not been taxed sufficiently—he should have remembered that he was attacking, not protectionist, but revenue duties. Taking the Tariff which he introduced into New South Wales, what do I find? I find that, instead of the enthusiasm and sympathy for the workers which he at the present time expresses, his revenue duties were imposed in nearly every case upon the necessities of life.

Mr. THOMSON.—On how many?

Mr. CROUCH.—The list contains sugar, treacle, biscuits, lollies, fruits, vegetables, currants, raisins, jams, liquorice, tea, and sheep washes. The things which the workers, the farmers, and the miners use most he taxed when he was Premier of New South Wales.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—But what are the duties?

Mr. CROUCH.—In his Customs Act, the right honorable and learned member did not put any duty on silks, velvets, furs, plushes, or pianos. He did not weep then, and perhaps he does not weep now—he is too deep for tears—over those different articles not being taxed. But he put all the taxes he possibly could upon what were necessities of life to the three classes he mentioned in this motion of censure, and following as he does largely on the lines of the British Tariff, his motion shows the amount of class legislation there is in the free-trade policy of the British Government. An examination of the English Tariff shows that it includes a number of articles which are among the absolute necessities of life. There is no such thing as a free breakfast table in England. Among the articles taxed are beer, ale, playing cards, chicory, chloroform, cocoa, coffee, confectionery, fruit, patent medicines, dried fruit and raisins, soap, tea, tobacco, and varnish. These are the articles that are chosen for taxation by free-traders, or by revenue tariffists, to show how much regard they have for the workers. In addition to this, under the English revenue system, there is a duty on every farm house of from 2d. to 9d. in the £1. They allow silks, plushes, and diamonds—the low imposts on which have aroused so much indignation on the part of the leader of the Opposition—to come in free,

whilst the necessities of life are taxed to the fullest extent. Then we come to another member of the Opposition who has tried his hand at constructing a fiscal policy, and that is the honorable member for North Sydney. The honorable member says that the necessities of life should be free, but he proposes to put a duty on sugar, treacle, lollies, currants, jams, kerosene, tea, clothing, boots, and hats. Evidently he does not regard these as the necessities of life for the working-man. He said in one breath that he would admit the necessities of life free of duty; but in the next breath he proposed to put duties on hats, boots, and clothing. Then we come to the Tariff that has been proposed by the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*. It is by this newspaper that the leader of the Opposition and the members of the free-trade party in New South Wales live, move, and have their being. It is really only through this journal that the leader of the Opposition is in this House, or that he has any following behind him. The *Daily Telegraph* proposes a high duty on tea, and upon all the necessities of life that are in daily use by the working classes and by the farmers and miners—by all those people who have received so much sham consideration at the hands of the mover of this motion. In the *Daily Telegraph* list, jewellery, watches, musical instruments, and plated ware are taxed exactly to the same degree as boots, hats, clothing, and blankets, and thus we find the necessities of life subjected to just as much duty as luxuries. The *Daily Telegraph* also proposes to place a tax upon agricultural implements. The honorable member for Wentworth proposed to put a 5 per cent. duty upon everything. The Treasurer proposes to raise £8,009,000; and the honorable member for North Sydney suggests a Tariff which he says will yield £8,048,000. The *Daily Telegraph* proposes a Tariff that would give us £9,000,000, and the *Argus* proposal would provide a revenue of £8,750,000. The leader of the Opposition, however, has no suggestion to make at all, but contents himself with adversely criticising the Government proposal. Then, in addition to these proposals, we have that of the honorable member for Parramatta, who says that although he was once a protectionist, he is now a free-trader. He says that he was simple when he was a protectionist, and that the scales had not fallen from his eyes

when he wrote the extraordinary letter which has been already quoted from in this House. I would ask the honorable member if he was simple when he made this statement—

I have seen with mine own eyes men with pretty constant work die like rats from sheer starvation, and all because of the decline of the export trade, and the increase of the imported article.

I should like to know how far the honorable member's simplicity affected his vision. I think it is very deplorable that attempts should have been made by the leader of the Opposition, and by a large number of members sitting behind him, to arouse throughout New South Wales and other States a large amount of prejudice against the State of Victoria. The Victorian protectionists and manufacturers have been held up to general opprobrium, and I find that at the great free-trade meeting that was recently held in Sydney, Mr. J. H. Carruthers, a leading light in the great free-trade firmament, who was a member of the Reid Ministry, said—

This is not a Federal Tariff. Make no mistake about that. (Cheers.) It's a Victorian Tariff, lock, stock, and barrel; made in Victoria by Victorians, and for Victorians. Sir William Lyne was always a Victorian in heart, and Mr. Barton is one of those self-sacrificing statesmen who has always been prepared to let his own State carry the full burdens of federation that the others might enjoy whatever profits were to be obtained from it. (Renewed cheers.) I would not be surprised if Mr. Barton offers the federal Chief Justiceship to a Victorian, and the High Commissionership to some South Australian federalist, leaving to New South Wales the sole comfort of having a Federal Premier a New South Welshman.

I venture to say that if a statement of that kind were made by a responsible public man in any other capital, with the intention of provoking provincial strife, the speaker would be hissed off the platform. This statement was made in the presence of the leader of the Opposition and other members of this House who offered no protest against it, but who apparently countenanced such utterances, irrespective of the extent to which they may be destructive of good feeling between the States, simply because there is a fear in the hearts of some Sydney importers that they may lose a certain amount of their import trade. That is really what is at the root of this agitation. Yet we are told that the voice of Sydney approves of the position which the leader of the Opposition has taken up

The right honorable and learned member has declared that the reason why Victorian honorable members are protectionist is because protection is popular. That is a charge which he made in this House. These sort of statements go down in New South Wales, but I do not think they will be tolerated in any other part of the Commonwealth. The right honorable and learned member who utters these sentiments aspires to be the leader of the Federal Government, and to guide the destinies of a united Australia. Yet not many months have elapsed since he told a New South Wales audience that the other States desired federation only because they wished to exploit New South Wales. He declared that the other States were almost insolvent. That is the sort of man for whom we are asked to upset the present Ministry, in order that he may cross the floor of this House and become the leader of the Government. I have not previously referred to the honorable and learned member for Parkes, who has written a book containing 685 pages upon *Liberty and Liberalism*. I have read that book, with instruction to myself. It is just as well that one should come to understand what is regarded as liberalism by free-traders. In seconding the address in reply to the Governor-General's opening speech, I was not able to deal with the question of free-trade *versus* protection, but I expressed surprise that great radicals and democrats were amongst the free-traders upon the other side of the House. I am not surprised now, because I understand what is their standard of liberalism. I know what the honorable and learned member for Parkes has defined as liberalism. He does not think that protection can be liberal.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Quite so ; because it curtails freedom.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Most useful things curtail freedom.

Mr. CROUCH.—The honorable and learned member for Parkes is also opposed to factory legislation.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Hear, hear.

Mr. CROUCH.—He is opposed to the early closing of shops, the eight hours law, the inspection of rotten ships, the Plimsoll laws, Sunday closing laws, State education and technical education. That is the sort of liberalism which we find associated with free-trade. What we

regard as progressive legislation the honorable and learned member puts on a par with protection, as being illiberal. If that is the sort of liberalism which is cherished by the honorable and learned member for Parkes, the honorable member for South Australia, Mr. Poynton, and the honorable member for South Sydney, certainly I am a conservative. I believe in factory legislation, in the early closing of shops, in the eight hours law, in the inspection of rotten ships, in the Plimsoll laws, the Sunday closing laws, &c.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable and learned member intend to connect his remarks with the question under discussion?

Mr. CROUCH.—I am connecting them by saying that all these laws are opposed to liberalism in the minds of free-trade honorable members upon the other side of the House.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—They are not answerable for my writings.

Mr. CROUCH.—But the honorable and learned member is answerable for his own writings.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable and learned member has no right to father them upon other honorable members who sit upon the same side of the House as I do.

Mr. CROUCH.—I am ready to accept the honorable and learned member for Parkes as an authority upon this question. Indeed, he is the only consistent free-trader in the House. A lot of others pretend to be free-traders, but are afraid to follow that doctrine out to the logical conclusion to which the author of *Liberty and Liberalism* has carried it. If those who speak against protection, against interference with the liberty of the subject, and, indeed, against anything but individualism, follow free-trade to its logical conclusion they must oppose all progressive legislation. But the honorable and learned member for Parkes has already found a disciple in the present leader of the Opposition. In this debate the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney said—

Then our democratic friends had to go one better and pass another Act to establish wages boards to bring wages up. They go from one artificial thing to another, and now that their tails are jammed they are crying out to the other States to do the same.

That quotation from *Hansard*, page 5739, shows how even the present leader of the Opposition is starting to follow the logical course pursued by the honorable and learned member for Parkes. He will ultimately find himself in exactly a similar position.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The honorable and learned member looked upon Mr. Gladstone as a good liberal, and he was a free-trader to the backbone.

Mr. CROUCH.—I desire honorable members to recollect that the leader of the Opposition is also an author. He has published five essays dealing with free-trade. I tried to get them the other day in the Parliamentary Library, but ascertained that they had been taken away by the honorable member for Macquarie. I have not been able to get them since, so that I am not able to quote the right honorable and learned member's exact words. It must be known to the House that the argument has been repeatedly advanced that there are more factories in New South Wales than there are in Victoria.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—According to the return of the Government.

Mr. CROUCH.—That is the position which the New South Wales free-traders take up. But if honorable members will peruse the essays written by the leader of the Opposition, they will find it distinctly laid down by the author that no manufacturing industries can be established except by means of cheap and poorly paid labour. Let us assume for one moment that the arguments of the New South Wales free-traders are correct, and that there are more factories in New South Wales than there are in Victoria. Does not the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney give away the whole position by stating that those factories can only be built up by poorly-paid labour? That, I think, is the strongest argument that could possibly be urged against a free-trade policy. The right honorable gentleman has written another book, which is also in the library, and in which he speaks of the duties which were imposed on industrial products in New South Wales some years ago. In that book he expressed himself as very glad to see that the amount representing imports had decreased, a fact upon which he considered the State had to be congratulated. How different are those expressions from the statement he made to the House when submitting this motion. He now regards

imports and exports as branches of trade which are equally to be encouraged, and contends that the more imports, the more prosperous we are as a community. The book to which I have referred was a handbook of New South Wales, not issued for perusal in this House in order to get the "voice of Melbourne" or the "voice of Sydney," but published to be read by reasonable men abroad, whom he was endeavouring to induce to settle in the State which he represents. He then pointed out that her imports had decreased by £2,000,000 odd, as compared with those of some years before, and expressed the pride he felt that the people of the State were able to manufacture the goods they required, urging that what was wanted was not federation but immigration. All this shows how absolutely inconsistent is the free-trade mind, and how impossible it is, at any rate for the right honorable member, unless he accepts the logical conclusion of the honorable and learned member for Parkes, to do other than get into a morass, where he will flounder about in vain efforts to extricate himself. The first clause of the motion refers to the financial proposals of the Government as being on an unsound and extravagant basis, and it is just as well to remember who it is that submits that motion, and what is his past financial career. We must recollect that we are asked to express that opinion in relation to a gentleman whom we on this side of the House believe to be the best Treasurer the Commonwealth could possibly have selected. But let us take the past career of the leader of the Opposition, and see what a financial authority he is. When he introduced direct taxation in New South Wales he found it quite impossible to supply the needs of the State without the assistance of the proceeds of sales of land and increased loans. During the four and three quarter years he was Premier of New South Wales, there were sales of land to the amount of £10,400,000, and increased loans representing £4,500,000, or a total of nearly £15,000,000 of absolute capital which the right honorable member had to use in order to keep his finances straight. That was a natural consequence of free-trade, and I can quite imagine that the State Treasurer of New South Wales should regard it as absolutely a God-send that federation should stop him from the consequences of his own acts. Although the customs duties were abolished in New South

free-trade, came "slowly and heavily" from my lips. Sir, the right honorable and learned member knows, and every honorable member of this House knows, as the public of Australia know, that I have never wavered in my advocacy of federation, intercolonial free-trade, and protection against the outside world; and I say that a suggestion of that sort made concerning me is altogether unwarranted, as no one knew better than he did. I say that for various reasons. One of these is that I had the honour of being associated with him in the federal movement right through the piece. Further, I was engaged in the movement and doing my best to foster it, when he was opposed to it in 1891, and when his attitude in connexion with federation subjected him to the criticisms which have been levelled against me, and to which I need not refer. I, at least, was steadfast in the faith. I go further, and tell the right honorable member that when he sneered at my advocacy of intercolonial free-trade, he might well have remembered that when he first formed a Government in New South Wales—before, in fact, it had been formed—the moment he was sent for by the Governor—he received a communication from me suggesting action in connexion with intercolonial free-trade. I had been corresponding with the previous New South Wales Government—the Dibbs Government. I had not been successful. The Dibbs Government was overthrown in August, 1894, and on the 1st August, 1894, this right honorable gentleman, who sneered at my advocacy of intercolonial free-trade, received from me—I having then the honour to be the Premier of South Australia—the following wire:—

Shall be very pleased, when your Ministry is formed, to negotiate for intercolonial free-trade.

Under these circumstances, I ask how is this sneer in the slightest degree justified? I received an answer from him on the 3rd August—

Just sworn in.

My wire was sent before the right honorable gentleman was sworn in—

Hasten to reply to yours of 1st referring to intercolonial free-trade, and to assure you of desire of this Government to promote more friendly intercourse between the Australian Colonies. Invite further communication.

Mr. Kingston.

And the very same day my reply went—

Re intercolonial free-trade. Very pleased to receive your assurances of desire to promote intercolonial free-trade. Would you be disposed to arrange for free interchange of local products and manufactures of New South Wales and South Australia? If so, we would lose no time in sending a Ministerial representative to Sydney to endeavour to negotiate for this or any larger scheme which might be thought desirable.

The negotiations which followed led to the larger proposals of federation, with intercolonial free-trade. Under these circumstances I think I have a right to complain of the terms in which the right honorable gentleman referred to me in this connexion. I further take credit for this, that the Government of which I had the honour to be the head was the first to negotiate a reciprocal agreement with a sister State, the colony of New Zealand. I had the honour to fight for that in the South Australian Legislature, though I am sorry to say I failed in effecting it. The right honorable gentleman went on to comment on my reference to free-trade between those who subscribed to the same conditions of life and of labour, referring, of course, to the sister States. The right honorable gentleman suggests that the conditions of life and labour are not the same amongst all classes of the Australian community. I never suggested that they were. But I say that no State is peculiar in that respect. We in South Australia have our pioneers, as they have in New South Wales—our wealthier classes and our poorer classes. The bushman is as well known to us in South Australia as he is in New South Wales, and to suggest that I was speaking of a dead level of all Australian society throughout the length and breadth of the continent, when I was only referring to equality of conditions between various States, is attempting to put a view of the matter before the House which the right honorable gentleman knew, or ought to have known, that I never attempted to put, and which he had no right to endeavour to put in the way he did. As regards these conditions of life and labour, I hold that, whilst we can, and will, admit to the freest commercial intercourse, people like those who inhabit the States of the Commonwealth, whatever the relative ranks amongst them may be, it is a very different thing to provide for that freedom of intercourse and exchange between those

who live under entirely different conditions, who work under conditions which are foreign to the conditions which we have done our best to establish, and which at length we have secured, but which I venture to say would be threatened in their very existence by the establishment of free-trade of the character to which the right honorable gentleman alluded. I will give a few illustrations. I refer honorable members to the teeming millions of the East. Can the Australian worker enter into free competition with them? Ought he to be thrown into competition with them? No, I say; a thousand times, No!

Mr. GLYNN.—It will take ten of them to do the work that one Englishman will do.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What is to become of our minimum wage and of all our benevolent arrangements established here for the good of our industries and of our Australian workers? Throw us into competition with those who have established industries in the East—I refer to the Japanese—and who are pressing to extend the ramifications of their industries all over the world, and where are we? What are their hours? What are their wages? I do not desire to dilate unnecessarily upon particulars, but I want honorable members to realize what free-trade means, free-trade as proposed by honorable members opposite, free-trade with the whole of the world, not only civilized but it might be even barbarous or worse! I am not referring to the Japanese in the term I have just applied, but I ask what are the rates of daily wages paid to Japanese? Here are some of them:—Carpenters, 1s. 1½d.; plasterers, 1s. 1d.; stonecutters, 1s. 4d.; sawyers, 1s. 1d.; brickmakers, 1s.; paperhangers, 1s. 1d.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What will one get for a shilling in Japan?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable and learned gentleman interjects, “where did I get these?”

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No; certainly not!

Mr. KINGSTON.—I accept the honorable and learned gentleman's statement, but it would be a very natural interjection. He might well have been asked where I got these figures.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I asked what will one get for a shilling in Japan?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Fish, rice, eggs, and things of that sort. Do we want to live like the Japanese? I venture to consider that we do not. We want English money, and

plenty of it, and Australian food, and plenty of it, and I say that at rates like those I have quoted we could not get it. If we throw our workers into competition with men who work at these wages, and under these conditions, where shall we be? We shall be hopelessly out of it. I wonder if there are many here who desire to throw us into competition with paupers working under the conditions to which I refer. I got these figures, I am glad to be able to say, from official sources. There is no room whatever to doubt their accuracy. The wages are higher than they were some time ago, much higher. We can judge what they were some time ago, when these are the highest to which they have reached. I give them to honorable members for what they are worth, and I venture to say that a consideration of figures of this sort will let honorable members know what free-trade will mean for Australia if she be thrown into unrestricted competition with the whole of the world. Here are some more of the rates paid in Japan:—Clog-makers, 10d.; dyers, 8d.; blacksmiths, 1s. 2½d.; founders, 1s. 1d.; potters, 10d.; lacquerers, 1s.; paper-makers, 9d.; compositors, 10½d.; printers, 9½d.; shipwrights, 1s.; gardeners, 1s. 1d.; agricultural labourers, 7½d.; female agricultural labourers, 7½d.; silk reeling, 6d.; weavers, 10d.; female weavers, 6d.; coolies, 9½d.; and fishermen, 10½d. I say that these are men with whom I do not wish to see anything approaching free-trade. Expose Australian workers to competition with men who produce articles under these conditions and I say they cannot live. Better, indeed, that they did not attempt to live, if we were to strike down the barriers which many States have already provided against competition of this sort, and if we were to subscribe to conditions which a section of the people in one part of Australia, and the people of only one other place in the Empire, the United Kingdom itself, have subscribed to.

Mr. THOMSON.—Do the right honorable gentleman's remarks apply to the United States?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am pleased to hear the honorable member interject, because it brings me to the consideration of the question what is the condition of labour in the United States. If we accept the statement of another distinguished member of His Majesty's Opposition, the honorable member for Parramatta, the fact is that the

United States labourer and mechanic work under conditions which are 20 per cent. less favorable than those of the Australian worker. I am going to prove that right up to the hilt.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—Why does the right honorable gentleman differentiate New Zealand from his outburst of intercolonial generosity?

MR. KINGSTON.—New Zealand, I believe, has a Tariff against us. When she removes that Tariff it will be time for us to consider whether we should remove ours.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—Has the Minister attempted to negotiate as he tried to do with New South Wales?

MR. KINGSTON.—When Premier of South Australia, I effected an intercolonial arrangement with New Zealand, and we shall be glad if an arrangement can be arrived at between New Zealand and the Commonwealth. At present, however, the New Zealand barrier is up. Ours also is up. No doubt, proposals for the mutual benefit of the Commonwealth and New Zealand would receive the most serious consideration on the part of this Government. The interruption almost drew me away from my intention of quoting from the speech made by the honorable member for Parramatta, for the purpose of establishing the differences in the conditions between the United States labourer and the worker in Australia. We have received a lot of wonderful and most valuable information from the honorable member. I never met a gentleman who had a happier capacity, when he opened his mouth, of putting his foot into it, and still worse, of supplying the most valuable information for the destruction of his own proposals, when he had recourse to the ink-stand. I do not want to say anything unkind. I am sure that the happy relations which exist, not only between the honorable member and myself, but I am happy to say, between myself and all honorable members, will not be disturbed by anything we have to say in the course of debate. I do say, however, that whether the honorable member for Parramatta is advocating what he has seen with "mine own eyes," or quoting some newspaper writer, who he tells us is not anonymous, but who hides his identity under the awe-inspiring *nom de plume* of "Mother Jones," or whether the honorable member is relating what happened between himself and some one else, he always gives himself away

completely to his political adversaries. Therefore, I quote him with delight for the purpose of answering the honorable member for North Sydney. He told us that he had a conversation with a gentleman whom he met in a train, and who informed him that when business men in America made a contract in Australia they had to put on 20 per cent. for the reason that the American worker worked at a much greater strain than his Australian brother. But here are the honorable member's words—

Because the American workmen bustle so much more than the workman anywhere else. They do not work only eight hours a day—

Honorable members should note the result. If we have free-trade with America our eight hours' system vanishes. They do not enjoy it there, and how can we live against them when our workers toil a lesser time at the same wage? The honorable member continued—

They do not stop for lunch, except for just a snack.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—That is in a protectionist country.

MR. KINGSTON.—If there is occasion for men of that sort to protect themselves against competition, how much greater is the necessity in our own case?

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—But they do not protect their workmen.

MR. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is like Blucher. He comes up when it is all over. While I have been referring to something else, he has been toiling laboriously in the rear. But he chips in in that delightful way that is so characteristic of him. The honorable member for Parramatta went on to say that—

They work all the week, week in and week out. Then, said the honorable member with that emphasis which he uses so often, but mostly misapplies—

They work at a tension and strain that no workman anywhere else approaches.

What more evidence do we want of the necessity for protection against workmen of that description? The honorable member proceeded to talk about white slaves. If we are to keep our own men free, it will not be by free-trade. They must be protected from the competition of these white slaves to whom the honorable member for Parramatta referred so eloquently.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister can have it one way, but he cannot have it in both.

Mr. KINGSTON.—One way will do for it. It is unnecessary to twice slay the slain. The honorable member for Parramatta has so done me an injustice in that he has put words into my mouth which I never uttered. I want to point out where he has erred in the hope that he will do what he has not done hitherto—admit his fault, and at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of saying that he did not intend to do it, and that he hopes he will be forgiven. I represented me as saying that we ought to turn all our wool into garments. He said it in the most emphatic terms.

There is no equivocation about the statement.

What I did say was this—

Looking at our pastoral industry, is it not preposterous that the wool which we grow should be sent away to the other side of the world for the purpose of being turned first into cloth, and afterwards into garments to be sent back across the seas?

Why say it again. In this connexion it seems to me that we might as well send out wheat to the other side of the world for the purpose of being gristed there, and sent back in the shape of flour to meet our requirements.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Does not America send her cotton to England to be made up?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I was expecting that question. Will honorable members give me a little time to gloat over the fact that our enemy approaches the trap that has been set for him all too eagerly? Does not the honorable member see that what I asked whether it was not preposterous for us to send our wool across the sea to be made into garments and sent back to us, meaning to increase the garments that we were in need

of? Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But the right honorable and learned gentleman did not say

that. Mr. KINGSTON.—I did. The passage may be found in *Hansard*. So I say that it is not fair to put words into my mouth. Who would be such a fool as to say a thing of that sort, or who could be so foolish as to think that any honorable member said it?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I would not have said it if the right honorable and learned gentleman had not said it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Indeed I did not. The honorable member has a powerful memory, but his imagination is stronger than his memory, and he often

thinks that he remembers things when he only imagines them. I point this out in all kindness to him, so that, after a perusal of the pages of *Hansard*, he can see his fault, and take care that there is no need for making it the subject of criticism again. But to come to the honorable and learned member for Parkes. He asks—"Does not America send her cotton to England to be made-up and returned?"

Mr. O'MALLEY.—She did before the war.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—And she does now.

Mr. KINGSTON.—All right; to what extent?

Mr. CONBOY.—I think £60,000,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is a terrible thing to get hold of figures and mix them up. A "Little Buttercup," who mixes the babies up, is not half so bad as the honorable and learned member for Werriwa, when as a financial "Little Buttercup" he gets stumbling amongst figures. They are not his forte; they are not mine. But I do not like these great authorities to get up and talk to us on the subject of figures as if they were conferring a favour upon us, with the air of the superior person and pedagogue combined. It is a little too delightful to prick them with criticism, and to find that they are really human, because otherwise we might be induced to worship man rather than his Maker. This £66,000,000 is the one figure which the Opposition have got hold of, and they have got a bit tangled up over it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Don't be so savage.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Savage! I only mark my affection with the emphasis I lay in my tone. I am sure honorable members can easily recognise that I am only speaking in the best of terms.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—A sort of pet tiger.

Mr. KINGSTON.—If the honorable and learned member comes into my cage he may expect a little playful handling.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am quite willing to take it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—America then sends away £66,000,000 worth of cotton! I forget how many million pounds worth of wheat we send to the old country. That suits us, but we make our flour here. And so do the Americans make, to all intents and purposes, their manufactured cottons and goods—there is no getting away from it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That shows the absurdity of it. America is a protectionist country.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Of course “absurdity” applies to everything which the honorable and learned member does not approve. I am venturing, having the opportunity to say a word or two on the subject—I may be all wrong—to suggest that there is another side of the case for the consideration of the House, and that I propose to present. This £66,000,000 comes back in garments, does it?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am not saying that; it comes back in a manufactured condition.

Mr. KINGSTON.—How much?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Oh, don’t appeal to me.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I venture to think that I have the right to appeal to an honorable and learned member who always conveys by his air the impression that he is the source and fount of all authority. I ask him to tell me. I am afraid. I do not hesitate to assure him that although I have consulted the best authorities—I have got it all down in black and white—I tremble to quote the figures, lest they should be dispelled by one word from the honorable and learned member to the effect that they are not right. Will he kindly oblige me?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Will the Minister allow me to give him an answer?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I shall not.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I should think not.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, the honorable and learned member must not make a speech; and I know what it is to go about for a long time with a speech on my chest that I cannot get off. We listened to him with delight a little while ago.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable gentleman has given me some fresh notes.

Mr. KINGSTON.—How much of the cotton comes back?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That does not affect the question.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Of course it does not affect the question. It might be a pocket handkerchief, or it might be millions of pounds worth of goods.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Millions of money.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is the American surplus.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I tell honorable members that not 10 per cent. comes back.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—On what authority?

Mr. KINGSTON.—On the authority of *Mulhall*, latest edition.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Will the right honorable gentleman show me that not 10 per cent. comes back?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Not 10 per cent. I am going to put it in two ways.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Why two ways?

Mr. KINGSTON.—So that the honorable and learned member may understand. If he cannot grasp one, he may have a fond hope of getting hold of the other. Now, sir, cottons, local production. Total of American manufactures, £55,800,000 worth. Total imports cotton manufactures—what does the honorable and learned member think?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable gentleman stops my mouth one minute, and then he invites me to answer him the next.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I shall give the honorable and learned member time to quote the figures. How much?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is the Minister’s speech, not mine.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Cotton, local manufactures in the United States, £55,800,000, against cotton manufactures, imported—not simply from England, but from the whole of the world—£4,500,000; not 8 per cent.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is 15 per cent. of what they send away.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Good gracious! Now think again. Does the honorable and learned member venture to tell me that 15 per cent. of £66,000,000 is only £4,800,000? Is he at fault with his arithmetic, or is Cocker wrong? Why are the rules of arithmetic set at naught by him? If he makes 15 per cent. of £66,000,000—£4,800,000, he does that which no other arithmetician ever did. The boys in the second class of a State school would get soundly smacked if they produced a result of that sort.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Macaulay’s boy.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Anybody’s boy, even a poor school-boy. I would suggest to the honorable and learned member that he should not draw a bow at a venture in these matters of calculation. Of course some of these cottons might possibly have got into clothes; and America produces some clothing, and she imports some. I do not think I would be dealing honestly with the honorable and learned member if I did not quote the

figures. Here they are: American manufactures, £111,000,000 worth of clothing or her own self. And how much does the honorable and learned member think she exports?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Do not tempt them gain.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, they have been tempted to their ruin. Their reputation as fanciers has gone; it is necessary for them for they talk finance to have recourse to imaginary schools, for the purpose of being instructed in elementary rules. I am sure at they will feel that, for the safe-conduct of their business, it is highly desirable that they should receive a little further instruction before dealing with large amounts. The amount is £4,600,000, or 4 per cent. of 11,000,000—not 4 per cent.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Why does the Minister compare her imports with her manufactures? Why not compare her exports?

Mr. KINGSTON.—Because the suggestion is that America sends cottons to England for the purpose of being manufactured there, and shipped back for her own use, far from that being so, honorable members on the other side have jumped to a conclusion which is not justified by facts, the simple position is that, as regards cotton, not 8 per cent. is sent back from all the world, and as regards clothing, not 4 per cent.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is still an absurdity according to the Minister's figures.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Of course, it is an absurdity in the eyes of the honorable member. I shall be very happy to lend the honorable member a book of tables.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What about the exports of woollen goods to Australia?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The woollen goods of Australia what the cotton goods of America. That is as simple as can be, and the honorable member ought to be able to see it with his eyes shut. What I venture to argue is, we ought to manufacture our woollens in the same way as they are able to manufacture their cotton goods in America, they produce the raw material. Even if Canada does, as has been stated, send away 100,000 worth of cotton to England, exported after manufacturing practically every halfporth of clothing that she can and if we can do anything like that using our wool as well as in regard to wheat and flour, we shall arrive at a far

happier condition of things in Australia than we have hitherto experienced. As to the statements that have been made with reference to American trade with England, I say at once that next to Australia, I look upon England as the nearest and dearest to us, and I do not quote these figures for the purpose of gloating over any decay or decline in her commerce. We all have the best wishes towards England, God knows, and we all wish good speed to her. But the cotton trade of England with America has fallen off—there is no doubt about that. From 1870 to 1874—five years—the cotton manufactures sent by Great Britain to the United States amounted to 251,000,000 yards. On the other hand in the four years from 1885 to 1889 the British exports of cotton goods to the States fell to 224,000,000 yards—a loss of 357,000,000 yards, or three-fifths of the whole. I think that figures of that sort go to establish the position for which I so strongly contend, and justify me in what I have said.

Mr. GLYNN.—The total exports of cotton goods from England have not fallen off.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am not dealing with that question. Of course England has opened up fresh markets for her cotton goods, but naturally, as the result of protection in America and other countries, her trade with them has been restricted. I should like to say something further with reference to the remarks of the honorable and learned member for Parkes. He made some suggestion that struck me as very extreme when he was criticising the action of the Treasurer, the Attorney-General, and myself in connexion with the Tariff. He put it that after the Prime Minister had spoken at Maitland we ran off to our several States—I am not quoting the precise words of the honorable and learned member, but I do not wish to misrepresent him—and that we there declared that the proposed Federal Tariff would be a bastard free-trade Tariff.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I did not say that. I said that the Ministers went away and preached protection, which was inconsistent with the Maitland utterances, and that they characterized the 15 per cent. Tariff proposed by the free-trade party as a bastard Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am sorry the honorable member was misrepresented. As regards myself, and I can speak with equal

ertainty for the Treasurer and Attorney-General, I can say that when we returned to our various States we explained what the Maitland policy was, and did our best to further it, and we have been doing our best in that direction right through.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — The Ministers preached protection.

Mr. KINGSTON. — We did not preach protection as the first consideration.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — The Ministers preached protection.

Mr. BARTON. — Did I not say in every speech "this means protection"? The honorable and learned member kept saying that I did not mention protection, whereas I mentioned it twenty times in every speech.

Mr. KINGSTON. — As regards the honorable and learned member's remarks concerning myself, I need not pursue the matter. He knows perfectly well that there was not a word of disloyalty to the Prime Minister or his policy in what I said, and it would be idle to suggest the contrary. The honorable and learned member went further into figures, and I invite the serious attention of the House to the views he put forward. He discovered, after some period of incubation over the figures, that the amounts that we were putting before the House—particularly the Treasurer's figures—were not correct, and that, as a matter of fact, instead of taking £34,000,000 imports as we had done, £41,000,000 was the total shown by the figures for 1900.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — I did not advocate taking the figures for 1900, but taking half the rise.

Mr. KINGSTON. — At any rate the honorable and learned member assumed that the correct figures were £41,000,000, and with this astonishing result, that instead of our receiving what we are asking—£9,000,000—we should receive £12,000,000.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — That is if the Treasurer's calculations are correct. If £21,000,000 would produce £9,000,000, then £28,000,000 would produce £12,000,000.

Mr. KINGSTON. — This discovery of the honorable and learned member's—

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — It is no discovery—it is simply the application of the rule of three.

Mr. KINGSTON. — I hope the honorable and learned member is well up in the rule of three in this instance—he was not in regard to the other matter.

Mr. THOMSON. — The Minister likes the rule of one.

Mr. KINGSTON. — I am confident that we shall not be compelled to submit to the rule of the Opposition. I do not think anything of that sort is in contemplation at present. If our calculations are correct the honorable and learned member for Parkes assumes that the extra £7,000,000 is to produce an additional £3,000,000. Now, is it not a funny thing about this £7,000,000 according to the honorable and learned member's style of reckoning—seeing that the amount was shown as imports in the figures, for 1900—that we did not have a vast increase of revenue?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — I do not believe the Treasurer's sum was right. I think the revenue was over-calculated.

Mr. KINGSTON. — As a matter of fact this additional £7,000,000 did not bring in a quarter of a million excess of revenue for 1900 as compared with 1899.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — That shows that the Minister's calculations were wrong.

Mr. KINGSTON. — It shows that the honorable and learned member does not understand the figures. First of all, it must be remembered that the values for 1900 were considerably in excess of those for 1899.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — I have allowed three and a half millions for that.

Mr. KINGSTON. — Oh, the honorable and learned member has done that?—but he put it on the next year.

Mr. SPEAKER. — Order! I will ask the Minister, in the first place, not to provoke interjections, and, in the next place, I would request honorable members not to make interjections.

Mr. KINGSTON. — And with one accord they began to interject. If those figures are correct we should have a much larger result. We have not got it. Why? First, because those figures represent inflated values. The exports from the United Kingdom of domestic manufacture were at least 14½ per cent. in excess of the values which obtained in the previous year. They have since resumed their normal value. Further, how was it, I venture to ask, that we did not get this excessive revenue? The reason is that New South Wales has been loading up in anticipation of the Federal Tariff. That fact is as plain as plain can be. Under such circumstances, why take an increase of

that description as the basis of the calculations of subsequent years? I tell honorable members, further, that as regards this loading up, the more we look into it, the more we see how extensive it has been. There is one fact of importance which has been lately brought under our notice in this connexion. As a rule, as we have to pay 12,000,000 of interest annually, our imports are less than our exports by that amount. In 1899 they were less by 13,000,000. But last year they were only 4,000,000 less. The figures for 1899 and 1900 thus showed that in the latter year we had only over-traded to the extent of 9,000,000. If honorable members take the trouble to acquire local information on the subject, there can be no room for doubt as to what are the facts. So far from inflating our estimates, what is the natural disposition of colonies in relation to imports as they grow and become self-contained? The imports per head diminish. We see that in the following figures, as regards Australia: In 1881 the imports per head represented a value of £12 3s. 9d.; in 1891 equalled £11 4s. 1d.; and in 1899, 16s. 3d. In this connexion it is very interesting to note the figures which are given in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. These show that in 1899 the imports represented a value of £34,000,000, although until 1891 did not reach that amount, the figures for that year being £37,000,000, and for 1900 £35,000,000. We have not the best disposition either to unduly repress or inflate our estimate. We have a fair estimate which, we believe, will be regarded as fair and satisfactory by all men. A very good year may give better results, and undoubtedly a large influx of foreign capital would give them. But we have attempted to give what we consider a fair estimate under ordinary circumstances, and that estimate we have submitted for the consideration of this House. In this connexion it occurs to me that the best financial authority in Australian Colonies, who is known in the senior position as the commercial editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, has made a comparison of what is a fair amount of imports set down for a normal year. He estimates that amount at £34,300,000. Of course I admit that it is a difficult thing to say what will be the precise results of the Tariff. But when honorable members complain of the higher rate they will see

that we have more revenue to get and less to get it from. Instead of having £63,000,000 worth of goods upon which to levy taxation, £29,000,000 worth have, by the establishment of Inter-State free-trade, been withdrawn from the taxation area.

Mr. POKIN.—The Government get £500,000 upon sugar.

Mr. KINGSTON.—That does not affect the question of the total value of the imported goods.

Mr. POKIN.—It affects the revenue.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am not discussing that at all. I am addressing myself to the question of whether or not our estimate of £34,000,000 as the annual value of our imported goods is a right one. I should like further to put it to honorable members that in our difficult task at this moment we are entitled to some degree of sympathy and assistance. I believe that we shall get that sympathy and assistance from many honorable members, irrespective of the side of the House upon which they may sit. I am sure that when our difficulties are fully explained we shall have the best wishes of the Australian public in striving to surmount this trouble. I feel that on an important occasion such as is involved in the framing of the first Federal Tariff, we have at least a right to expect absolute fair play from all sides, and I do not hesitate to say that in many respects we are not getting that fair play. I have only to refer to the way in which every trifle in connexion with the Tariff is magnified; how every representation is made for the purpose of inducing a feeling against the Tariff; how business men are, in some cases, imposing upon the general public by making the Tariff an excuse for raising prices when they ought not to be so raised. Let honorable members consider the extent of our difficulties. There was not a very large majority in New South Wales in favour of federation. The minority, or many of them, and the opponents of federation elsewhere, are in some cases only too glad to take advantage of any excuse to justify them in exclaiming—"I told you so." We cannot complain of the public. No one likes to be taxed. Customs taxation may not be so direct as other forms of taxation, but at the same time it comes home in a variety of ways to the household, and especially any alteration of it. Those who feel that where they were formerly free they are now taxed, or that where they were previously taxed they are now taxed to a higher degree, naturally

wish that it were otherwise. So we find the criticisms to which I allude. But I do claim that at a time like this, when revenue is an absolute necessity, each and all of us should do what we can for the purpose of letting the public appreciate what is the true position. It is not a question of their entire freedom from taxation. They cannot have that. The money must be had. If it is not obtained in this way it must be obtained in some other. It is idle to attempt to shift it from one to the other. All must bear their fair share. I venture to affirm that if this subject were considered by the general public in that aspect there would be a disposition to recognise the necessities of the case, and to make the best they could of the obligations which they are called upon to discharge in the interests of and as the price of federation. I especially sympathize with the people of New South Wales. It would be idle to do otherwise. They have been brought up recently under a fiscal system which imposes little of these burdens upon them. Consequently, they feel the change more than others. Speaking roughly, their taxation is almost doubled. A million and a half we may say—I propose generally to speak in round numbers—is to be taken from them. But not only the Government, but all the members of this House, and the Opposition in particular, should join in pointing out that this was the inevitable result, and was what was contemplated and intended; that whilst we require this money from the people of New South Wales, it does not go into the pockets of others; that they are not charged one penny per head more than is charged per head to the inhabitants of the smaller States; that they get the money back subject to their fair contribution of federal cost on the basis of population—every penny of it; and I venture to consider that they can make very good use of it. If these things are pointed out there will be a very different disposition exhibited than has been shown in this connexion hitherto. Was this taxation necessary? Was this high Tariff necessary?

Mr. CONROY.—No!

Mr. KINGSTON.—I hear an honorable member say “no.” If we are proposing to indulge in taxation that is unnecessary, all I can say is that we are sorry to hear it, and shall be glad at the earliest possible moment to set the matter right. What was the policy promulgated at Maitland? Not

to exact one penny of taxation more than was necessary. What is the policy to-day? The same!

Mr. THOMSON.—No!

Mr. KINGSTON.—When I hear that interjection, I say that if an honorable member talks about this Government being false to their pledges, he libels us. We are accused of treachery! The Prime Minister—the man who has been the trusted leader of Australia in this great unifying movement, and who also enjoys his position with the goodwill of the people of this country—he, is a traitor! From whom does this charge come? What is the line that divides us from the men who are arrayed against us, and who drew that line? The line is that between free-trade and protection to existing industries.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—Hear, hear, that is it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Revenue, and protection to existing industries. What was the fight about at the election? Why, sir, the battle cry went forth—raised by those who rallied round the standard of the leader of the Opposition—that we were to be opposed by the free-traders. He waved the free-trade flag, and they followed him. Our policy was revenue and protection to existing industries.

Mr. THOMSON.—Protection!

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes, and that is the policy which we put forward to-day. Yet, forsooth, those who drew the dividing line say that this is not the Tariff we advocated. Was it not? Look at the reports of the electoral campaign. What was the cry?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—In what State!

Mr. KINGSTON.—In the honorable member's own State.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—“The best men.”

Mr. KINGSTON.—The best men!

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The Prime Minister himself said, “Elect the best men.”

Mr. KINGSTON.—But the Prime Minister raised the question of the Tariff. Did he ever abandon his Maitland speech? Why did the honorable and learned member rally round the free-trade flag—the flag of a decaying cause?

Mr. WILKS.—The flag of liberty!

Mr. KINGSTON.—“Oh! Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!” Why, sir, when we came to this House and before that time, what was the cry of honorable members opposite? They said that the protectionists were hauling their flag down half-mast.

They talked of the funeral of protection. "You are afraid of it to-day," said these gentlemen. But now they say we are going for protection; now the flag is up mast-high, and they accuse us of being false to our promises.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear. Mast-high!

Mr. KINGSTON.—Protection second, after revenue. The cry that we have been false to our pledges is too preposterous to be seriously considered. Any excuse on the part of these gentlemen, these partizans, is used for the purpose of attacking and of criticising the Government. Let the flag be low or let it be high, it is all the same to them—it is either not high enough or the reverse. We came here with certain support. When I mentioned the subject before the electors, I referred to the Maitland speech, and said—"This is our programme—revenue, and, after that, protection—moderate protection." We invited the people to try it, and they are trying it now. We believe that the verdict will leave no room for doubt. As to the question of revenue, let me put this consideration to any honorable member who had a seat in the Convention. I might even put it to the leader of the Opposition himself. What was contemplated at the time we framed the Commonwealth Bill, a high or a low Tariff?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—A righteous Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I use the words of the leader of the Opposition, and I say that his proposal—not expressed in the Convention itself, but afterwards—was that we should have a very high Tariff. A very high Tariff means protection incidental to the imposition of revenue duties. I go further. I say that the amount even was contemplated. But before I proceed to deal with that part of the argument, I should like to put the matter thus: Was it not clearly stated within the walls of the Convention that the financial necessities of the States could only be met by a high Tariff? I could quote from many speakers in that great gathering, but it will be more important to quote from the utterances of the leader of the Opposition himself. Out of his own mouth I shall be able to prove that he promised a very high Tariff, that he contemplated the raising of a sum closely approximating to that which we are proposing to raise, and that he made it as clear as the noon day sun that the honor and credit, not only of the Convention, but of the first Federal Parliament, was pledged to meet the necessities of the States.

If that is so, what is our duty? Our duty is to do that as nearly as practicable.

Mr. V. L. SOLOMON.—But not inflate the figures.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am sorry to hear it even suggested that we desire to inflate the figures for the purpose, I suppose, of imposing protection. We know perfectly well that the duties chiefly objected to are not the protective, but the revenue duties; and the suggestion now made is all too preposterous. Those honorable members who were at the Federal Convention will be able to corroborate every word I say. If there is any necessity for confirmation, the passages are to be found in the pages of the Federal *Hansard*; and by these passages we are pledged to do our best in the interests of the financial necessities of the States. An attempt was made at the Convention to insert a clause or clauses for the purpose of having within the four corners of the Bill an express declaration that these necessities would be met, but objection was taken to the form. The leader of the Opposition, with all that eloquence and force of which he is capable, said—"Do not put it as a hard-and-fast line; but I tell you this, that I believe, as a man of honour, that we in the Federal Parliament will be bound to do whatever we can for the purpose of meeting those necessities." In the Federal *Hansard* for November, 1897, the right honorable gentleman is reported to have said—

The Federal Parliament takes from each of the five colonies its almost sole source of revenue. . . . No stronger obligation under such circumstances could rest on any body of honorable gentlemen. . . . than that of not exposing the constituent parts of the Federation to insolvency, for it will be nothing less than that.

Words of that sort, spoken with the force and vigour which the right honorable gentleman generally gives to his utterances, carried conviction to the hearts of those who listened to him, and we, believing that the Federal Parliament would rise to a full appreciation of the obligation which would rest upon them, were content not to further press the matter. But the right honorable gentleman continued—

We must believe that the Federal Government may be safely trusted to maintain the financial position of each of the States as one of the most sacred things committed to their charge.

One of the "most sacred things" committed to our charge! There are the financial

necessities of the States; yet, with the lightest heart, independent of the consideration of whether or not the States really want assistance, or whether we can give it, the honorable member for North Sydney proposed to cut the States short of one million of the total amount raised, thus in some cases doubling, and in others increasing, the deficit which would have to be provided for. It is proposed, so far as regards the present necessities of the States, to take away their almost sole source of revenue, and to refuse them that right which is theirs. The States want not a penny of our money, but they say to us—"You have the power of customs taxation; so exercise that power that we may be able to maintain our credit and to pay our debts—your honour is our honour, and we rely on the promise you made to do what you could for the purpose of sustaining it."

Mr. THOMSON.—That reduction made a difference of only £35,000 to Tasmania.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The only State which would be left solvent in regard to her existing revenue would be the State of New South Wales, and each of the other States would be exposed to what the leader of the Opposition has referred to as insolvency. They would be deprived of their sole source of revenue, and would have to have recourse to a system of taxation which was never contemplated at the time they entered into the compact.

Mr. THOMSON.—That is not correct according to the right honorable gentleman's own figures.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The leader of the Opposition went further on the occasion to which I am referring, and said—

It is inconceivable that the Federal Parliament will begin its existence as an Australian legislative body by a course of finance which will immediately throw all the colonies into difficulties. The situation, I think, is inconceivable. If we are not prepared to believe that the outcome of the movement will be a Parliament which will protect the colonies against such obvious dangers, then I say we cannot believe in the thing itself.

There is a sacred trust—an obligation declared in the plainest terms—and the leader of the Opposition thought it inconceivable that it should not be fully recognised. But now the scene changes. The only State to be provided with the same means it at present possesses for maintaining its credit, is that one State, the requirements of which are the least. All the others are to be

treated in the way to which I have referred.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Treasurer's figures are incorrect.

Mr. KINGSTON.—As regards the words of the leader of the Opposition, they can be regarded in two ways. Talking to his Parliament in 1899 on the address in reply, he spoke practically as the Australian Prime Minister designate, or, at least, as a gentleman who fully recognised the responsibilities of his position. He spoke, not as a party leader, but as an Australian statesman whom we are all proud to know. I have reckoned it amongst the greatest of my pleasures to be associated in various movements with the leader of the Opposition, but I say that he has his varying moods. He is at his best with responsibility on his shoulders, and at his worst as the party leader he is to-day. In the one case he recognises to the full the national responsibility which rests on him, and in the other case, he is apparently careless, at least for a moment, of the solemn obligation to which he himself has referred in the most picturesque terms. In the New South Wales Parliament in 1899 he spoke thus—

Do not let any one think for a moment that when I make these statements I at all shrink the question, that there is bound to be a very high Tariff.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear!

Mr. WILKS.—We call 15 per cent. a high Tariff in New South Wales.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable gentleman proceeded—

We all know that whatever Government is in power there must be a high Customs Tariff. I frankly admit that if I stood up before the House and said anything else, I should simply be sinning against my own knowledge. I admit it, and give it to every one for what it is worth, that there must be a high Customs Tariff under federation, and that is one of the sacrifices that some of us are prepared to make for federation.

An honorable member has suggested that the leader of the Opposition was then speaking relatively. I venture to consider that he could not have forgotten the words he used at that Convention as regards the necessities of the States. I will carry it further, and show as clear as the noon-day sun that he contemplated that to meet the necessities of the State in the circumstances that we recognise we are in at present, there should be at least a revenue of £8,500,000. If I recollect rightly, the amount the right

honorable gentleman spoke of in the Town-hall in Sydney a day or two ago—I did not read the full report—was £7,500,000.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—£7,600,000.

Mr. WATKINS.—That was after he turned round.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There was a time when the right honorable gentleman's attitude was not so pronounced on the benefits of federation as it afterwards became, when he was warning the people of some of the dangers and difficulties attaching to federation, and when he was pointing out the cost, I tell honorable members that the last as he calculated it—his calculation being applied to the circumstances of to-day—would have amounted to £8,700,000, and I shall show it. He spoke at Newcastle, and we find the report of his speech in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 27th May, 1898, the period of his halting somewhat. I have his own words when he was telling the people the bitter truth. I do not think I shall ever be found even dreaming of suggesting that the right honorable gentleman does anything else. He said—

Now let them take a Tariff which would be necessary to meet the financial necessities of the four colonies—£7,000,000 a year. Under this tariff the financial committee made the following estimate:—In New South Wales there would be a Customs revenue of £3,010,000, which was 245,000 a year more than New South Wales needed. Victoria would be taxed to the extent of £2,240,000 a year, or £2,000 more than was needed. South Australia would be taxed 7,000 a year, or £47,000 more than was needed. Western Australia would be taxed 1,000 a year, which was less than she wanted. Tasmania would be taxed £315,000, or £59,000 more than was wanted. The question was, how would this Tariff affect New South Wales? The value of the colony would contribute £3,000,000 a year, or £2 5s. 5d. per head—or deducting expenses down to £2 per head in round figures. This is a much larger tax than in any other country.

Mr. REID.—The paper is wrong. It could be £700,000 for Western Australia under a uniform Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Yes, but we had the other clause in also. This is not far out from the amount now proposed to be raised, taking into account the special Tariff. It a little over-estimates the amount of New South Australia, but it is a very close shot compared to what we propose. Honorable members may think that there is a wide difference between £7,000,000 and £8,500,000.

Mr. REID.—£8,943,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—But it is not so, because the right honorable gentleman's estimate applied to only five States, as Queensland was not then included. Queensland has since come in, and that State's requirements are £1,565,000. Tasmania has her revenue increased by £100,000, and Western Australia also requires an increased revenue. So we get at a total amount by two guides: First, the declaration that there must be a high Tariff—a very high Tariff—then the calculation of an actual amount, approximating to £8,800,000, within a very small sum indeed of that which we at present propose. I say that under these circumstances the position is established as clear as the noon-day sun: First, that we promised to do what we could, fairly to meet the State's necessities, pledged at the Convention. Then, that it was recognised that there must be a very high Tariff. Further, also, the right honorable and learned leader of the Opposition showed that the Tariff would approximate most closely to that which we are proposing at the present moment. I say also, in this connexion, that authorities—which may be biased, but at the same time I do not suppose they would be biased in favour of the Government—such authorities as the Melbourne *Argus* and Sydney *Daily Telegraph*—Mr. Nash, of course, being responsible for the *Daily Telegraph* calculations—estimating an amount very closely approximating to these figures. The *Argus* suggested £8,750,000. The honorable member for Wentworth made the amount £8,500,000, and in the very valuable essay on the subject published in *United Australia*, and written by the Honorable the Speaker, a similar estimate was given. From these aggregations of authority which, until investigation, we could not even have hoped to be able to produce, it is established beyond doubt that all who had anything to do with the framing of the Constitution from the days of its earliest history, and who loyally applied their minds to the consideration of the question, are practically agreed that we want something like £8,750,000. I do not hesitate to say that if it could be shown that less would suffice, nothing would be more pleasing to the Government. If it can be shown that the States wish to make economies, or that the States might wish for lesser taxation—and they could best express their views through their members here, though the local State authorities are of

course capable of giving the most useful information on the subject—if it can be shown that this money is not wanted then by all means let us not raise it, but if we are fairly within the range of the States' necessities, which we cannot honorably escape providing for, our course is clear. I am sure that Parliament, and, I hope, every party in it, will sustain us in doing what is necessary in the circumstances. The leader of the Opposition put it that we had taken from the States almost their sole source of revenue. They have a right to look to us to recoup the loss, in order that they may not be short of that which they previously received, and have to bear in addition, the Federal cost. Let us do what is right, and face the consequences. I am sure that we shall be justified by subsequent events. The honorable member for North Sydney referred in a light and airy way to the deficiency in the case of some of the States.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is not the honorable member's usual manner.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It is not, and that was why I noticed it particularly. At the same time, I know we all listen with the deepest interest to any observations which fall from the honorable member. He said that we were short as regards three of the States. Tasmania is to go short to the extent of £150,000 under our proposal; Western Australia, £250,000; and Queensland, £250,000. Of course I am speaking in round numbers. He said that in the circumstances he was making a calculation after putting the Federal cost at £300,000. The honorable member was making a calculation in his circumstances as a representative of New South Wales. It was as much as to say—"I know my State will be all right in any circumstances."

Mr. THOMSON.—I did not say so.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Does the honorable member think that I suggest that he did?

Mr. THOMSON.—I said that, as a New South Wales representative, I should be very glad to consent to advances being made to these States by the Commonwealth.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The States do not propose to become mendicants, depending on the charity of the Commonwealth.

Mr. THOMSON.—The Treasurer made that proposal.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I did not do anything of the kind.

Mr. THOMSON.—The right honorable and learned gentleman suggested it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is a difference between suggesting and insisting upon it.

Mr. REID.—The Government could not insist upon it.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No; but the honorable member practically threw one or two alternatives at them. They were to go in for that or local taxation, or retrenchment of a character which would not be possible, certainly in South Australia, to any considerable extent. That was not the position in which the States expected to be placed. That is not the position we have a right to put them in. Whilst we regret that we cannot make greater provision, we do think that we might go to the length we propose.

Mr. THOMSON.—Why not give another million?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The line must be drawn somewhere. It is bad enough when three States are left short. If we increase the burden it seems to me the position will be very difficult. It is a difficult task, and we are happy indeed to find a way out of it. At the same time, I think that we ought to approach the question with the consideration that the States have claims on us which we ought not to disregard lightly. The honorable member for North Sydney proposes to reduce the Tariff by £1,000,000. What would be the effect of that? Taking the State of New South Wales as a third of the whole Commonwealth, she would lose £330,000 which she did not want, but the balance of £666,000 would be taken off the provision made for the necessities of other States. What does that mean? Roughly speaking, Tasmania's present deficiency of £150,000 would be increased to £200,000.

Mr. THOMSON.—It would be only £35,000 more.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I will put it closer, and say that it would be £190,000. Queensland's shortage would be increased from £250,000 to £400,000.

Mr. THOMSON.—The difference would be £135,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Western Australia's shortage of £250,000 would be increased to £330,000.

Mr. THOMSON.—£320,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I know what the honorable member is doing. I do not think he is making any provision for the £300,000 federal cost. South Australia's surplus of £16,000 would be

converted into a deficit of £60,000. What does the honorable member think of a proposal like that? On the one hand the State would pay its way if only by a small margin of £16,000, and on the other the surplus would be reduced by something like £70,000, so that it would be turned into a deficit of £60,000. I claim to know something of the necessities of the State from which I come, and I venture to think that it would be a very heavy burden upon her. It would be one which she never contemplated. If she had been told when she was invited to federate that she would have to bear such a burden, then the efforts we put forward to induce her to join that beneficent movement, would have had to be redoubled in order to secure success. What about Victoria? Under existing circumstances that State would have a surplus of £175,000. The honorable member's proposal, however, would convert that surplus into a deficit of £100,000. So we should have five States with a deficiency.

r. McCAY.—In order to please New South Wales.

r. KINGSTON.—To please one State.

r. THOMSON.—New South Wales would get the least out of it.

r. KINGSTON.—We have had various difficulties in connexion with the federal movement; in some States greater difficulties than in others. We have had the greatest difficulty in connexion with New South Wales. I do not hesitate to say that New South Wales has stood out for the hardest bargain. She would impose

which she had no right to impose. It forced the hand of the other States in favour for federation. She got her bargain.

The capital is hers. Let me say that in connexion, and let me not be misunderstood, that no member of the Federal Council knows either one State or another in its official capacity, save to do his best at which is right to all. New South

however, has in my opinion more to gain. What has she gained? She has access to our markets.

THOMSON.—She gave the other States access to her markets.

KINGSTON.—Surely she gave it in her interests? We believe she gave it, for the love of the other States, but because she had to do so.

MAHON.—It was also in the interests of the other States.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It was not in the interests of the other States, but because the leader of the Opposition in this House as Premier of New South Wales believed it was a right thing to do in the interests of that State. She had more to gain from federation in that respect than we had. She gains access to our markets; we had access to hers previously. As regards the benefits we derive from federation, who reaps the golden harvest as to manufactures, industries, and increased development of trade and resources? The leader of the Opposition tells us that it is the State from which he comes, and we do not grudge it. She has advantages given her by nature, which in the struggle between the traders of different States gives her the command by right, as it were, of coal and iron. In none of those respects do we envy her. But we do say that in a matter of this sort the credit of each State is to be considered. When the State honour is to some extent implicated; when, to use the language of the right honorable and learned member, our almost sole source of revenue has been transferred to a United Australia in trust to be exercised for the benefit of all, I can hardly think that that trust would be fairly and fully discharged if the interests of one State were to be altogether considered in this connexion, if the words which were spoken in the Convention were to be forgotten, and we were left shorn of our resources and of our power to maintain our corporate honour. Sir, it would be a staggering blow, an unexpected blow, a great disappointment; it would come as a shock. I know how tempting it is in a time like this to consider that if we do our duty in this respect we get no thanks from the States. Such is the selfishness of men, they will take the money, gladly spend it, cast upon us the odium of its collection as regards both the amount and the way in which it is recovered. Things of that sort, patent as they are, should not stand between us and the discharge of our duty. Let us strive to learn where our duty lies. If it lies, as I believe, in the direction of making the necessary provision, even if we incur opprobrium we shall retain the approval of our own consciences by doing that which we ought, and which I am sure this House will be prepared, to do. I have noticed as regards the Tariff itself a variety of criticisms by irresponsible persons. I am solaced to some extent by the fact that

in every State men in responsible positions, Ministers, including Treasurers, speak in approving terms of the course which we have set before us.

Mr. REID.—A section!

Mr. KINGSTON.—But as regards the details of what are presented for public consideration—touch this section, that section, and the other section, who likes to be taxed! Each and all, I would rather say all, meet with ready sympathizers. Those who did not like federation, those who do not like this Government, those who are honestly wedded to free-trade, those who make free-trade an excuse for making a party attack, foment and stimulate agitation by saying—“Oh, yes, you ought not to be taxed so unfairly, No! no! the idea is preposterous.” The honest way of looking at it and dealing with it is to say to all of them that the thing must be faced. If a lesser sum will suffice well and good, but the money must be had. It is the price to be paid for federation, and all we ought to strive here to do is to find out what the amount is, and what is the best way in which it can be raised. He would be a poor debater indeed who, having such a fertile theme on which to raise public discord, were unable to raise, as it were, a storm of indignation as regards the Tariff, which must tax where taxation did not previously exist, and which in the great senior state of all doubles the taxation on each man and woman of that great community, but doubles it only in accordance with the necessity which had to be faced. Was not this predicted by all who previously considered the matter? As the honorable member for Wentworth said in most graphic language, ought it not to be disclosed to the people at the earliest possible moment in order that they should nerve themselves to stand the shock and regain the equanimity which is necessary for the purpose of finding the best solution of the difficulty. How have we been served by the Opposition? Have they adopted tactics of the character to which I referred? They have spoken here, there, and everywhere. Was it to allay, to soothe, to enable the people to face a national emergency? Nothing of the sort. To provoke, to irritate, to try to get an excuse for indignation, to foment discord and to promote strife. But I am inclined to believe that here we have a calmer atmosphere, and if this debate should end, as it no doubt will end to-day, in the failure of the attempt to

overthrow the Government, we shall address ourselves with determination and success to the duty of considering each and every item in detail, and providing that which is best under the circumstances. It is for reasons such as that that I do not propose, knowing what the fate of this motion is to be, to deal with details at the present moment, and so promote anything in the shape of waste of time. What do the Opposition suggest? We have heard little or nothing. The honorable member for North Sydney put forward something gently, gingerly. He would not father it, and the leader of the Opposition would not father it.

Mr. REID.—I only father my own.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable member must be careful for fear that it might be fathered on him.

Mr. THOMSON.—Does the Minister ask the Opposition to provide his policy?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member brings it forward as some modification which would practically disarm opposition to even the Ministerial proposal. How much better he could do it if he had to do it, which I am thankful he has not at the present moment—

Mr. REID.—The Minister should be grateful to him.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am. The honorable member threw this thing up as a sort of feather, it seems to me, for the purpose of finding out which way the wind blew, and judging as far as I possibly could by the utterances of his leader, which have been recorded for public approval, I am inclined to think that at the Sydney Town-hall his leader was grasping at this feather, and suggesting an attitude in relation to that proposition which would have a soothing effect upon the public mind.

Mr. REID.—It is a wonder the Minister did not go up to soothe them a bit. Why does not the Prime Minister or the Minister for Home Affairs go up and soothe them a bit?

Mr. KINGSTON.—We shall be about in due time.

Mr. REID.—When the money is due?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not know that I am going along there just yet. I hope, if this contest is to be prolonged, to have an opportunity of discussing matters of this sort.

Mr. REID.—Let us go up there.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Oh, yes; but I have not got an invitation yet. I understand that there is no proposal on the part of the Opposition. What do they intend to do—do they intend to let the States go short, or to do as the leader of the Opposition did when he introduced his free-trade policy in New South Wales, namely, propose a land and income tax. Here let me say this to the leader of the Opposition. Of course I do not know so much about New South Wales politics as he does, but if I can read history in this connexion, so far as the free-trade movement was concerned, I believe that its strength lay in the land tax. If the right honorable gentleman had not advocated the land tax the free-trade policy in his State would not have been so far advanced as it is to-day.

Mr. McDONALD.—It would be a good thing to have it here.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not know if the idea of the right honorable gentleman is to propose something in the shape of a further land tax, but it seems to me that as land taxes are already in operation in some of the States, it would be a little hard if any double-banking were proposed. At the same time, I do not hesitate to declare my personal regard for a land tax. It is one of the proudest recollections of my life that I had the honour to draft the first Bill providing for a tax on unimproved land values—the first Bill for the continent of Australia. The Government of which I had the honour to be a member succeeded in passing that Bill into law in 1884, and on that Bill it seems to me the land tax legislation of the right honorable the leader of the Opposition was based. To deal more closely with the terms of the motion which the right honorable gentleman has moved, it seems to me to be a sort of drag net. It is supported by an appeal to class and local prejudices, and it serves to fan the expiring embers—at least by the way in which it was moved—of State jealousies. The speech of the right honorable member in moving the motion, appeared to be an apostrophe to liberty—the liberty to suffer and starve—the usual hackneyed appeal that is indulged in by those who clamour for freedom of trade, very frequently in utter disregard of its necessary consequences. The motion is a proposal to hold above everything the survival of the fittest, to make no provision for

the protection of the weak, to reject—as far as we have had any indication of what is really intended—all that could really tend to the prevention of the injury of the weak by the strong. It is an apostrophe to the liberty which renders local industrial benevolent legislation worthless, in that the worker loses his work in competition with the goods of the sweated worker in foreign countries. It is an appeal to the craze for cheapness, for low wages, and cheap men. It is an advocacy of the policy which keeps out cheap labour, but lets in the wares produced by cheap labour. To my mind it is infinitely better that we should let in the cheap worker himself, rather than his wares. If the cheap worker comes here, we can at least hold him within the area of our jurisdiction, and can legislate regarding the conditions under which he shall work. The motion is the outcome of a policy which will deprive Australians—if amended in the direction suggested by the honorable member for North Sydney—of markets for their labour and for their produce to the extent of at least £2,500,000 annually. To my mind, the chief consideration in the settlement of the issues between free-trade and protection is this—whether it is better that we should have a market for our labour and our produce in our midst, or that we should send our money outside of Australia to better the markets of the foreigner, and to employ the labour of the foreign worker—to employ the foreign worker in making up our raw material to the displacement of the opportunities for employment of our own workers at good wages, which are among the chief necessities of man. The poor have been frequently referred to during this debate—we always have them with us. If we read any page in the early history of any State on the Australian continent, what do we find there—the curse of the time, the cry of the weak, the cry for employment, for an opportunity to earn the daily bread. In my own State I have heard it time and again, and in the other States they have had the same condition of affairs in equal, or in even greater intensity. I know of no sadder sight than that of an honest and industrious man going about seeking work and unable to obtain it; returning, as it were, heart-broken to his little home at night, with his wife, and aye, it may be, his children, greedily rushing to meet his approaching footsteps, only to be met with the one old

heart-breaking reply—"No luck, no work." His labour is daily wasted, his capital diminishes as the days go by, and the only means of redress is to be found in the works instituted by the State for the relief of those in such sad plights. Is the day always to be that we are to stop our efforts to make the necessary provision, when necessity meets the eye—are we simply to give bread to prevent men from starving, and to have relief work all over the place—here and there—to the mortification of those who desire Australia to stand in good repute? Are we to discountenance all who wish well to the labourer? What are we to do? It seems to me that the point is this. Shall we struggle to keep available for Australian labour and Australian producer such markets as we can reasonably control? Do we not know and feel that it is right that the work should go to our own people? Do we not know and feel that they have the first claim upon us? And yet, as far as our legislation in this connexion is concerned, the point that has occupied public attention, and the issue that is now raised is whether or not, in connexion with our fiscal policy, we shall do ought to promote local production and the employment of local labour, and greater general happiness and comfort for the poor than has been previously attained. There are obvious reasons which will induce me to curtail my remarks in order that there shall be every opportunity afforded to the mover of the motion to reply, and that we may proceed to a division without unduly trespassing on the time of this House. But I should like to say, while speaking of the importance of giving employment to our own people, whether they be workers or producers, that it does seem to me an almost self-evident truth that no pains should be spared by statesmen to secure to their own people all the means of profitable employment and production which are possible. In this connexion I note with interest that the leader of the Opposition himself refers to the immense advantage of producing or manufacturing all that we possibly can within the borders of the Commonwealth. We cannot lay too much stress on the importance of promoting internal trade. Internal trade has been variously referred to by political economists of the highest repute as the most important of all trades. It employs the two capitals—the capital of the person that produces, and that of the

person who manufactures. Emphasis has repeatedly been laid on the fact that trade of this description is twice as valuable as is foreign trade. I want, so far as I possibly can, to induce thought on the part of those with whom it has been my pleasure to co-operate for so many years—the workers and the friends of the workers—on the importance of stimulating our internal trade. I wish to contrast with the importance of a matter of this sort the much less importance of cheapness—cheapness which is the craze of the free-trader, and to which he is prepared to sacrifice all, rather than lose the paltriest coin of the realm by indulging in the exercise of a patriotic sentiment. I cannot help thinking that the free-trader in his heart must feel, when he looks at the question of how much better, more patriotic and advantageous to the community it is, that all should be working together—the one making and the other manufacturing—that the internal trade and the home market should be stimulated rather than that through a beggarly craze for cheapness the interests of his fellow worker and citizen should be discarded, and the employment and profits sent abroad. I want to put it, if possible, into so many figures. Let us take, for instance, a consideration like the following:—Manufactured goods are wanted. They can be obtained within the realm of the Commonwealth for £1,050. They can be obtained in foreign countries for £1,000. How much better a thing is it that the £1,050 should be paid to the manufacturer within the community than that the £1,000 should be sent abroad? Let us look at the result. If the manufactured goods are purchased within the Commonwealth, what is the result for the expenditure of the £1,050? There is a loss to the purchaser of £50. But, on the other hand, what is the gain to the Commonwealth? There is a gain of £1,000. That money may be equally distributed amongst 50 men, who would thus receive £20 each. The balance, honorable members will see, is altogether in favour of the employment of our own compatriots and fellow citizens.

MR. G. B. EDWARDS.—If the alternative were idleness?

MR. KINGSTON.—I am pleased, indeed, that the honorable member has interjected, because in nine cases out of ten, that is the position. People cannot transfer themselves at

a moment's notice from one source of occupation to another. We know how difficult it is very often for men to obtain employment in their own particular trade or occupation. Take them away from their own trades, and send the money out of the country to purchase imported goods from elsewhere, and what is the result? Instead of the £1,000 being spent within the four corners of the Commonwealth in the way of wages, or of reward to the producer to be expended by him in supplying his various wants, in supporting local tradesmen, in giving revenue to the Commonwealth through the Customs, and thus recouping much more than the original loss, if we come to examine the matter, it is as plain as is the noon-day sun that these considerations should undoubtedly speak all eloquently in favour of the smaller sacrifice in the difference of the prices for the good of all.

Mr. HARPER.—That is the teaching of Adam Smith.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Adam Smith has spoken with no uncertain sound as to the importance of stimulating the home market. As regards this question of cheapness—what does it amount to? Cheapness—think what it means! Unprotected competition with all the capital, skill, cheap labour, and unrestricted conditions of labour and employment in the old world, and in every country. What is the good of Early Closing Acts, the eight hours system, and wages boards, conciliation or otherwise? How can we, if we admit these goods free into our markets, impose our benevolent conditions upon those who manufacture them? What is the object of striving to do all we can within our borders to regulate the employment and conditions of labour, when by the free admission of goods, which may have been produced under the most horrible unrestricted sweating, we force our workers to undersell or to suffer by going unemployed and starving. Cheapness! What is the good of cheapness if the people have not the money to take advantage of it? What is the good of having boots sold at 10s. per pair instead of 12s. 6d., if the people have not the 10s. to pay for them? Is it not far better that the people should have to pay the larger sum, and have the money with which to pay? What is the prospect of men, who insist on decent conditions of life and labour, being able to compete with

those who subscribe to no such conditions? Whether it be increased capital or better machinery, we should set our standard of life and labour as free and high as may be. Do not go to extremes, but, having set that standard, recognise what are the conditions of the world, and do not hesitate to impose, by a fiscal policy, such terms on the importations of goods as shall insure effect being given to our will. That cannot be done except by protection, without which our laws are as idle as idle may be. What are we told here time and again? We are told that because wages boards exist here, and wages under the circumstances are higher and the conditions of labour better, Victorian workers must go to the wall. If that be the case with regard to competition with our neighbours of the other States, how much more so must it be the case in regard to lower conditions of life and labour? Let us look the matter fairly in the face. Are we going to tackle this question as we ought to? If we are content to pass legislation for the purpose of protecting against competition within the prescribed circle of Australian jurisdiction, what is the good of it if at the same time we admit free goods, which are not produced under similar conditions of life and labour, to compete with, oust, and render unemployed our workers.

Mr. WINTER COOKE.—May I ask how the right honorable gentleman proposes to protect the primary producer and his worker against cheap labour?

Mr. KINGSTON.—I am delighted to have the inquiry made by the honorable member for Wannon. I know perfectly well that a question from him comes with the simple desire not to throw me in the slightest way off my course, but to direct my attention to some matter which is troubling him. How do I propose to protect the primary producer and his workman? What is protection? It is assistance given by the inhabitants of a State or Commonwealth through the public purse, in order to protect industries for the good of the community. It may be that we cannot give protection in that way to the primary producer, but so long as the assistance comes to him from the same public—from the same purse, same pocket, and from the community of the Commonwealth—it matters little how it comes. We ought to protect and assist the primary producer in every way possible, and that is, and has been, our policy

for years. With what effect have we laboured in that behalf? We have given cheap land, and where in that connexion did we hear of the doctrine—"Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." If we chose we could sell the State lands for cash to capitalists who would let them out to the primary producer and charge the latter exorbitant rent. But that is not what has been done. Had it been a simple question of cheapest and dearest, the State might, so far as direct results are concerned, have done much better. But in the long run would it have been better? And I similarly ask whether in the long run it would be better if the workers and manufacturers were unemployed and our capital sent elsewhere for the purpose of fostering the enterprise of foreign manufacturers and foreign workers? The primary producer has been given not only cheap land, but also cheap money through State banks and other similar institutions, and cheap access to and from the farm and market by means of State railways, roads, jetties, bridges, and in every conceivable way in which money could be expended for the public good.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—And water supply.

Mr. KINGSTON.—And by means of water supply, bonuses, and aids to prospecting and mining. All these and other means are directly employed for the purpose of giving aid to the primary producer; and long may that state of things continue! It was the policy in the past to assist the farmer by means of protection. We are told that because the Inter-State barriers have been thrown down, the opportunity for that aid no longer remains, and that in regard to foreign markets, there is not the same advantage in the way of granting protection. But does that alter the case? Will honorable members tell me that protection, which was admitted to be a good thing while it assisted the farmers directly, is no longer to be considered a good thing because it cannot now apply to their interests to the same extent? The mode is nothing; the question is whence the assistance comes, and it comes from the public purse. Whether by protection—whether by indirect methods or direct methods—let each and all be fairly treated. Under these circumstances the farmer, who has hitherto enjoyed the advantages of protection, will not, I am sure, simply because he can no longer be helped or greatly helped in that way, insist at this

moment that the mode which has been used to help him shall no longer be available to others. Let one and all, and every industry, be the peculiar care of the State. We help in one way or the other each manufacturer and each industry, primary or otherwise; and to the greater extent these industries are created the better for the country. Honorable members will not fail to recollect that the Government are seeking to do what they can by means of bonuses for the more direct encouragement of those industries which will operate to the benefit of the farmer. Although the farmer may not be aided to the same extent as his brother Australian, he is aided against outside competition, and we see evidence of that aid every day. New Zealand's loss is our gain. I do not wish or hope to produce anything in the shape of jealousy between the Commonwealth and the great colony of New Zealand; but that colony has her barriers raised against us, and we naturally raise our barriers which operate against her. Let the matter be made the subject of reciprocal arrangement, if honorable members like, but do not sacrifice our farmers for the benefit of those outside the Commonwealth, who do not at this moment throw their markets open to us, but insist on levying taxes on Australian goods. I venture to think that the acceptance of this policy is of all importance to us. What was said by Lord Salisbury some time ago, in reference to the foreign trader? He said that in matters of this sort the other countries oppress you, but we have thrown away our weapons. Free-trade gives them the command of our markets and we can insist on nothing in the shape of a similar Tariff for the advantage of our land. I believe that by the continuance of the barriers which we here propose to maintain, there will be at least a considerable direct advantage to our farmers; and I know further, in this connexion, that we can assist them in the future as we have done in the past in other ways. Perhaps the very raising of these barriers will give us an opportunity of entering into reciprocal arrangements which will be for the benefit of the Commonwealth and of other communities with which we trade. I should like to quote, on this doctrine of cheapness—the doctrine of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest—from the utterances of one who years ago spoke on this

subject of free-trade. What is the good of cheapness if the articles are not accessible to the community? Sir John Byles put the matter in this way—

For the benefit of the masses, it is not enough to make things cheap, even in the best sense of the word. What is wanted is, to make them accessible, attainable, by the multitude. By making things cheap, you do not necessarily make them accessible. Nay, there are some modes of making things cheap which, as we have seen, will make them less accessible to the multitude than they were before. What the masses want is the means of purchase. If the means of purchase be wholly absent, it is a matter of supreme indifference to them whether things be dear or cheap. The only means of purchase which they possess are the wages of their labour. In a word, employment is their means of purchase. You may have cheapness without full and various employment for the masses, that is cheapness but without plenty. You may have full employment for the masses at good wages, without the cheapness; that may be competency, or even plenty, without cheapness. The aim of all good legislation should be to unite the two blessings—cheapness and plenty. But if, as often happens, in the imperfection of human affairs, you have to choose not only between two evils, but sometimes also between two good things, inconsistent with each other, which of the two is to be chosen—cheapness for the benefit of a few, or plenty for the benefit of all? Undoubtedly, plenty. Then the study of every Government, in order to produce plenty, permanent plenty, plenty widely diffused and extending to the masses, should be the full and various productive employment of the people. The test of every measure ought to be, and used to be this—"Will it promote the productive employment of the people?" It has been already shown, and on the authority of Adam Smith himself, that the production of articles at home which can be made or grown somewhat cheaper abroad, though it should not produce cheapness, does promote the productive employment of the people—does give them the means of purchase—does produce plenty, permanent plenty, plenty widely diffused, plenty extending everywhere to the masses of the population; and that the opposite policy, even under the most favourable circumstances, though it should and will create cheapness, will destroy the means of purchase, and introduce a real and spreading want.

Under those circumstances how long should we halt between two opinions? What is it to be—cheapness without accessibility, or accessibility to plenty, which it ought to be and can be? There is another reason for adopting this policy, for the benefit of the worker, in this fair land of Australia, a land whose commencement as a nation we are now inaugurating. Sir, the motion of the leader of the Opposition is somewhat in the nature of a drag-net. It is an endeavour to tickle the squatters, to please the farmers, to tempt the miners,

and to flatter the pioneers. It is one of the most attractive motions I ever saw.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable gentleman cannot say that of his Tariff!

Mr. KINGSTON.—The right honorable member could say it, but he will not. Party considerations prevent him. I hope that some day my right honorable friend will rise superior to matters of that sort, and give voice to the peans of praise which should hail the introduction of a Tariff to which he now so slanderously refers—I use the term in its mildest sense. Honorable members opposite would lead the country to believe that they are going to have a fiscal millennium. The necessities of life—tax them? Perish the thought! The farmers—ask them for a trifle? Away with the idea! The squatter—look in his direction for a contribution? You are doomed, if you do! Every one else is to pay nothing, and soon the whole land shall be free.

Mr. REID.—That is protection as represented by the Minister.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No, sir, that is the free-trade which is professed by the right honorable member. But it can never come, and will never come as long as people are called upon to pay their debts, and to provide the necessary financial assistance for the liquidation of their ordinary liabilities. But this drag-net goes on gathering. At the free-trade meeting held in Sydney at the beginning of this week, admission to which was by ticket—

Mr. REID.—That is not true. It was an open meeting, and thousands were addressed in the open street.

Mr. KINGSTON.—At the Sydney Town-hall meeting the free-traders added the further alluring item—no taxation on raw material.

Mr. REID.—Who did?

Mr. KINGSTON.—That was what I saw in the papers.

Mr. REID.—I do not think so.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It was urged that the Tariff should not press unduly on raw material.

Mr. REID.—Surely there is a difference between those two statements.

Mr. KINGSTON.—*Vires acquirit eundo*—they gather strength as they go! I do not know where this thing will end if it is not stopped. It is going to be stopped this afternoon. This is the cry:—"All you manufacturers, pastoralists, miners, men

who use these necessaries, come one and all and rejoice"—according to the proposition of the right honorable gentleman—"we are going to enter into a happy partnership. Of course, if we were under other circumstances, of having the Government's duty of providing necessary funds, it would be different; but come with us and you shall be free, and we need have no thought for paltry matters of that sort."

Mr. REID.—We are going straight; no blooming compromise.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Let us deal with it. There is a lot of money wanted, and we must get it, and on the subject of necessities I tell the right honorable gentleman that if I had my way I would be only too happy to go as far as ever he would on the subject of the freedom from taxation of the necessities of life not produced here.

Mr. McCOLL.—So would every one.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No doubt of it.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; what about the China eggs?

Mr. KINGSTON.—"The China eggs!" I am only too delighted to hear a remark of that sort from the right honorable gentleman, for it only shows how ignorant he is of the history of his own State. The right honorable and learned member does not know that a protection of that sort is very necessary, as regards his own particular State, and for this reason: She cannot provide at present, owing to a want of encouragement of the agricultural egg supply, for her own necessities; and she has to have recourse to the Celestial Empire for the purpose of procuring what is wanted. It is just a typical case. Here is this great State, with her unlimited resources, her large area of country, everything—but wise statesmen.

Mr. REID.—Everything but plenty of taxes.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The result is that for the ordinary, matutinal, innocent egg, she is short, and she has to have recourse to a heathen empire for the necessary supply.

Mr. REID.—And to heathen hens, too; that's the worst of it!

Mr. KINGSTON.—Chinese eggs are imported in large quantities into New South Wales. Our attention was specially directed to the fact in the interests of the agriculturists, so long neglected by the right honorable gentleman. And for the purpose

of giving the people of New South Wales an encouragement in connexion with a minor industry of the farm which is of the utmost importance, this particular tax is provided—at the request of the New South Wales people, addressed to Federal Ministers calling their particular attention to the matter.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—They have not sufficient eggs even for election purposes, and they have to use flour.

Mr. KINGSTON.—For the purpose of ascertaining how the wind blows we throw up a straw; and we get a fair idea of how New South Wales is managed, and what regard is paid to the interests of her agricultural community when we find that she cannot supply her own eggs.

Mr. REID.—We do not sweat our hens as they do in South Australia.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The result is that the eggs of the sweated hen luxuriating in Canton, or some such place, displaces the more humble and unsweated article of the Sydney fowl or duck. Just see the difference in New South Wales; they cannot produce their own eggs! Contrast that with what obtains in South Australia. South Australia not only produces all the eggs that she wants herself, but she sends many to New South Wales, and exports—it is a very interesting item—upward of £80,000 worth of eggs annually. New South Wales cannot export a single one, and has to go elsewhere for the purpose of making up the supply required by her own people.

Mr. REID.—It is the only thing that has saved South Australia in the last five years.

Mr. KINGSTON.—It only shows how much may be done for agriculture in a minor matter like this.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The wealth of New South Wales enables her to consume more.

Mr. REID.—She can afford to have fowl for dinner.

Mr. KINGSTON.—In South Australia we can afford not only to have fowls and eggs, but to sell both fowls and eggs to the unfortunate people of a sister State in want of them.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—New South Wales exports fowls by hundreds of thousands.

Mr. KINGSTON.—There is nothing which would give greater pleasure to the Government than providing for the freedom of the necessities of life. They naturally think that it is a fair thing that, so far as

the means of existence are concerned, the food of the people should go untaxed. But they know full well that the greatest outcry has been provoked against this Tariff on account of the revenue duties which, owing to financial conditions, are imposed upon the food supplies of the people. If we get a chance of reducing the duties, our first thought, I venture to think, will be to turn in the direction of the freedom of the necessities of life. I say, further, that we feel also that as regards a good many of these items, we have provided taxation upon raw materials for manufactures, which we should be glad, indeed, to relax. We think that the margin is often too little between the manufactured article and the raw material. It is not our will, but the national poverty which consents. If, in the future, we can see an opportunity of providing for further freedom of necessities or raw materials, rely upon our heartiest wishes being with proposals to that effect, which, if we could, we should have been only too glad to have introduced in the first instance. The national necessity is to make both ends meet. Our necessities in the way of revenue production compels proposals of this sort, and I say here, lest it be thought that my enthusiasm in this respect is lately born, that fourteen years ago I was a member of the Playford Government, who introduced a Tariff to South Australia, in which provision was made for the freedom of the articles of the breakfast table, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar—I am not sure about kerosene. I would that circumstances had permitted the introduction of relaxations of such taxation into this Tariff. In America, how do they know the difference between the protectionists and the free-trader and the revenue tariffist? The free-trader has a defined policy, approved by Henry George; but what is Henry George's attitude as regards a revenue Tariff? He scoffs at it; he tells us practically that a Customs Tariff can only be justified on grounds of protection. We are protectionists! We are not Henry Georges; but we believe that it is a good thing that the food of the people should be free, especially if not produced here. In America, under a protectionist Tariff, tea comes in untaxed. If we were here to provide for a simple relaxation, honorable members can well imagine what would be our delight. They may talk, and sneer, and scoff at the members of the

Government, but look at our records! Look at what our proposals have been. We have been on the stage of public life in Australia for no inconsiderable time. Do honorable members think that it is a pleasure for us to impose taxation? It is not a pleasure—it is a regret, but at the same time it is a duty, and where duty points we propose to go. We are told by one honorable member that the necessities of life are to come in free; that the squatters are to go free; that the farmers are to go free; that the miners are to go free, and lastly, we have had the manufacturers named. If all these are to go free, where in the name of fortune can we find any subject for taxation, for the purpose of discharging our national duty in the way of collecting the revenue necessary for the maintenance of the national credit and honour. The honorable member for North Sydney has said that he is in favour of the encouragement of manufactures, except in the case of exotic industries.

Mr. THOMSON.—But not by protective duties.

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member said that in Australia, in all except exotic industries, which were not worthy of encouragement, it was desirable that we should have manufactures. How are we going to get them?

Mr. THOMSON.—We can get them under a free-trade Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—A free-trade Tariff? I shall talk to the honorable member about that in a moment. What is the meaning of an exotic industry? It means an industry which is not largely wanted, an industry which is not natural to our soil and climate. Can the industries connected with our primary productions, and natural to our soil and climate, be called exotics? Surely not! It seems to me that our pastoralists, farmers, miners, and manufacturers all constitute industries which are connected with the production of the raw material, and which are of a character that can by no means be called exotic. They deserve encouragement. They are all industries which are of particular worth and value to Australia. What success, what assistance do they not render to Australia? Should we not struggle to do all we can to foster manufactures of that description. In such circumstances is it possible to seriously consider the passing of such a proposition as that which the leader of the Opposition has suggested for the condemnation

of the encouragement offered to staple manufactures? Above all, these should be selected for special encouragement; but, on the other hand, they are selected by the leader of the Opposition for special disqualification. And what produces our Australian wealth? Our staple industries. What are they? They are the industries of the pastoralist, the agriculturist, and the miner. The total value of our national wealth production in connexion with these primary industries is £112,000,000. How much is represented by the agriculturist, the pastoralist, and the miner? The squatter represents, £33,000,000; the farmer and dairyman, £26,000,000; the miner, £22,000,000—making a total of £81,000,000, out of the £112,000,000 of our national annual production from staple industries of Australia. Do honorable members mean to tell me that eight-elevenths of the whole national wealth of Australia are to pay nothing in respect of the establishment of industries, or the maintenance of the establishments of the Commonwealth? Who is going to declare unlimited exemptions in this direction? If there were such exemptions the necessary revenue could not be obtained. I appeal to members of the Opposition to be men, to be open, to be candid. I would say to them do not seek greedily every opportunity for fomenting discord, for exciting agitation, for sympathizing with the wish, whether deserved or not, of every man or individual, to escape the payment of his due, and the discharge of his obligations to the Commonwealth. The honorable member for Wentworth asked that they should be told that this was their duty and necessity, that the money must be found, and they should be asked whether they were prepared to pay their share. I venture to say that the miner, the squatter, and the agriculturist will respond that they are prepared to take their part, and that they do not want any one to bear their burdens—their fair share of the national obligations. What is their fair share? What is the amount sought to be exacted from these industries in this connexion? Honorable members will be surprised when I tell them how little it is. I have a certificate here from one of my chief officers, who tells me that it is probable that not more than £250,000 will be received from the taxation of the special requisites for these three great national industries. That is the taxation which is

—*Kingston.*

imposed upon them by this particular Tariff. £250,000 out of a total revenue of £9,000,000! That is not equal to 3 per cent. It is a libel on the farmers and miners and agriculturists to suggest that they wish to avoid the contribution of this infinitesimal proportion of the national expenditure which we are all prepared to pay.

Mr. McDONALD.—Does that estimate include all that the miners would have to pay?

Mr. KINGSTON.—It comprises all they would have to pay in respect of their special requisites. Special requisites, of course, do not include necessities of life which are common to every one. If we take the total debit against these industries in regard to the items agricultural machinery, tanks, machinery, and engines (not elsewhere included), manufactures of metal (not elsewhere included), disinfectants, vehicles, timber (dressed), other timber, candles, explosives (not elsewhere included), and fuse, the amount is not £500,000, and honorable members know that it is not to these industries solely that matters of this sort can be fairly debited. I should like to say a good deal more in this connexion, but I feel that we have taken a long time in discussing this matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—A very long time.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I do not think any honorable member will suggest that I have unnecessarily occupied the time of the House for one single moment.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The finest speech ever delivered.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Stopping honorable members from going home.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I can assure honorable members that I have taken great trouble to prepare myself in this connexion. I have a number of notes which I willingly abandon, because, whatever I do, I should like to feel that in my relation to the other side of the House, I am fair even almost to the extreme of being unfair to my own party. I thank honorable members for the kind attention they have given to the remarks which I have felt it my duty to address to them, and I trust that they will at the earliest possible moment assist in negating this motion, which will induce us to the conclusion that however much in matters of detail we may have failed in the preparation of this Tariff, still at the least our principles are of a character which they approve, and that they desire us to continue in the discharge of our work.

Mr. HUME COOK.—They cannot answer you!

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—In reply—An honorable member on the other side, in the exuberance of his youthful confidence, said—“They will not answer you.” That is exactly the thing which I propose to do.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Pardon me. I said “they cannot answer you.”

Mr. REID.—I beg pardon.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is only his statement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is a discourteous explanation.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is perfectly entitled to make an explanation of that sort. I do not in any sense hold that to be a discourteous explanation, because he, naturally, at present is quite sure about everything; but as he grows a little older, as we all, unfortunately, have to do, he will not be quite so sure about himself, to begin with. There is no doubt that this is a great occasion. I do not wish to be tempted into discussing any matters of a personal character. I congratulate the Minister for Trade and Customs on delivering a most able and eloquent speech. Much as I differ from my right honorable friend, I have always been in a position to fully appreciate his high qualities, and I think the speech he has made on this occasion is one which every person may read with pleasure. At the same time, it is one of those speeches which can be disposed of practically in one or two sentences. In the first place, the right honorable gentleman has come out of his shell. He has run the protectionist flag up to the top of the mast: it was a fraud on Australia that this thing was not done at first. If ever a Government, when they asked the people of this new Commonwealth to trust them, owed a duty of fearless frankness in, at any rate, defining broad principles of action in reference to matters of great moment to all classes of the community, that was the time. Experienced men, trained Prime Ministers, gathered together, men whom the people were accustomed to address; and if there is one duty which men whom the people trust owe to them, it is that of treating them honestly and candidly in return. The right honorable gentleman dared not make that speech at any time but the time he has chosen—when the people's voices are stifled, when the people's power is for the time suspended, when the division-lists have been carefully analyzed, when there is no

further hope of keeping upon the Treasury benches honorable members who have any regard for their election pledges. It is, after a singular occurrence in this Chamber, that we at last hear a manly and straightforward, and, from a protectionist point of view, a thoroughly patriotic speech. I have always respected a man who could deal with the subject of protection in the way in which my right honorable friend has done. In all my attacks upon him I have never once for a moment doubted his perfect sincerity; but I am compelled to make a much graver charge against him than a want of sincerity, and that is a want of candour—that somewhere in Australia he should have made that speech when he was inviting the confidence of the people; that somewhere in Australia his colleagues should have made that speech when they were inviting the confidence of the people of Australia; that at Maitland, when the Prime Minister addressed himself to the people of Australia surrounded by his colleagues, that speech ought to have been made. When we see three honorable members, whose personal honour, I suppose, no one will doubt, after faithfully and loyally sitting behind the Government; when we see three honorable members one after the other quoting the utterances of the Prime Minister, and proving their disappointment at the difference between his public professions and this Tariff, we see a spectacle which ought to be humiliating either to those three honorable members or to the Ministry. Since these three honorable members have taken that course, has a single constituent addressed them complaining of their action? Has a single meeting been held in their constituencies to protest against their action? Throughout Australia, has a single meeting been held to support this Tariff? On the contrary, we find that feelings which the right honorable member the Minister for Trade and Customs, in the pride of place, describes as discord, agitate the Australian community. In his younger days, great manifestations of national feeling—at the head of which he generally was himself—were looked upon as the voice of something very near almighty wisdom. But now that the voice of the people has been heard right over Australia with no uncertain sound, the Australian democracy is in a state of discord. It requires to be soothed, and he appeals to us to soothe the public mind of Australia, to

pursue a patriotic course ; not to carry out our pledges, but to help a complacent Ministry to do that which they have not yet had the courage to vindicate on any public platform. We hear of some announcement of New South Wales Ministers appearing in the Town-hall in Melbourne—a very proper thing to do ; but they owed a prior duty to appear in Sydney, or, at any rate, a duty to appear in both Melbourne and Sydney. A Prime Minister, who owes to a constituency of New South Wales his position and his power, should have condescended to soothe the people of Maitland, to soothe the people of New South Wales, to show that it is only discord, and not the natural indignation of a people who had been deceived. There are times when an Australian population can take things very easily. But there is one thing which Australians are not yet accustomed to regard with complacency, and that is acts of betrayal. The talk was all about compromise ; the talk was all about revenue without destruction ; but now we are getting the candid transparent truth. The way in which to destroy a people is to impose a revenue Tariff. When the Prime Minister gave as the key-word of his whole policy—revenue without destruction—he ought to have explained to the people that revenue meant destruction ; that all the mainsprings of national prosperity, everything that lay at the root of our industrial life, every impulse of humanity called out with one voice—for what?—for a policy of protection. We are told that if the people are well employed they can afford to pay taxes, and that the only means of securing them employment is by protection—that is, by a revenue-destroying policy. Although there are some protectionists who are hardy enough to consider that these two principles are in absolute harmony, men without any great pretensions to political eminence, but who have at least a certain degree of common sense, know that if there are two things which are absolutely antagonistic, they are the principle of a revenue Tariff, and the principle of a protective Tariff. The principle of a protective Tariff is that imports are a curse, and cheapness is a curse, and that, therefore, imports should be reduced as much as possible. The protectionists say—“Make your Customs revenue small, and your people will

Mr. Reid.

be prosperous, strong, and able to easily bear the burdens of a nation.” Talk about sacrifices ! The Minister for Trade and Customs does not ask the people to make sacrifices. If he believes what he says, and I know he does, he asks them to enrich themselves. He asks them, by means of this great policy of shutting out all the evils of the sweated world beyond, to insure for labour here peace and plenty ; and I say that the man who believes in this principle is out of place under the banner of the man who spoke at Maitland. I regret that the exigencies of my right honorable friend the Prime Minister and his public position compel him to be absent. He cannot help that, nor can I. But I feel now that it is my duty to say—I do not go by what other honorable members have said, as they have to judge for themselves—that I feel that I am only voicing the honest opinion of the great bulk of the people of New South Wales, and certainly of the Prime Minister's constituency, when I say—without accusing the right honorable gentleman of anything mean or treacherous in intent—that, in point of fact, and in point of political result, his speeches were couched in a vagueness of language which would be regarded as sinister if we did not respect him. I admit that he has a habit of speaking in vague terms, but this was a question which required more open treatment. In the first instance these gentlemen who are supposed to be the apostles of federation, appealed to the people to cast aside every other consideration and follow them. They told the people that those who were not associated with them were planning some deep treachery against the Constitution, that the vital principles of the Constitution required that all true federalists should stand side by side. With that assurance, and in that faith, tens of thousands of people who abhor the principles of protection fought under the banner of my right honorable friend. They responded to his call. How absurd was all the talk of conspiring to overthrow the Constitution, surrounded as it is by so many democratic principles and safeguards. The action of the Government showed that some deep political design was concealed behind, and now we find accomplished, at the hands of those who sought to be considered the guardians of the Australian Constitution, an act which makes constitutions of little concern. What is the spirit

of our Australian Constitution? It is that there should be a relation of principle between the people and their representatives in this Federal Parliament. What is the soul that inhabits that sacred shrine?—the soul of a great democracy; and surely the elementary principles of honour and candour are required to keep the sacred flame pure. I say that, read in the light of subsequent events, a grave wrong was committed on the people of this country by keeping them in ignorance of what this Ministry was really driving at. We know what New South Wales would have said to that. The Prime Minister would not have been sent here, and several other honorable gentlemen would not have been sent here. I come now to a phase of this subject which strikes me with considerable pain. There has been, I regret to say, a most palpable attempt to conceal the real operation of this Tariff. Who ever thought, when the Customs Bill was being passed, that this sort of monstrous treatment was to be practised under an Australian Tariff? We read in the misleading schedules of the Tariff that there are certain duties on the articles that are mentioned there, but we find that in the administration of the Customs-house these duties of 30 per cent. or 20 per cent. become 10 per cent. higher. And why? Because the packing charges abroad, the cost of the cases, the cost of the transit from the manufactory to the port of shipment, and a thousand other charges, are added to the value of the goods; 10 per cent. is added on to these charges, and a 20 or 30 per cent. duty is levied on the total. When the Minister for Trade and Customs was indulging in cheap and carefully prepared orations about large questions of human feeling, I thought he would have done greater service to the community if he had replied to some of the more serious charges against this Tariff which now fill the whole atmosphere of Australia. I have before me an invoice for bottles, which are necessary for use in our great colonial wine industry. I suppose that that is an industry for which we all have some regard. Now, the charges on this shipment of bottles, which is worth £96, amount to £217. That is to say that there is protection of over 200 per cent. in favour of the colonial bottle industry. What do the Customs authorities do? It is true that they do not charge on the freight now, but they charge on the packing and so on,

and the £96 becomes £188 by the addition to the prime cost of the article of £92 for charges. Ten per cent. is added to that, which makes £206 16s., and then 20 per cent. duty on the bottles is added to the £206 16s., making a duty of £41 7s. upon a shipment worth £96.

Mr. HARPER.—Did the right honorable gentleman say that that was done under the Customs Act?

Mr. REID.—It is utterly immaterial to the man who has to pay the money whether the charges are made under the Customs Act or by any other authority. Here we have an imported article upon which we were told a duty of 20 per cent. was to be charged, whereas the impost practically amounts to 40 per cent. I say that these are frauds, and that if a private individual were to do such a thing as is now being done by the Customs authorities he would be convicted of imposition. It is an imposition on the people of Australia that such frauds should be concealed beneath the Tariff.

Mr. KINGSTON.—I think it is done under the old Tariff.

Mr. REID.—Indeed it is not. Then there is the case of bedsteads.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Will the right honorable and learned member tell me the date of the documents from which he gets his information?

Mr. REID.—I will hand the documents to the Minister later on. Under this Tariff the duty upon bedsteads, which was formerly 25 per cent., becomes 30 per cent., the duty upon American chairs, instead of being 20 per cent., becomes 30 per cent. That reminds me that when the Minister for Trade and Customs invites the House and the people to turn their eyes to the degraded coloured centres of the East, we know well enough that the labour which protectionists most fear is that of the highly paid workers of the United States. It is not the labour of China, Peru, or Siam, that Victorian protectionists are afraid of, but that of the people whose wages they say are the highest in the world, and of the country where they say the standard of comfort is the highest. Why should the Minister for Trade and Customs employ his great gifts in order to obscure the true issue? It is not the degraded coloured line that is in my right honorable and learned friend's mind. It is a line to divide the Anglo-Saxon race. It is a line to keep

out the American and New Zealander. Do they live under conditions inferior to our own? I say that we are doing some good in brushing aside these monstrous hypocrisies. The father of the present Lord Brassey was, I suppose, one of the greatest employers of labour in the world. He employed tens of thousands of men in different countries, and he gave it as his opinion there was no difference in point of fact between paying a superior man high wages and an inferior man low wages. His experience, he said, was that from the varying rates which he paid in various countries and to different workmen, the actual result was about the same. For low wages he got little work, for high wages he got much work. That is the great secret of American supremacy to-day. It is not because the people there are weak, degraded, or effeminate that wages are high in the United States, but because the people represent the cream of human ingenuity and industry. Alas too, it is because the physical strength of the American in the factory is put to a pace of cruel pressure which is unknown even in miserable England. The man has become entangled in the machine and the vast machine must go round with lightning speed crushing him by the way. Let us get rid of these pretences. The honorable member for New England spoke like a man, as he always does. I may differ from that honorable member and from the Minister for Trade and Customs, but I always have a large amount of respect for them, because they invariably give themselves away. The honorable member for New England comes down to this Parliament, a real representative of the old English tory landlord. He hates cheapness. He goes along the shop fronts of Sydney and sees the commoner articles which must be bought by the poorer classes. He says, "These commoner articles in the window are too cheap," and his heart rebels against it, just as did the heart of the tory landlord against the idea of cheap food for the British people 50 years ago. What a horrid thing cheapness was when it would put a loaf of bread upon the table of a family which was starving.

Mr. SAWERS.—Sweating.

Mr. REID.—Yes; sweating. When one commences to sweat others, he puts a ring fence round the people he is going to sweat. What are the protectionists doing now? They are trying to erect a vast ring fence

all round this continent, so that they can sweat Australians as other people are sweated in the various protectionist countries of the world. But I wish to come back to my right honorable friend's horror of cheapness. The Minister for Trade and Customs is essentially reproducing the old tory principles of 50 years ago. His horror of cheapness is a fearful and wonderful thing. I have never found an Australian manufacturer display any horror of cheapness. Can the Minister point to one man engaged in manufacturing in Australia who does not run after cheapness? Why should we not attack the thing at the very core? Since it is the poor man who works that we want to help, why not apply this heaven-sent principle to him direct? Why not put a ring fence around human beings? Why allow men to be brought here from England, if they like to come from that half-starved miserable country? Why not put a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty upon them? That would be protecting labour. Why not cure the unemployed distress by preventing any one from coming into the country until every one who is already here is employed. It is the sort of talk we have had to-day that almost turns the stomach of a man. Does any one who knows anything about the conditions of America not know that the one class of man who is not to be found in the American factories is the American himself? Did not the people of America, in erecting a stately fabric of prosperity for the American people, incur enormous burdens in order to fill their grand factories with Hungarians, and with the dervishes of Europe, who were brought over by the million? When there was a strike in an American factory, what was the cure? A ship-load of these people from the South of Europe! What is the use of talking about protection for labour?

Mr. FOWLER.—That is how the honorable member for Tasmania lost his billet, or at least he told us so the other night.

Mr. REID.—Which honorable member for Tasmania? One of the representatives of that State ought to lose his billet. If the honorable member is alluding to the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, the latter ought to lose his billet right off. But I do not wish to see his colleague, Mr. O'Malley, out of the House, because he has gone straight upon this question from the beginning. I respect a straight opponent, but I cannot sufficiently

express my contempt for a crooked friend. I want to come back to another matter of great importance. Here is the great Republic of the United States. Surely, with the marvellous resources which it possesses, under the heaven-sent policy of protection prosperity should be assured to the masses there. The United States possesses vast natural resources, a politically free constitution, and no long or highly descended aristocratic families, who monopolize the lands as they do in England. In this connexion we ought not to forget that free-trade England has ever been labouring under the curse of locked-up lands. If the principles underlying the holding of the lands of the mother-country were as free as those underlying our commercial policy, many of the dark blots upon her fame would disappear. What is the glory of France? Is it her protection? No; it is her peasant proprietary, which has given millions to the farming industry of that great country. When my honorable friends talk about Germany and the great progress Germany is making, do they know the position in which the unskilled workmen of that country have been placed in consequence of the great increase in the price of food there? Germany, we are told, has been made a highly protectionist paradise owing to the transcendent genius of Bismarck. Bismarck and protection! Bismarck wanted to sweat the German people for money with which to keep up his army. What did the man of "blood and iron" care about protection? The man of "blood and iron" wanted money, and he could get it only by taxing the people under the name of protection. Germany is a great nation, with a gifted, thorough, and manly race, but what can these manly, well-educated Germans earn? Two shillings for a day's work of eleven and twelve hours. They have the finest type of manhood in Europe, and are surrounded by the heaven-sent bulwark of distressed humanity, and yet a man with a wife and three children in Germany to-day has to work for days in order to pay the duty on his bread, before a penny comes in for the support of the family. The Minister for Trade and Customs drew that picture of distress which has so often been drawn, of the hungry children greedily running to greet the father as he comes from his unsuccessful quest for work. Among all the absurdities of the absurd principle of protection is there

one greater than the proposition, as a remedy for distress, of the taxation of the poor? What a queer remedy for distress taxation is. If a rich man is in trouble, do we help him with a land tax? No; he knows that a land tax is no help to him, because he has the common sense which has enabled him to grow rich. It is a monstrous absurdity not to see that if the margin in a country is so narrow between starvation and idleness and employment, how cruel it is to make the cost of living artificially dear. The Minister for Trade and Customs is manly, and he admits that protection does make living dear; but he says that the slight difference is recouped in some marvellous way. It is astonishing how we can recoup the loss of others by scientific deduction. It is the easiest thing in the world, while one is all right oneself, to explain to another man that if he pays out a sovereign he will get it back some other time in some other way. I can quite understand lawyers, like the Minister for Trade and Customs and myself, having an inborn horror of cheapness, to which we are not accustomed in any way; but when labour is struggling with hardship and distress, in the name of heaven relieve it in some other way than by putting burdens on every rag which the wife and child wear, and every morsel which they eat. The Minister for Trade and Customs has taken up high ground, and practically impugns our humanity. He, in effect, says that whereas starving people are coming piteously to him, we are the cruel monsters who wish to stand between him and the relief he offers—that we wish to fasten on to the country a policy which will multiply misery and distress. If I believed that to be true, I should throw a thousand policies to the wind. I am not one who holds theories of political economy in that way. It is because I have traced the history of the protectionist policy in other countries that I have such a deep detestation of it. I always find that, if a nation descends to artifice, the men who gain by the artifice are not the masses of the people. What avails it for one great capitalist to outwit another? What avails it to artificially add to the price of a thing which only a rich man needs? What money is there in that? Hence it is that the Minister for Trade and Customs scorns to put more than 15 per. cent. on satins, silks, and velvets. It is, I suppose, unworthy of notice, but boots and shoes and

hats, which are cheap, have to bear duties of 130 per cent. and 61 per cent. That is the policy which is to enable the poor man to put shoes on his children's feet; that is the policy which is to enable a starving man to keep his family in decency and comfort. The fact is that it is because the cheapest things are used by the masses, that the burden of this protectionist system is especially brought to bear on them; it is only out of the multitude of buyers that sellers can make their fortunes. If the Minister for Trade and Customs had explained those broad principles of philanthropy, it would have been better for him and for us. They were perfect, and they would incite enthusiastic cheers. But if at the end of his magnificent perorations some humble workman had said—"Mr. Kingston, how do you figure that out with reference to satins and cheap boots and shoes?"—the Minister would have replied—"Oh, that means I have put 15 per cent. on satins, and 61 per cent. on the cheapest kinds of boots and shoes." When that answer was given, the man would look at the Minister as if he thought he had gone stark, staring mad. Every man can talk in that magnificent way, but a man with a Tariff like that is a curse to any country. This is said to be clap-trap. Now that the Government are away from their masters they have become a very select body—a very superior body. They look on great national meetings as discord and vulgar agitation. The province of a politician is to soothe the people who fear that they are about to be robbed. But let the Minister for Trade and Customs go to Sydney and try to soothe the housewives of that city; let him tell them that pattering feet will come home with shoes on at 61 per cent. *ad valorem*. Even the grave which is to hide the misery of the taxed people does not escape, and we have 80 per cent. *ad valorem* on cheap tombstones. That is the grand policy which is to make Australia smile with exuberant prosperity. Thank heaven the Tariff has electrified the intelligence of the masses right through Australia. The "foreigner" does not seem to come along; he has not yet been signalled at the heads of any Australian port. Let me impugn the statesmanship of the Minister for Trade and Customs on a very simple matter. My right honorable friend was so carried away by the fervour of his

Mr. Reid.

feelings in the interests of distressed humanity that he made the most destructive confession a Treasurer ever made who had a protective Tariff on his hands. What did he say? There is only one yearning desire which is disturbing the rest of this Federal Minister, and that is how to get rid of the duties upon all the necessities of life. Does the right honorable gentleman know what the necessities of life mean to those who have not much to pay for them? It is nothing to us, perhaps, to be asked to pay 10 per cent., 50 per cent., or even 1,000 per cent. on our boots and shoes. But what does it mean to the masses, who have to keep us going! Boots and shoes are necessities of life. They are taxed 61 per cent. *ad valorem*. But if we are prepared to pay a guinea for our boots we get off with 30 per cent.

Mr. SAWERS.—They get them very cheaply through the manufacture being done in the country.

Mr. REID.—No doubt the honorable member would make them for himself, being a thorough protectionist, and then he would keep the money in the family as well as in the country! I should suppose that butter was a necessary of life. If honorable members go over the Tariff they will find that out of thousands of items there are hundreds and hundreds which in any decent community are considered necessities of life. Many of these necessities of life are produced by the farmer. That reminds me of a remark made by my honorable friend the member for Gippsland. He told us very candidly that about twelve or fifteen years ago he called a number of country members together. He had discovered that the system of protection in Victoria was doing nothing for the farmers, and was doing everything for the manufacturers. So that we find that for twenty years the protective system has been a burden upon the farmers of Victoria, who has utterly neglected their own interests. The honorable member for Gippsland had to come to the rescue, and get a stock tax imposed. And, by the way, when that stock tax of 2s. a head on sheep, and 30s. a head on bullocks, was taken off, within two weeks the price of sheep went down 2s. a head, and the price of bullocks 30s. a head. So that the foreigner does not seem to have been paying the stock tax. I got those facts from the best authorities—stock and station agents, and men dealing in meat in a

large way. There was one person who was nearly swindled by a tradesman in Melbourne, and sympathy must be felt for a lady who went into a boot shop in this city to buy a pair of boots, of a kind for which she had been accustomed to pay 25s. She was asked 32s. There was an exposure, and she got them for 25s. I do not think that any honorable member on this side of the House has said that people who buy the higher quality of boots and shoes have anything to complain of. On the contrary, we have pointed out that the higher the value of the article, the less the tax upon it. Now it appears that there is no duty upon best ladies' boots, for which this lady expected to pay 25s.; or the duty is reduced—probably that is the explanation. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports, however, bewails the reduction of these duties in some respects. What do you think, Mr. Speaker, is the reduction that the Melbourne artisan cannot stand? A reduction from about 150 per cent. to about 70 per cent! He cannot live with that amount of protection, even with wages boards! What a state of things industry must have come to in Victoria, when men can produce a larger quantity of boots and shoes in New South Wales without a penny of duty, whilst the poor Victorian must have 70 per cent., and will starve at that. Does not that show that we can offer to our people two choices? We can surround them with every inducement to relax their energies, and not to keep pace with every growing improvement of the age; or we can leave them under the stimulus, which my honorable friend, the member for Melbourne Ports, would call a cruel stimulus of unrestricted competition, and by so doing develop their energies so that they may hold their own against the world. This "curse" of unrestricted competition was exposed on Eight Hours' Day in Sydney. It was shown then what sort of workmen this "curse" makes. We saw what starved, down-trodden, miserable, decrepit, workmen there were in Sydney. I believe that about 16,000 trades unionists marched through the streets of that city a month ago.

Mr. WATSON.—It was the first time for ten years that we have had anything like so many.

Mr. REID.—That is just what I say! Things have been looking up since I threw the Customs barriers down! But there were

always great demonstrations, even before this year.

Mr. WATSON.—Not as good as they ought to have been.

Mr. REID.—The Sydney workman is notoriously a sleepy fellow as compared with the Melbourne workman, and yet he can live against the competition of Japanese and Chinese labour. How is it? It is not that the Victorian stock is not as good as that of the British stock in any part of the world. It is not that the workmen here are not the descendants of some of the finest men in the world, who came here from all quarters of the globe. It is because if you lower the manliness of men you will get a crop that is not manly.

Mr. HUGHES.—What degeneracy from the days of the Eureka Stockade, to the days of men who will fill other people's billets for lower wages!

Mr. REID.—There is a picture, indeed! I want to show my gratitude for the forbearance which honorable members on both sides of the House have shown me by condensing my remarks as much as I can. I will throw away mountains of notes which I made in reference to different speeches. I wish particularly to concentrate my remarks upon the speeches delivered by the honorable member for Gippsland and the honorable and learned member for Indi. Without being invidious—because I think that the tone of the debate has been extremely high—if I may take two speeches from among a number of very excellent ones on the other side, I venture to select those two as presenting between them about as strong a statement of the protectionist case as I have heard. Even in the case of those speeches I shall refer to only one or two of the salient points. I feel that I cannot at this time venture to do more than that. I want to refer to one or two remarkable expressions in the speech of my honorable friend the member for Gippsland, in which he described the commercial enterprise of Great Britain, which carries half the commerce of the world under the British flag, as a species of blackmail levied on the producers and distributors of the world. The honorable member used the word "blackmail."

Mr. A. McLEAN.—Not in connexion with Great Britain. I said that the nation that contented itself with distributing instead of producing did that. I did not apply it to Great Britain.

Mr. REID.—I think my honorable friend will see that the work of the British fleet is a work of distributing; consequently, according to the honorable member, the work of the British mercantile fleet is blackmail. I do not know that any answer is necessary for an honorable member who uses such arguments. Is it not clear that one of the greatest services which can be rendered to the producers of the world is the cheap transit of their productions all over the oceans of the globe? Surely that is an advantage? This service is rendered by the British fleet, because other nations cannot build their ships as cheaply as the British can. Here is this principle of cheapness again! What an awful curse it is that enables Great Britain to earn £80,000,000 a year in freights all over the world? Why cannot the Great Republic, with its vast stores of metals, compete with this little Island in the Seas? Here is Great Britain with her 12,000,000 tonnage against the United States with her 2,000,000 tonnage, Germany with her 2,000,000 tonnage, and France with her 1,000,000 tonnage or something more. I look upon the work of the British mercantile fleets, even from a protectionist point of view, in carrying produce from the producer to the buyer, as one of the most magnificent services which the producers of the world can get. Where would our producers be if freights from Australia were 50 per cent. higher than they are today? Where would the farmer be? Where would the pastoralist be? Cannot we see that when we come to separate a cluster of nerves, which combine to produce a perfect harmony of energy, we begin to interfere with things that are beyond our control? What goes to make up the full strength of any nation?—a thousand different forces, a thousand different factors. I think one of the best tests in the world when we go abroad is, not so much to compare one country with another, as to compare the same country under the two different policies. I think that is a far fairer test. I do not look upon any of these tests as conclusive; they are interesting but not conclusive. But let us take the one country in the world where this cruel policy of free-trade has been in force for 50 years. They had the tender, humane, benevolent policy once; they had that humane and benevolent policy of protection once; they had that policy which greeted the unemployed father so tenderly when he came home every day, and his children ran out greedily to

meet him. I can sum up the climax of that humane policy after centuries of application to one of the grandest subjects for the experiment the world has ever seen, in this way: In the agricultural districts, agricultural labourers were so degraded that they could not pass from one English parish to another without a permit. And why a permit? Because nearly every one of them was on the pauper list, and a parish would not have a man coming from the books of another parish on to its books. They would not allow them to move from one parish to another, because of the enormous burden of the agricultural labourer upon the poor-rates. We go to the factories, and what do we find? We find our great manufacturing centres in England seething with sedition. Why? Because of their indigence and abject misery. We go to the mines of England, and we find the mother and the child working down in those dark mines to keep the home even in food. We find the manufacturers in a state of misery and sedition. The labourers in the counties were in the same state, and all over Great Britain they had a paralyzed community. My honorable friend the member for Gippsland says that stagnation set in with free-trade. Again, I say that an honorable gentleman who can make such a statement does not really call for serious notice. Stagnation! Stagnation for this grand old mother country of ours! Now, I shall show my honorable friend the sort of stagnation there is in disputes between employer and workmen. I suppose that in this land full of paupers the employer has all the best of it. He has starving men running after him for work; yet taking the last two years for which I have the figures, 1898 and 1899, I find that in 1898 labour disputes between master and man increased the wages of 1,015,000 workers on an average of 1s. 7d. per week each in a fight between cruel capital and starving labour. In the next year there were 1,453 changes in the labour rates of England, 1,436 of which were increases and seventeen were decreases, and that affected 1,100,000 workers, and they got increases amounting to 1s. 6½d. per week each. There are 2,000,000 workers whose wages have gone up 1s. 6d. per week each in two successive years. Now, is not that worth a thousand of the experiences of my honorable friend the member for Gippsland? I forgive the honorable member for

this reason : Every man who changes his religion or his political principles is sure to be more red-hot than any man who has never changed them.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—What increases did the other nations make ?

Mr. REID.—It is the same all through the world. My honorable friend, having changed, is like the man—and I say it without any disrespect—who always gets further away from the principle than the man who has never changed, and I say that my honorable friend has out-Heroded Herod in the remarks he has made in reference to this question.

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I quoted the increases in protectionist countries as well as in England.

Mr. REID.—Did the honorable member quote those 2,000,000 I have referred to ?

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I quoted 37 per cent. in England, whilst America increased wages by 66 per cent.

Mr. REID.—Oh, America is all right ; there are no “bare feet” in America ; but I am speaking now of “starving England.”

Mr. A. McLEAN.—I compared England with France, Germany, and America.

Mr. REID.—I am going now to deal with the pauperism in England. That was a strong point with the honorable member. Does the honorable member for Gippsland know that there are only half as many able-bodied paupers in England now as there were 50 years ago ? Does he know that the latest returns show that in this great country with 17,000,000 adults exposed to the cruel competition of the world, there are only 99,000 able-bodied men in receipt of relief ? What an awful state of destitution ! According to the last census, Victoria alone had 23,000 out of a total population of 1,100,000.

Mr. KINGSTON.—What is the leader of the Opposition quoting from ?

Mr. REID.—I am quoting from the *Daily Mail Year Book*. There are a number of children and others, who are not able-bodied, and a number of insane, but here comes in what I conceive to be the glory of England, although she is supposed to be in such a miserable state. She has a system of poor rates for the benefit of the poor. If other countries carried on their system of relief in that way, we should have a tale that would stagger us. Where is there another country that has a poor rate on property as a national system ? England

is rich enough to afford it, but America is not yet able to do so. Of the world's commerce of 18,000,000,000 dollars, Great Britain has 18 per cent., Germany has 10 per cent., and the United States 9 per cent. England has nearly as much as the other two. My honorable friend says that he does not believe in the square mile theory, but Victorian protectionists use it freely when it suits their purpose. I never thought much of the system until I saw it used a good deal down here. There is another theory which the honorable gentleman put forward, to which I shall refer briefly. He committed himself to the statement that if the imports and exports of a country did not agree, they would be balanced by coin. During the ten years, 1889 to 1898, the goods imported by Great Britain amounted to £1,334,000,000 in excess of imports. That was a big bulk to pay in sovereigns. During the same period she exported gold and bullion and silver specie amounting to £356,000,000, while she imported £401,000,000 worth. There were £1,334,000,000 excess of imports of merchandise, and £45,000,000 more of imports of gold and silver. There is something else there. What is it ? The policy of Great Britain is not that of the Minister for Trade and Customs, who would follow a coin round the borders of Australia to see that it did not get out, lest it should be lost. That is not the maxim of British merchants and capitalists. They lend their money all over the world. They do not want it back. They bring back their ships laden with raw material and cheap food, and they make up most of this raw material and send it out in a manufactured state to the markets of the world. The honorable and learned member for Indi referred to the marvellous progress of America. May I instance one little fact, which in itself is sufficient to dispose of a great deal of what he said. They grow an enormous quantity of raw cotton in the United States. Where do they send it ? It is taken by the British merchant in his ships to Liverpool and up to Manchester. The British people import £34,000,000 worth of cotton from America and other parts of the world. They clothe themselves with it, so far as cotton articles of clothing are concerned, and send away £67,000,000 worth in the finished state. They supply the whole population of the British Isles with cotton goods, and yet they are able to sell in the world's market £67,000,000 worth

of articles manufactured from the raw cotton. America sends out £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 worth of cotton goods to the markets of the world. The country we come from has a proud record there. It is a marvellous thing, but it is nothing to the triumph which is being prepared by the Federal Ministry. The Treasurer and the Prime Minister have announced solemnly that they see no reason why our wool should be sent home to be made up, and that, in their opinion, it should be made up here. Why should we not make it up here? It is a grand policy, but it is a kind of policy that only a tyro in mercantile knowledge would venture to propound. Are these gigantic industries, which send their products into the markets of the world to the tune of £60,000,000 a year, constructed by the pen and ink ingenuity of colonial or British politicians? No; they are not built up in that way. The idea of any Government system changing the current of trade in that way is preposterous. We all hope that Australia will have a great woollen industry, but that will have to come when we are not so well off. What is the hope of the great manufactures of Australia? How are we to manufacture cheaply, or to compete with the cheap labour of other countries? Can we have a monopoly of mechanical appliances? Can we so devise our mechanical appliances that our machinery will be better than the British or German manufactures? Can we have better factories? The manufacturers of England and Germany can buy raw material all over the world. How are we going to compete with these under-paid sweated countries until our own labour is under-paid and sweated too? There is no magic about production. It seems to me that the prospect of growing these noxious weeds of sweated industries on this bright continent should cause a man associated with the interests of labour to shudder. In the plenitude of time, when our millions become tens of millions, we shall have a crop of misery which will solve the difficulty in regard to cheap manufactures. Will the erection of a fence solve it? Never! We may run a ring around our own people, but we cannot bull-doze the markets of the world. When we come to compete with those markets, we shall have to do as all other nations do. That is why I have abhorred the policy of producing artificial industries, which belong to

a period of human misery and over-population. I do not refer to all our manufactures. I am not alluding to a large number of Australian industries, which are bound to come soon, and be a source of prosperity to us. But I cannot come to the level of the honorable member for Echuca, who seems to think that the people who develop our internal industries are hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that we should bring higher industries into Victoria. What true political snobbishness that is. Is the labour of the farmer something inferior? Is it not at the heart of all national progress and strength? The honorable member represents an agricultural constituency, but he is guilty, actually, of the ineffable snobbishness of drawing a distinction between industries of the town, which live upon the people, and industries which have to live upon the people in countries abroad. It seems to me that this policy of industrial favoritism reaches an inhuman point when it burdens the machinery of our agricultural industries. Where do they sell? It is not a case of coming to us and trying to push into our markets. They have to take their chance at the other end of the world, and push into markets thousands of miles away from the producing centres. They have to enter into competition with this terrible cheapness, this accursed abundance. That is the lot of our pioneer industries, and forsooth, in this great struggle in the cheap markets of the world, our farmers are to be taxed on their machinery. If you will favour industries, favour the great and natural industries of the soil. And may I suggest to my gifted friend, the Minister for Trade and Customs, that if the Government believe in what he said to-day, they have a simple method of making us all rich in the right way. What is the right way? For the Government themselves to establish these industries, if they are right. Why, if this is a national policy, should the burden rest only on the people who buy the article that is made? They are encouraging an industry. Why, if it is a national policy, should not the burden of it be distributed over the nation? The inherent fatal fallacy of the protectionist doctrine is that it handicaps the wrong man. It makes a man who is encouraging an industry, and buying what it makes, pay the burden, whereas the nation ought to pay it, and when the nation pays it the sweating

and wages evils will disappear. What did the honorable member for Melbourne Ports discover in Victoria before the wages boards were established? When they had this policy of dearness all round Victoria, before the three wages boards were established, what did the secretary of the Anti-Sweating League say? He said that universal sweating was going on in Melbourne in all the industries. There was protection! The Victorians are a first-class people. If it runs to sweating in Victoria with men like my honorable and learned friend, Mr. Isaacs, with their eagle eyes looking on, what will it do in other countries? There is the acknowledgment of the league, of which the Attorney-General and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports are officials, that protection in Victoria ran, to universal sweating. There are people here to-day as badly sweated as are any people in the world. Let the benevolent gentlemen who are interested in down-trodden Victorian labour, take an interest in the position of the milkmen of Melbourne. Let them inquire into the circumstances of the milkmen, and they will find a picture of misery and sweating equal to that in any place out of Australia. Let them look on these sores that come upon this policy of theirs. It was all covered with sores until a further device was planned. Having got the policy they had to run after the manufacturer to make him disgorge. We had none of these troubles in New South Wales. The men managed pretty well to get fair wages without them. If you take the wages of the wages boards of Victoria, and those of our people, you will find a difference of 4d. per week between them—£1 13s. 10d. in Victoria, and £1 13s. 6d. in New South Wales. But there is that accursed cheapness for the man with the £1 13s. 6d., and that beneficent scarcity for the man with the £1 13s. 10d. Fourpence more and scarcity *versus* fourpence less and abundance! What is the use of arguing about Europe, and America, and Great Britain, when we have this stark, staring fact before us, that one-tenth of the population of this blessed country has cleared out of it in ten years? Could you have a truer demonstration that the labour conditions are better somewhere else than when men leave here by the hundred thousand? If one-tenth of the people of

England went away in ten years would you not fill the air with your semi-gratification at the decadence of the mother country? A loss of 4,000,000 of people in ten years!

Mr. KINGSTON.—What is the proportion left in Ireland?

Mr. REID.—Is this Ireland?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The honorable member is talking about Great Britain.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend knows that there are many subjects connected with Ireland which do not make it a fair comparison; his is a weak interruption. I am not talking about Ireland; I am talking about one of the most progressive and enlightened communities on God's earth—Victoria. Now, one-tenth of the manhood of this protectionist paradise had to emigrate like the Irish emigrant of 40 years ago. Did he emigrate from high wages, and dignified and comfortable surroundings, to rough it again in the world? That one fact ought to talk to labour with a trumpet tongue. A country which drives forth labour out of it is in a bad way. A country like Victoria, which cannot keep 1,200,000 people in it, has been in bad hands. It is a wonderful thing to give old-age pensions, but a thousand times better to keep your men in the country. That one fact cast a black band over Victoria, and is it wonderful that the people of the State feel at last the pressure of this policy which is driving men away? Every man who goes is a customer lost to 50 industries of Victoria. A man can work in only one line, but he is a customer in 50 lines. Every man who leaves is a loss to the country, not a gain, unless you carry the protectionist theory down to the Robinson Crusoe extreme. He was a perfect protectionist in spite of himself. No breath of sweated labour could be wafted towards his free and independent home. No foreigners, no importations, perfect solitude, and perfect wealth!

Mr. KINGSTON.—But he had black labour—his man Friday.

Mr. REID.—But Friday he treated like a man, and that is more than the politicians have done with Victorians. I do not believe in your way of treating men, which begins by taxing them, and ends by driving them out of the country. If that is your statesmanship, you had better give way to some other people who will do better for them. I do not think I need trouble much with reference to Victoria, while that state

of things is going on. I cannot congratulate the honorable member for Tasmania, Sir Philip Fysh, on the position which he has taken up in connexion with this matter. He was billed all through Tasmania with posters about 12ft. high—"Vote for Sir Philip Fysh and free-trade," and like the worthy and distinguished member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse—"No truckling to Victorian protectionists."

Mr. PIESSE.—That is an old gag.

Mr. REID.—It was a gag—the honorable member is quite right. This most worthy, grave, and reverend signior was guilty of a very wrong act when he was seeking the support of the people of Tasmania. In order not to do him any injustice—and I can convict him out of his own mouth—I shall take his own explanation of his own programme. He was foolish enough to try to explain the unexplainable, and he solemnly read to the House a statement of his governing principles. Listen to this—

1. Inter-State free-trade.

That is all right.

2. Revenue Tariff to suit our needs—

that is, the needs of Tasmania, which means revenue as he knows—

and stave off heavy burthens of land and income taxes; no Commonwealth direct taxation; a fair trial for Mr. Barton as the first Federal Premier, and general acceptance of his platform.

What is his platform? All Australia wants to know. We know what his taxes are—

But his fiscal proposals must fit Tasmania's necessities as far as possible.

My honorable friend put in the forefront of his advertisement the revenue Tariff. I cannot congratulate any public man who after placing in the front of his programme a revenue Tariff, votes on this occasion with the Government.

Mr. PIESSE.—The Tariff is not settled yet.

Mr. REID.—The Tariff is not settled yet, it is true, and the honorable member may creep out of his hole by-and-by and nibble a bit at it.

Mr. PIESSE.—I am not going to creep into the right honorable gentleman's party.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member will do me the credit of saying that I never asked him.

Mr. PIESSE.—The right honorable gentleman is asking me now.

Mr. REID.—Asking now? The honorable member knows well that it is absurd to say that I am asking him now, after his speech on the motion. The honorable member is not like one of those gentlemen who make a speech one way and vote another.

Mr. PIESSE.—That is what the honorable gentleman says I am doing.

Mr. REID.—I take my honorable friend to be a grade above that. I do not wish to rate him as low as that. I wish to point out to him, with all respect, that it is a dis appointment to a man to have to fight this battle, and to find that the men who ought to be standing beside him are in the camp of the enemy.

Mr. PIESSE.—I am standing where I always stood.

Mr. REID.—Then the honorable member is not standing at all. It is very characteristic of my honorable friend's attitude that when he thinks he is standing he is sitting down. There are some other gentlemen on the other side who honestly ought to have voted with us on this occasion—I mean gentlemen like the honorable member for Moira, the honorable member for Wimmera, and the honorable member for Laanecoorie. I am not putting those honorable members forward as free-traders, because I know that they are protectionists, but they are protectionists who distinctly stated to their constituents that they would be no parties to a high Tariff. Now, this is distinctly a high Tariff. My honorable friend the member for Kennedy, the honorable member for Darling, and the honorable member for Wide Bay, are going to vote on the other side. With reference to those gentlemen I have nothing to say, except that it is a source of deep pain to me that they should be called upon to practically vote against their convictions. There is no blinking the fact, and my honorable friends will have the manliness to acknowledge, that they have no sympathy with this Tariff.

Mr. McDONALD.—Hear, hear. Quite right!

Mr. REID.—My honorable friends are voting with the Government for reasons of which they have to judge, and the honorable member for Tasmania is voting on the same side for reasons no one can fathom, but, at the same time, I hope his conduct will prove to be in keeping with his promises. I trust that these honorable members, and others who are voting for the Government on this occasion,

will strengthen our hands in trying to make this Tariff less objectionable than it is. Honorable members will see that from a selfish, party point of view it would suit us to leave this Tariff just as it is, with all its imperfections on its head; but I think that my honorable friends and myself have a higher conception of our duty than to take such a course. Although we may be defeated with regard to the motion, I hope we shall set aside party interests, and fight as great a fight as we can in endeavouring, as the Minister for Home Affairs has said, to knock the rough edges off the Tariff. The Minister says that it has any number of rough edges, and it will have a number more before it is finished, if my honorable friends have their way. I shall strive with might and main to reduce this Tariff to reasonable proportions; but it is really impossible to reasonably amend a Tariff framed as this is. A Tariff is a most complicated thing to work out, and when you begin to pick out this piece and the other piece, there is very great danger of the whole thing being reduced to confusion. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I do not look forward with any satisfaction to the task of endeavouring to improve this Tariff. I believe it will be reduced by improvement to utter confusion. Still, it will be our duty to do our best. Whatever doubts honorable members opposite may have as to their duty to their constituents, there is no manner of doubt in our minds as to our duty. I think I can safely say that our duty will be to make this Tariff as far as possible a genuine revenue Tariff; to reduce those duties which rest upon the great natural industries of the country, and upon the necessities of life as much as possible. I see insuperable difficulties in the way, because protection comes right across the path, and if it is to prevail in committee it will practically prevent us from doing what we desire. The two principles are utterly and hopelessly antagonistic, and the project of the Government is so imperfect that it will be impossible to make anything like a creditable job of the Tariff. I may be allowed to allude to some remarks which have been made with regard to the policy of the Opposition, and it will save time if I refrain from referring to individual speakers. Certain honorable gentlemen have bitterly complained that I have not outlined a Tariff for the Ministry. I do not know why

they should. The Ministry never asked me to do it. If they had honestly desired me to assist them to frame a Tariff they ought to have told me so before they submitted it to the House. It seems to me to be the silliest thing in the world to complain now. If they had come to me and said, "Mr Reid, this is a great national matter, affecting the daily life of the people; will you help us or give us your best advice?" I should probably have said—"Yes"; but when the job is finished they complain that I did not help them. That is the silliest talk in the world. What my honorable friends really wanted was that I should set out an irresponsible policy which would have enabled them to distract the public mind from their policy by attacking mine. I do not, however, intend to confuse the issues in that way. It is enough for the public to digest what they have before them now without having another Tariff submitted to them. With reference to this particular matter of policy I do not hold myself responsible to any man in this House. I have stated my views openly to thousands of people in my own electorate, where I was at home. I told the people without any hesitation—I could not be expected to go into details—that my policy broadly was this: In the first instance, I am in accord with the Government in not making a direct taxation a part of the Federal finance. That, however, is no new decision, as I announced it when I was before the people. It is my unmistakable decision that matters of direct taxation had better be worked out by the States for themselves, and in that respect the Government and myself are on the same ground. As to customs duties, I say that the amount the Government are proposing to raise through the Customs is exorbitant. I make it out to be exorbitant in two ways, and I think both of my arguments are thoroughly sound. It is perfectly clear to me that the Government have enormously under-estimated their revenue from the Tariff. Take the Tariff as it stands. If it were passed to-morrow, the Treasurer says that in a normal year it would produce £8,900,000. I say that the estimate is altogether wrong. My right honorable friends had an interest in doing this, although I do not urge for a moment that it swayed them in their action. But whereas the imports of Australia during last year amounted to £41,000,000, the

Government have reduced that sum by £7,000,000. They estimate the total value of the imports on the basis of the year 1899, which they call a normal year. But honorable members will see that they do not add an item, which every one will admit ought to have been added—an allowance for a normal increase year by year of the trade of Australia. The history of our imports clearly points to a line of increase, and the increase during the last three years, apart from the fiscal disturbance has been very great. To my mind a normal increase on the trade of 1899 would represent a value of at least £2,000,000. That means £4,000,000 for the two years 1899 to 1901. Therefore, we shall get £4,000,000 for taxation purposes more than the Minister anticipates. Then the Government estimate that the suppressed imports owing to the operation of this Tariff will represent a value of £5,000,000. According to their doctrine that £5,000,000 worth of imports will disappear in the first normal year. I consider that that is altogether an extravagant estimate. Either this is a red-hot protectionist Tariff or else that result will not take place. I believe that £5,000,000 is an extravagant estimate, so that the taxable basis will in all probability be several million pounds more. In my opinion, therefore, the revenue derived from this Tariff will be considerably higher than the amount estimated. I wish now to refer to a part of the address of the Minister for Trade and Customs which I think calls for some special notice. The right honorable and learned gentleman said that I put before the Federal Convention my view that this Parliament must have a supreme concern in the financial stability of the States. I do not retract one word of what I said upon that occasion. But if the Minister takes the year 1899 as a normal year for the imports, I am justified in taking that year as a normal one in regard to the finances generally. I cannot see why I should not do so. The Ministry have themselves announced that the States have been piling up expenditure in anticipation of federation. I say that whilst we are here to see that the States are not reduced to any position of distress, we are also here in another capacity. We are here not to allow ourselves to be the mere helpless victims of the extravagance of the States. My honorable friend's remarks were altogether mischievous if they were intended to prevent this Parliament

from using its proper influence against State extravagance. Surely it would be placing a tortured construction upon anything which I said, to declare that I was willing to support any scheme, however wild or extravagant, as to the amount of money to be collected. What was my reason for securing an alteration of the Constitution? At the Premiers' Conference I foresaw the difficulty we should be in without some amendment of the draft Constitution. As the Constitution was drawn, if the States got into a position of difficulty, we should have been unable to help them, except by the method which has been adopted by the Ministry, of imposing an unnecessarily high Tariff. That is a crude, clumsy, and oppressive way of assisting them. It is nothing to us, but it means a great deal to the taxpayers of Australia. Within reasonable limits, we should refuse to acknowledge, as a basis of finance, the extravagant expenditure which is going on just now throughout Australia. On the other hand, on the basis which I suggested, it would be possible for the Commonwealth to assist any State that might chance to require assistance. There is no degradation to any State in receiving assistance from the Commonwealth during this transition stage. Any money lent to them by the Commonwealth has to be honestly repaid. Therefore, I do not feel that the Minister for Trade and Customs can call upon me in any way to support his extravagant proposals. I think it is rather a pity that the Treasurer should have used expressions which may possibly be construed into throwing a doubt upon the solvency of the States unless certain things are done. More than once in his speech the Treasurer used this word "solvency" in connexion with the States. I repudiate absolutely the imputation that the States may become insolvent. No greater damage could be done to the States than is likely to be done by the use of language of that sort.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I meant that the Commonwealth could not allow one of the States to become insolvent, and the right honorable and learned member knows that.

Mr. REID.—Whilst honorable members of this House would take the Treasurer's reference in that way, some of the financial critics of London might seize hold of language of that sort for the purpose of injuring the States. In future let

Mr. Reid.

US avoid the use of such words in connexion with any Australian State. The bulk of their debts is for railways, which are an absolutely safe asset. All the States are absolutely sound, and accepting assistance will not affect their solvency or insolvency. I am prepared to go a reasonable way in the direction of putting fresh taxation on the people of New South Wales for this purpose; but when the Prime Minister, the Minister for Trade and Customs, and almost every other honorable member who has spoken on the Government side, have drawn attention to remarks of mine to the effect that the people of the mother State must be prepared for a very high Tariff, I think the least candour should surely be sufficient to protect me from such an interpretation as that I meant a highly protective Tariff. Such a construction of my words is absolutely tortuous. I was addressing people who were accustomed to a phenomenally low Tariff, and I was bound in honour — and I wish others had fulfilled the honorable obligation as fully—to let the people know of the great change that must come. A sound revenue Tariff of £8,000,000 would involve a great change in taxation in New South Wales, where it would be regarded as very high; and I erred on the side of candour in putting before the people what the result would probably be. But to endeavour to trap me into a shred of approval of the particular Tariff now under review, as a means of raising a large revenue, is altogether too silly and too unfair. After the all-night sitting which the House has had, I think I ought in fairness to abandon a number of the observations which I should have made had the House been fresh. I feel very much indebted to honorable members for the courteous patience with which they have listened to me, and I feel I shall have a number of other opportunities of dealing with some of the matters to which it would now be convenient to refer. But one remark has been made to which I attach a great deal of importance. The Treasurer impressed on us how wise it would be to give this Tariff the element of permanence; and I thoroughly agree with the right honorable gentleman that that would be the greatest service that we could render to the people of Australia. It is one of the greatest objects an Australian statesman can set before him; but there is a great difference

between agreement on a point of that kind, and the acceptance, as permanent, of a Tariff by men who absolutely protest against it as unrepresentative of the feelings and principles of the people of Australia. We can do nothing as yet, but I hope we shall be able to arrive at some way of putting the Tariff before the people of Australia. There was a time when the plebiscite was ridiculed by a number of politicians in Australia, but the plan has been often used, and I think with great advantage. I admit that it would not be a fair thing to lay before the public the Tariff which the Government have placed upon the table of the House, and ask them the question—“Are you in favour of this Tariff?” That would be an unfair thing, because it would be inviting every one who had a complaint to vote against the Tariff. I am not one to ask for an issue of that sort; but we might solve the matter in perhaps a very happy way if, amongst ourselves, we were to consider whether we could not, in some form fair to the Government, send the Tariff to a plebiscite. I have considered the matter a little, and I think there is a fair issue which, put in proper language, might be referred to the people of Australia. I want to put the question in a way fair to the Government as well as fair to ourselves, because it is only in such a way that the proposal I am making can be successfully carried out. I am prepared to take up the invitation of the Treasurer. I am prepared, so far as I am concerned—and I believe I may speak for the party I represent, although we have not consulted—to accept the Tariff of the Government, with such amendments as we may make in Committee, as a permanent Tariff for ten years at least—and even for fifteen years — if the following issue, which, I think, would be fair to the Government, were placed before the people—“Is this, the Government Tariff, a fair basis for the Commonwealth Tariff?” I think that is a fair issue. The people would not be asked to vote for the Tariff, but, to say whether, in their opinion, it is a fair basis for the Commonwealth Tariff. That issue involves the question of principle. Every man in favour of the Government policy—that is, the protective-cum-revenue policy, would say “yes;” and every one in favour of a revenue Tariff without protection, would say, “no.” This

suggestion would, if anything, give the Government an advantage over the other side.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The people would not see the other Tariff.

Mr. REID.—What does the right honorable gentleman mean by "the other Tariff?"

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — The revenue Tariff.

Mr. REID.—Of course they would not ; and surely the right honorable and learned member does not want me to frame a Tariff yet?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The people would be voting in the dark.

Mr. REID.—I am quite willing to place my proposals as to the Tariff in very few lines before the people. I am so anxious to get this question settled and out of the way of members on both sides of the House, that I am not stipulating for any particular way of attaining that object. My desire is that we should hit upon some plan of placing before the people the issue between the Government and the Opposition ; and my proposal would have the effect of settling the question for ten or fifteen years. We must rise above our own personal interests, whether on the Ministerial or opposition side of the House ; and this is a matter which particularly affects every one in the community.

Mr. KINGSTON.—Could we override the Constitution, and supersede Parliament, in the way suggested?

Mr. REID.—No one could wish to do that, but it would be a good beginning if both parties could make such an arrangement. The best beginning of all, however, would be a Tariff approved by the people themselves ; and I do not suppose that we should want to worry over fiscal matters after the people had pronounced their opinion. We have the choice between two courses. If the Government do not accept the suggestion I have made, I promise—such are my views, and they are the views of a lifetime—that they shall have no rest on this question until the people have decided. The Government may take the suggestion as they like ; I want to get rid of the question. If the Government do not accept my suggestion now, they will have to adopt some similar means later on ; but the democrats, who are about to confer untold blessings on the barefooted

mendicants of New South Wales, might be prepared to risk such a plebiscite. What becomes of all the pathos of my honorable friend the Minister for Trade and Customs, if he refuses to put to the people the issue that has been raised to-day? His pathos becomes bathos—mere political stage performance. I quite admit that if the Ministers look at the matter in a narrow personal light, they may say—"Well, we seem pretty snug ; we have a docile lot of followers behind us, and we are all right, whatever becomes of the country." But the Ministry are not men of that stamp. I think the Prime Minister ought to look on my suggestion as a fair one, because some such suggestion will have to be carried out later on. What is a general election but a plebiscite of the people, and on what better question could there be a general election than on the Tariff? I know, of course, that when the Prime Minister is discoursing on the Tariff he plays some very seductive melodies—"There are conspirators who want to strangle this fair Australian Commonwealth. They may do it by some kind of *coup-d'état* unknown to the Constitution—may wipe it out as Cromwell might have done. The best men, too! The people must never think of electing any but the best men!"—which means himself and every other member of the federal gang in New South Wales. That sort of thing can only be done once. The right honorable member is always able once to fool the people, but the second time he finds they will not have him at any price. He will find that when he goes to New South Wales. The Minister for Trade and Customs called upon us to soothe the discontent and discord which prevail in New South Wales in reference to this Tariff. May I suggest to my right honorable friend, who is billed to address a meeting in Melbourne on Monday night, that he should make it convenient to go to Sydney, and endeavour to soothe the people there?

Mr. BARTON.—I shall have to go some day.

Mr. REID.—I know that the right honorable gentleman is putting off the day as long as possible!

Mr. BARTON.—The right honorable gentleman knows that that is not correct. He knows how impossible it has been for me to arrange any meeting in Sydney up to date.

Mr. REID.—I will give the right honorable gentleman a month.

Mr. BARTON.—I shall go in my own time, not in the right honorable member's.

Mr. REID.—I want the Prime Minister or my able friend the Minister for Trade and Customs, who is a great favorite in New South Wales on his general political career—we like him—to try and soothe the feelings of the people in Sydney on this question. I will give them a month's grace, so that things may cool down a little. But I can assure them in advance that I have had an opportunity of addressing two enormous meetings at the Town-hall there, inside and outside, and, with the exception of a venerable old clergyman at the one meeting, and an Italian at the other, no one voted for the Barton Tariff. I want my right honorable friend to give the people of Sydney his explanation of his Maitland speech in the light of this protectionist Tariff. Is my right honorable friend the Prime Minister aware that, in his absence, the Minister for Trade and Customs has stripped off every disguise from the Government, and that, instead of dealing with the Tariff in the course of a three hours' speech, he talked of nothing but the benefits and blessings of protection? He told us that the flag had gone up to the top of the mast. I said then, in the absence of the Prime Minister, and I say it now in his presence, that if the Government ever intended to put their protectionist flag to the top of the mast, they ought to have had the manliness to do it when they were seeking election. They should not have left two signals flying. "Revenue without destruction" should have read "destruction without revenue." There can be no sort of pretence that duties of 61 per cent. on cheap boots and shoes mean revenue. Surely the Minister will admit that. He would never have dreamt of telling the people at Maitland that revenue without destruction meant duties of 61 per cent. on cheap boots and shoes. If the Prime Minister had given the people of New South Wales any idea of this Tariff he would have been scouted—I do not mean personally, but as a public man. They would have scouted him and most of his supporters, and they will do so on the first opportunity. I do not wish to embroil this most important matter, which does affect all

classes of the community, more than can be helped by any political agitation or political uncertainty. I think we should offer a really valuable present to the people of the Commonwealth if we asked them to settle this matter once and for all. The result, of course, would have to be loyally abided by by both sides. I am thoroughly in favour of that course myself.

Mr. WATSON.—It could be taken for the period during which the Braddon blot remains operative.

Mr. REID.—I think Ministers would consult their own personal dignity—I say nothing of their emoluments, because I know it must be a source of pecuniary loss to occupy these high offices—by seriously considering the proposition which I have made, which would have the effect of obtaining that permanency which is the desire of the people. Permanency may be the result of despotic rule; it may be the result of a fraud on the people. But this permanency put before the people is an honorable permanency, a democratic permanency, a permanency that no sensible man would desire to disturb. On behalf of the people of all the States, I say that the Government will be subjected to agitation unless some such course is taken. A pathetic appeal has been made by the Minister for Trade and Customs on the question of humanity and the welfare of the poor. The policy which I advocate has had the advantage of being tried in an Australian community, where, instead of bringing distress upon the people, it brought comfort. In spite of a large number of adverse and antagonistic conditions, such as droughts and low prices for Australian produce, the people of New South Wales, who at one time were taken to be protectionists, have come almost universally to favour a revenue Tariff. I quite admit that free-trade is impossible. I have always admitted that. But I say that the difference between a policy which puts money raised from the pockets of the taxpayers into the coffers of Australia, and a policy which puts the money into the pockets of a few individuals is a radical one. The Prime Minister had a send-off when he left Sydney last week. While thousands of people were clamouring to express their indignation against this Tariff, 30 or 40 gentlemen accompanied the Prime Minister

to the train, and he got an enthusiastic cheer from that small group, headed by Mr. Beale, the manufacturer of Australian pianos, and by Mr. Gillies, the manufacturer of candles and soap. Mr. Beale is a man who is having these Tariff imposts thrust upon him. The Treasurer need not stare at me. He knows something about this case.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Yes, I know something about it.

Mr. REID.—Mr. Beale has been about a good deal.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I have never seen him.

Mr. REID.—Oh, no; the Treasurer has not seen him. This gentleman has been able to establish his business in New South Wales without a shred of a duty. He has been turning out an enormous number of pianos every year—I believe, speaking from memory, 500 last year. He is the only manufacturer of these instruments in Australia. There have been duties on pianos in Victoria for many years past, but they have not been able to establish any industry like that in Sydney. Mr. Beale has got on very well without having money taken out of the public pocket for his advantage. Then Mr. Sandford has become a wealthy man. The duties under this Tariff will be of advantage to him. Instead of this Tariff being beneficial to the great bulk of the people, the adoption of such a policy will enable the clever men, with their power of combination and of capital, to fleece the poor.

Question put. The House divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 25 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 39 |
| | | | — |
| Majority | ... | ... | 14 |

AYES.

Brown, T.
Conroy, A. H.
Cook, J.
Cooke, S. W.
Edwards, G. B.
Fuller, G. W.
Glynn, P. McM.
Groom, A. C.
Hughes, W. M.
Kirwan, J. W.
Knox, W.
Mahon, H.
McLean, F. E.

Page, J.
Paterson, A.
Poynton, A.
Reid, G. H.
Skene, T.
Smith, B.
Smith, S.
Solomon, E.
Thomson, D.
Willis, H.
Tellers.
Fowler, J. M.
Wilks, W. H.

NOES.

Bamford, F. W.
Barton, E.
Bonython, Sir J. L.
Chanter, J. M.
Chapman, A.
Cook, J. Hume
Crouch, R. A.
Cruickshank, G. A.
Deakin, A.
Edwards, R.
Ewing, T. T.
Fisher, A.
Forrest, Sir J.
Fysh, Sir P. O.
Groom, L. E.
Harper, R.
Isaacs, I. A.
Kennedy, T.
Kingston, C. C.
Lyne, Sir W. J

Manifold, J. C.
Mauger, S.
McColl, J. H.
McDonald, C.
McEacharn, Sir M. D.
McLean, A.
O'Malley, K.
Phillips, P.
Quick, Sir J.
Ronald, J. B.
Salmon, C. C.
Spence, W. G.
Tudor, F. G.
Turner, Sir G.
Watkins, D.
Watson, J. C.
Wilkinson, J.
Tellers.
Clarke, F.
McCay, J. W.

PAIRS.

Braddon, Sir E.
Cameron, D. N.
McMillan, Sir W.
Solomon, V. L.
Thomas, J.

Sawers, W. B. S. G.
Piesse, F. W.
Higgins, H. B.
Batchelor, E. L.
Macdonald-Paterson, T.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Mr. MAHON.—One more would make “forty thieves.”

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

POINT OF ORDER—THE CUP HOLIDAY.—
ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Motion (by Mr. BARTON) proposed—

That the House, at its rising, adjourn until 7.30 p.m., on Tuesday next.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not know whether I am in order at this juncture, but I desire to draw your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that an observation was made just now by an honorable member which gives considerable offence to honorable members on this side of the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I rise to a point of order. The matter to which the honorable and learned member refers can be raised after the question before the Chair has been dealt with.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Parramatta is not in order. The honorable and learned member for Indi raised a point of order as to some remark which was made by an honorable member whom he has not yet named.

Mr. ISAACS.—This is a matter which, I think, is of grave concern to us all. I do not want to say anything that may be unpleasant, but an observation which

I consider to be of a highly objectionable nature was made just now in regard to the 39 honorable members who voted with the Government. The honorable member for Coolgardie said that one more would have made 40 thieves. I ask that the honorable member be called upon to withdraw his observation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I thought the honorable member said one more would make "forty three," otherwise I should have checked him. I ask the honorable member for Coolgardie to say whether he used the remark, and, if so, to withdraw it.

Mr. MAHON.—I had no wish to reflect on honorable members. The remark that I made was merely a playful reference to a well known tale.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The honorable member's face showed it.

Mr. MAHON.—If honorable members are not prepared to accept my explanation I cannot go any further. I had no desire or intention to reflect upon the honesty of the honorable gentlemen who voted against the motion.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member withdraw the remark?

Mr. MAHON.—Certainly.

Mr. O'MALLEY (Tasmania).—I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether he will agree to the adjournment of the House until Wednesday morning next. It is not fair to the reporters who have to attend here to sit on Tuesday evening. They will have to report the Cup meeting, and I think that is a matter which we ought to consider. Let us not start out as sweaters in the beginning of our career?

Mr. McDONALD.—Why should we not meet at the usual hour on Tuesday?

Mr. O'MALLEY.—The reporters have been kept here all night. On Monday night they will be on duty at the big meeting in the Town-hall, on Tuesday they will have to report the Cup festival during the day and attend here at night. I think we ought to show some consideration for the reporters, to whom we have to look for support in making our reputation.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—Honorable members are paid £400 a year to attend here and do their duty. If they are not prepared to do so they should resign, and allow some one else to fill their places. I fail to see why we should postpone our meeting on Tuesday, even until after seven o'clock. It is all very well for those

honorable members who live in Melbourne, but surely they should have some consideration for those of us who live in more distant parts. It is impossible for the Tariff to be finished before Christmas. The result will be a short adjournment, and it is more than probable that during that adjournment a number of honorable members who live in the far north of Queensland will be unable to reach their homes; probably they will be kept here until March. The Government should take this matter seriously into consideration. Because Cup Day happens to be a holiday throughout Victoria, I fail to see why honorable members who represent the whole Commonwealth should be called upon to observe it when they are here for legislative purposes. I hope we shall meet at the usual hour on Tuesday, and I shall be prepared to divide the House on the question. There is one other matter to which I should like to refer. We have had some three weeks' debate on the Tariff, and I think we might have a change to lighter fare. Our minds are pretty well saturated with the principles of free-trade and protection.

Mr. WILKS.—We have only had a sprint.

Mr. McDONALD.—I know it was only a skirmish. We have disposed of this motion, however, and in view of the fact that the country is aware now of what the proposed duties are, does not the Prime Minister think it would be well to proceed as early as possible with the Kanaka Bill?

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I rather agree in principle with the honorable member for Kennedy, that the Federal Parliament should not take any notice of the Melbourne Cup. At the same time I feel a difficulty in opposing the motion, because I understand the day is a public holiday in Victoria. No doubt it is the great festival day of the year here, and in these circumstances I do not feel inclined to oppose the motion. The Ministry, however, have taken a proper course in not proposing to adjourn over the day. It is right that we should meet during the evening of Tuesday. So far as the reporters are concerned, I think we might agree to give them as well as the *Hansard* staff a holiday on that night.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter — Minister for External Affairs).—It might not be a bad thing for this Parliament and country if the *Hansard* staff were given a holiday for

a month. If that were done I think we should get shorter speeches.

Mr. REID.—There is the old tory silence.

Mr. BARTON.—Cannot the right honorable and learned member trust the press? I rise to say, however, that if I thought there was any likelihood of a quorum I would go on as usual on Tuesday afternoon, but while I know that I can obtain a quorum in the evening, I can see that I cannot get one in the afternoon. That is why I moved the motion. As to the suggestion made by the honorable member for Kennedy, I had really anticipated it, because I have given already, by a public statement, an indication of the fact that the debate on the second reading of the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill will be proceeded with on Tuesday evening. I should like to add for the benefit of honorable members, many of whom have spoken of various objections to the Tariff, that if those objections can be reduced to some concrete form, and the information on which they are founded can be supplied in writing to the Minister for Trade and Customs, the adoption of that course will facilitate their consideration, whether they are agreed with or not.

Mr. REID.—Then I shall have to write a book.

Question put. The House divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 40 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 19 |
| | | | — |
| Majority | ... | ... | 21 |

AYES.

Barton, E.
Batchelor, E. L.
Chanter, J. M.
Chapman, A.
Cook, J. Hume
Cooke, S. W.
Cruickshank, G. A.
Deakin, A.
Edwards, R.
Forrest, Sir J.
Fuller, G. W.
Fysh, Sir P. O.
Glynn, P. McM.
Groon, L. E.
Hughes, W. M.
Isaacs, I. A.
Kennedy, T.
Kingston, C. C.
Knox, W.
Lyne, Sir W. J.
Manifold, J. C.

McColl, J. H.
McEacharn, Sir M.
McLean, A.
O'Malley, K.
Page, J.
Paterson, A.
Phillips, P.
Quick, Sir J.
Ronald, J. B.
Salmon, C. C.
Skene, T.
Smith, B.
Smith, S.
Solomon, E.
Tudor, F.
Turner, Sir G.
Watson, J. C.

Tellers.

Kirwan, J. W.
Mauger, S.

NOES.

Bamford, F. W.
Bonython, Sir J. L.
Cook, J.
Fisher, A.
Fowler, J. M.
Harper, R.
Mahon, H.
McCay, J. W.
McDonald, C.
McLean, F. E.

Piesse, F. W.
Poynton, A.
Reid, G. H.
Spence, W. G.
Thomson, D.
Wilkinson, J.
Wilks, W. H.
Tellers.
Crouch, R. A.
Willis, H.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

ADJOURNMENT.

FIFTH VICTORIAN CONTINGENT—MILITARY
COMMANDANT—SUPPLY OF LEATHER—
SECESSION OF QUEENSLAND.

Motion (by Mr. BARTON) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—Has the Prime Minister any objection to lay upon the table of the House, at its next sitting, the complete report by Major McKnight in respect of the Wilmansrust affair? The portion of the report which has been published is utterly useless, so far as the real point at issue is concerned. I do not see that the publication of the full report could complicate our relations with the old land. It is due to us to know whether any of our soldiers have behaved in a manner which reflects no credit upon us.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—If the Government have come to a decision with regard to the appointment of a military commandant, will the Prime Minister give to the House the name of the officer whom they have decided to appoint?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I desire to bring under the notice of the Prime Minister an important matter concerning the furnishing of leather to the Government. Perhaps I can explain the matter best by reading a notice which appeared in the *Government Gazette*, as follows—

Tenders will be received until 11 o'clock a.m. on the 23rd October, 1901, from persons willing to furnish leather of Victorian manufacture in such quantities as may be ordered by the Victorian Government, or by the Federal Government for its officers situated in Victoria, for six months commencing 1st January, 1902, as per schedule No. 46. The conditions of the contract are those published under General Stores for 1901-1902 in the *Government Gazette*, 29th March, 1901, page 1,157.

Mr. WATSON.—Does it say which department?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No. This extract is taken from the *Australian Leather Journal* of 15th October, but the signature to the notice in the *Gazette* is not attached. I believe that it appeared in the *Gazette* of the 29th March last. I shall be obliged to the Prime Minister if he will inquire into the matter, and if it is found that the tender ought to have been an open one, being a Federal matter, take care that such a thing does not recur.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I desire to know if the attention of the Prime Minister has been called to the following paragraph in the *Brisbane Courier* of 10th October—

Reasonable men may soon have to decide whether the Federal Parliament should not be asked to allow Queensland to leave the Commonwealth, and no less an authority than Mr. Chamberlain has given it as his opinion that such a request, under certain conditions, ought to be granted.

Can the right honorable and learned gentleman inform the House whether any representation has been made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies with regard to the withdrawal of Queensland from the Commonwealth, and if he can get that information, will he be so good as to lay it before the House?

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs) in reply.—With regard to Major McKnight's report, I explained before that he had furnished certain direct statements with regard to the Wilmansrust disaster which were based upon his own knowledge, but, with respect to the question which arose as to certain courts-martial, and the circumstances leading up to them, he furnished no information that was not hearsay. I considered that it was certainly not my duty to lay this information upon the table unless the House particularly wished it—having in view not only what I have stated, but the fact that the incident has been closed by the release of the men, and by the supercession of the general, who was deemed to have treated them in a manner which, if correctly reported, certainly no one could approve of.

Mr. FISHER.—Does not the Prime Minister think that that statement reflects upon the officer?

Mr. BARTON.—Hearsay statements on these subjects are not of much value, but, as I said before, I shall be pleased to hand the report for inspection and perusal to any honorable member who wishes it, but I am

not prepared to lay it upon the table. I said, however, that if it were the general desire of honorable members, I would lay it upon the table, because I would not resist the will of Parliament in a matter of this sort. If, however, honorable members will look at the report, and see the extent to which it depends upon hearsay evidence, they will not, I am sure, insist upon its being laid before the House.

Mr. WATSON.—Is there any possibility of securing direct information on the subject?

Mr. BARTON.—I think so. We have cabled for the fullest information, and I think we may very well let the matter rest until we get it, because honorable members may safely assume that the particulars we shall receive will be more reliable than any report founded upon hearsay. I do not say this with the object of suppressing information. It is only fair to say that, provided that facts are as have been stated, public sympathy can only be in the one direction, and I do not wish to dissociate myself from the public in my sympathy. With regard to the question of the honorable member for Dalley, respecting the military commandant, I may inform him that no commandant has yet been appointed. There have been lengthy communications on the subject, and as these are secret it is not within my power to lay them on the table at present. I can assure the honorable member that the Government is not delaying the matter in any way, but on the contrary is urging it as much as possible. The honorable member will see with me that the whole matter has been necessarily hung up for three weeks owing to the debate which we have just passed through. With reference to the question about leather raised by the honorable member for Parramatta, the statement he has referred to apparently appeared in a Victorian *Government Gazette* notice. It was not an advertisement of this Government, and it has not been published in the *Commonwealth Gazette*. I will, however, make inquiries as he desires. I understand that some of the leather is described as "such leather as may be required by the Victorian or Federal Government." That may have arisen from a decision which was arrived at some time ago that any supplies required by the Federal Government departments before we established a stores department—for which there is no present necessity—should be obtained at the

contract rates arranged for by the Victorian Government. In respect to supplies required in the various States the desire is—and it will be carried out as far as possible—that articles shall either be supplied after open tendering throughout the Commonwealth or obtained in the State in which they are appropriated. With regard to the statement of the *Brisbane Courier*, repeated by the honorable member for Kennedy, I should like to say that no despatch of any such tenor or colour as indicated has been received by the Government. The Government have made no representations which could have evoked any such reply, and as far as I am aware, there is not the slightest pretence of truth in the statement.

Mr. FISHER.—There are only three men and a dog in Queensland who want separation.

Mr. BARTON.—It is wholly unlikely that the statement is true, not only because I do not anticipate any desire for separation on the part of the majority of the people of Queensland, but also because I know that no such representations could come from the present Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 5.30 p.m. (Friday).

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, November 5, 1901.

The Clerk having informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. SPEAKER,

The DEPUTY SPEAKER took the chair at 7.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITION.

Mr. R. EDWARDS presented a petition from 66 cane farmers of Johnstone River district, Queensland, praying that the House would cause inquiries to be made into the working of the sugar industry in that State before placing on the statute-book any enactment which would prejudice the industry, and above all preserve intact the first principles of the Constitution of the Empire, and hold sacred their homes and means of livelihood.

Petition received and read.

Motion by R. EDWARDS proposed—

That the petition be printed.

Mr. McDONALD.—I do not propose to raise any objection to the printing of this petition, but I would point out that its full text has already been published, and that a number of papers containing it have been sent to members of this House. I think that every member of this House has had one.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I have not received one.

Mr. McDONALD.—I think it is rather a waste of money to print the petition, but if the honorable member for Oxley desires it to be printed I shall raise no objection.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The petition has not been officially placed before this House, and, as it is the desire of the petitioners that that should be done, I think it would be very undesirable to place any obstacle in the way of printing it.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I do not know whether it was due to the bad acoustic properties of the chamber, but I heard very little of the petition when read.

Mr. McDONALD.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable member for Oxley has already replied, and I understand that the rule is that after the reply of the mover of a motion no one can speak.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER.—I was about to ask the honorable member for Oxley whether he intended to take any action on the petition, as otherwise I could not accept his motion. The standing orders provide—

No member shall move that a petition be printed unless he intends to take action upon it and informs the House thereof, and that such action will be taken within fourteen days.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—As I intimated during debate on the second reading of the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill, it is my intention at a later stage to move that the Bill be referred to a select committee. I now desire to inform the House that I intend to take action on the petition within fourteen days.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

COPIES OF COMMONWEALTH STATUTES.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—I desire to ask the Attorney-General, *without notice*, if his attention has been drawn to the remarks of the Chief-Justice of Queensland, that, although he is supposed to receive copies of Acts of Parliament, he had not yet received copies of

the statutes of the Commonwealth Parliament, and whether it is his intention to arrange that the Chief Justices of Australia shall be supplied with copies of the Commonwealth statutes.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I have taken steps which I understood had led to the Chief Justices of the various States being supplied with copies of the Commonwealth statutes. I shall inquire into the reasons for any omissions.

ERSKINEVILLE AND DARLINGTON POST AND TELEGRAPH OFFICES.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS asked the Minister representing the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

What reasons were given in departmental reports for closing the post and telegraph offices at Erskineville and Darlington, in the State of New South Wales, and proposing the substitution of mere letter-receiving boxes for the postal facilities hitherto enjoyed by these populous suburbs?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The answer to the honorable member's question is as follows :—

The reasons given in the departmental reports of the New South Wales inspector for closing the post and telegraph offices at Erskineville and Darlington are as follows:—Erskineville.—As Erskineville office is only about 35 chains from Newtown office on the west, and about 44 chains from Alexandria on the east, it could be closed without any serious inconvenience to the public. A letter-box might be erected in the locality of the present post-office, and a licensed stamp vendor appointed. Darlington.—As the Darlington office is only 30 chains from the George-street west post-office, and as the maintenance of the two offices so close together is unjustifiable, and seeing that the whole extent of the Darlington borough is within three-quarters of a mile of the George-street west post office, I am of opinion that the Darlington post-office is unnecessary.

REFUNDS OF DUTIES.

Mr. BATCHELOR, for Mr. GLYNN, asked the Minister of Trade and Customs, *upon notice*—

- (1) Whether it is true that the Government—
 - (a) refuse to undertake to refund to importers the difference in case the duties collected are higher than the duties finally imposed by Parliament?
 - (b) oblige contractors for Government supplies to undertake to lower their prices to the extent of the difference between the duties collected and the duties finally imposed?
- (2) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, what is the reason for the policy?

Mr. KINGSTON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow :—

1. The Government cannot give any undertakings in this matter on account of the difficulty of securing the benefit of any rebate to the person really affected by the duty.

2. I have no knowledge of this matter, but it will be further inquired into.

WOODVILLE POST-OFFICE.

Mr. BATCHELOR asked the Minister representing the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

What is the cause of the delay in erecting the Post-office at Woodville, in the State to South Australia?

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The answer to the honorable member's question is as follows :—

A sum of money is included in the loan expenditure to cover the cost of erecting a building for the post and telegraph office at Woodville in the State of South Australia. As soon as parliamentary sanction is given the work will be proceeded with.

TRANSFER OF DAWES BATTERY TO NEW SOUTH WALES.

Mr. WATSON asked the Prime Minister, *upon notice*—

(1) Whether the Premier of the State of New South Wales has made any representations to the Prime Minister with respect to the re-transfer of the Dawes Battery site to the State Government for park purposes?

(2) If so, what is the decision of the Federal Government in the matter?

Mr. BARTON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow :—

(1) Yes.

(2) Not yet given.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

Debate resumed (from 11th October, *vide* page 6007) on motion by Mr. BARTON,

That the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—After three weeks of theorising about the Tariff we have come to business at last, and a very serious business it is. I understand that to some people this Bill appears as involving the destruction of the sugar industry, whilst to others, and apparently the majority, it removes a great danger to our national character, and means the removal of a great hindrance to the achievement of

our national hopes. I have felt that we representatives of the southern States ought to be chary and slow about expressing our opinion—that we should be listeners rather than talkers, learners rather than teachers. At the same time, it is one of the most cherished desires of the workers of Victoria that we should have a white Australia.

Mr. McDONALD.—It is the same in Queensland.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I have been strongly affected personally by the ideal of a white Australia, and by the hope of being able to keep away from our shores for ever the black trouble which has afflicted other civilizations. It has always seemed to me that the intermingling of the black and white races involves the degeneration of both—it is injurious not only to the white races, but also to the black races. At the same time I have felt that “curse of scanty knowledge” which was referred to by the honorable member for Brisbane when the Bill was last before the House. I do not think any of us would presume to dictate to those who know the true conditions under which kanaka labour is employed, and I have listened to every word that has been said during this debate. It is one of those matters on which I have felt that we ought to listen to the minority. I have had personal experience of the bitterness of being one of a minority to whom the people would not listen, and I have determined that, so far as I am concerned, those honorable members in the minority on this question, who have so pluckily and honestly stuck to their guns, shall get a full hearing and due consideration. I am anxious to allow any theory I have to be corrected by those who have practical knowledge of, and who have been brought into personal contact with, the kanakas in Queensland; but I am quite sure that the honorable member for Brisbane will agree with me that the personal knowledge we should seek is not merely the knowledge which comes from the bank parlour, or from inspecting plantation returns, or seeing their bank pass-books. In the determination of this question we should not look for the judgment of those who merely know what it means from behind a brandy and soda and a long cigar in a city club. I particularly desire to ascertain what those men think who and whose wives, whose sisters, and whose children have to feel the effect upon

labour conditions of the presence of the kanakas. In looking for the judgment of these people, I observed in a reprint from the *Brisbane Courier*, a passage which describes the places in which the sugar plantations are most numerous. It describes the large coastal districts, represented by such towns as Childers, Bundaberg, Rockhampton, Bowen, Mackay, Cairns, and Port Douglas. I think honorable members would be acting wisely if they inquired what those who represent these big centres in Queensland say. The two districts first mentioned, namely, Childers and Bundaberg, are represented by the honorable member for Wide Bay. I think there is no doubt as to his views upon this matter. Rockhampton is represented by the honorable member for Capricornia, whose views, I also understand, are undoubted upon this matter.

Mr. PAGE.—They are very pronounced.

Mr. HIGGINS.—They are very pronounced, I believe. The other four districts are represented by the honorable member who occupies a seat in the corner, the honorable member for Herbert. To whose opinion should we look more than to that of honorable members who represent the sugar districts? They represent not merely their own views, but we must assume those of a majority of their constituents. If ever there was an election in Queensland at which this question of black labour was made the crucial test, it was the Federal election which took place a few months ago. Up to the present, therefore, I have had no occasion to alter my theory. It was a theory based upon second-hand information, but it is strengthened by the fact that the people of the sugar districts, through their representatives, speak as with one mind in favour of the stoppage of the kanaka traffic. In this House there are nine representatives of the State of Queensland, seven of whom are in favour of the immediate stoppage of that traffic. I do not know what more evidence can be required. Those honorable members who are opposed to this Bill, and whose courage, pluck, and honesty we all admire, represent, I understand, the Brisbane district.

Mr. McDONALD.—They advocate only an extension of time.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The sugar districts have never had an opportunity of speaking at all. The honorable member for Wide Bay represents the diggings.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The miners are against the kanaka traffic, and in such large numbers that they are determined that they will not have it at any cost. The miners are not fools. They are as intelligent as any other class of electors. The fact that the miners vote in such large numbers for the stoppage of the kanaka traffic should, I think, authorize us in acting.

Mr. McDONALD.—Fifty odd constituencies in Queensland out of 61 declared against kanaka labour.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We have been asked to be generous to Queensland. That is what I wish to be. Seeing that Queenslanders at the general elections of 1883, and again in 1888, declared in favour of the stoppage of the kanaka traffic, what am I to say to them? I understand that the worst of all systems of plural voting is in vogue in Queensland. But it could not be brought into play at the recent federal election. The explanation of the fact that the State Parliament of Queensland appears to return a majority in favour of the retention of kanaka labour is simple enough. An elector resident in Brisbane can vote for a candidate in the district of Carpentaria.

Mr. FISHER.—For sixty-one electorates.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Bad as is the plural voting system in Victoria the plural voters have to record their votes in their districts.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—At the Commonwealth election a man could exercise only one vote.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is the reason why Queensland returned seven members as against two in favour of the abolition of the kanaka traffic. I admit that there are many vested interests which have to be considered. It is not the desire of any honorable member of this House to unnecessarily interfere with vested interests. There is no doubt that the storekeepers who supply the kanakas with ribbons, knives, &c., and the shippers who trade with them, are all interested in this traffic. We cannot interfere with a big industry which has been growing up for so long, without touching a number of subsidiary industries. It is just like knocking down a big tree in the forest—a number of small trees fall with it. I have carefully read all the objections which I can find against this Bill, and I regret to find that attempts have been made in some quarters to draw improper issues across the trail. One writer, whose opinions I recently

read, stated that we cannot have a white Australia because we have black aborigines. I can only say that it is not the intention of those who vote for this Bill to interfere with the native inhabitants of this land. I feel quite certain that they will do anything in their power to see that justice is done to the aborigines of this continent.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—That is a paradox.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I hope it is a paradox which is true. I have heard of people who affect a hyper-religious tone in regard to this question, and who urge that we should consider the stranger within our gates. To me the point is whether we should allow these strangers to come within our gates. I quite recognise that we should consider them in a Christian spirit when once they are here. But the question which faces us is, is Northern Australia to be peopled by white or by coloured races? You cannot have both. There is a Gresham law as to human beings, as well as to money—the bad money drives out the good, the inferior race displaces the superior. I remember that in 1893, the New South Wales Parliament passed an Act making bank notes a legal tender, which was not the law in Victoria. When I was giving gold for change, I was told by the person with whom I was dealing—"I have not seen a piece of gold for two or three months." In that case all the gold had gone to Melbourne, but the paper money had been kept in Sydney. On the very same principle, if we allow the black man to get a footing in the northern part of Australia, the white man cannot, and will not, be able to do so. It is not a mere matter of the sugar industry; it is a question whether Northern Australia shall be peopled by white men or not. I feel convinced that people who are used to a high standard of life—to good wages and good conditions—will not consent to labour alongside men who receive a miserable pittance, and who are dealt with very much in the same way as slaves. I also want to be generous to the kanakas themselves. Some of the pamphlets which are given to us say—"Oh, do not be unkind to the kanakas; allow them to come under the Christianizing influence of the Queenslander; allow them to come within the scope of the churches and chapels and to get civilized." It so happens that I have here a letter written by a

missionary in West Tanna, from which I shall read a few extracts—

Labour schooners have been doing their deadly work, and many of our lads and young men have gone, in too many cases, to their death.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON. —What date is that?

Mr. HIGGINS. —August, 1901. The missionary further says—

The mortality among the kanakas in Queensland is simply appalling. But the evil does not end there. The fresh young blood is sucked out of the islands by these labour vessels. Family supports are taken away, and the families rapidly decay. I know villages which have gone to pieces through this cause. This labour traffic, stained with the hearts' blood of the people, has done more than all other causes to depopulate these islands, and it has been aided in its dire work by their trade in firearms, a trade which has lined the pockets of British as well as French and other traders with ill-gotten gains. A third prolific cause has been the introduction of European diseases among the natives by it. Our hearts cry out, "Oh, Lord, How Long?"

Then he says further on—

Since this kanaka labour traffic began, it and its evils have swept away more than the half of the once large population of the New Hebrides, and other groups.

He also says—

The arguments for its continuance in Queensland are just the same that American planters used there for the continuance of slavery, but America flourished and prospered more than ever after the curse of its slavery was swept away, and no doubt so will Queensland after the dark blot of its kanaka labour traffic has been suppressed.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON. —America had the black population left.

Mr. HIGGINS. —And so much the worse for America. I have seen a little of America, and I can say that that country, more especially the Southern States, would have been ten times better off if the negroes had not been left there. There are no conditions under which degeneracy of race is so great as those which exist when a superior race and an inferior race are brought into close contact.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON. —And so it would have been better for Queensland if she had never had the blacks.

Mr. HIGGINS. —I am very glad to say that up to the present there is not such a large proportion of blacks in Queensland as in America, and it is our business to stop any large numbers from entering that State. But the sole argument used against the Bill is that it will destroy the sugar industry.

As to that I do not quite know whether honorable members who advocate kanaka labour appreciate the position which most of us take up. I am one who would go so far as to urge the abolition of the kanaka traffic, even if it meant the absolute loss of the sugar industry. Of course, if we approach the question from that point of view, the argument that the Bill will destroy the sugar industry has not much force; but, no matter how strong our opinions may be, it is our duty to endeavour to see whether it be correct that the sugar industry will be destroyed. I have watched the debate, and I find that the "destruction" is gradually reduced until it at last seems to come to a question whether there shall or shall not be trashing. It is not contended, I understand, that the sugar industry will be destroyed in Southern or Central Queensland, but that that argument now applies to only the northern part of the State. I understand that white labour can do everything except trashing, and if I rightly followed the honorable member for Herbert it is questionable whether trashing is worth the expense. This work, I am informed, is done in the off season when the kanakas have not enough other work to do, and the Colonial Sugar Company, who have the biggest interest in the industry in Queensland, do not do trashing on their own account, but insist on its being done by those who take land from them.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN. —The Sugar Company do not grow cane.

Mr. HIGGINS. —I think I can correct the honorable member for Melbourne. The Colonial Sugar Company, although they have plantations of their own, lease a quantity of their land, and the trashing is done by the leaseholders. At all events, I cannot conceive that the resources of invention are so exhausted as that there should be absolutely no device found to achieve the same results that accrue from trashing. My experience is that, the more legislation takes the burden off human beings, the more invention and enterprise are stimulated, and the greater increase there is in the number and improvements of appliances.

Mr. BAMFORD. —Invention has never been stimulated by the planter.

Mr. HIGGINS. —So long as men can get sugar grown and brought to market by cheap labour—that lazy method—we may be sure they will never apply their minds to

the invention of appliances which will achieve the same results without so much harm to human life. I am glad the Ministry have taken a statesmanlike view of this measure, and, by means of the Tariff, are going to give those who grow sugar by white labour a great advantage. If I am not wrong, those who grow by white labour are to have the advantage of a rebate which will mean £5 per ton.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Is the honorable and learned member speaking of sugar cane?

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am speaking of cane.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Then the difference is as £3 is to £1.

Mr. HIGGINS.—From the report of the Colonial Sugar Company, I understand that owing to the Tariff they will be able to give better prices to the growers than before. The proposal in the measure is to have the recruiting of kanakas stopped after the 31st March, 1904, and to enable the Government to deport any kanakas after the 31st December, 1906; and I understand that this will not cause any violent breach of present conditions. There was a very analogous change made in the early part of last century in connexion with the slave trade. I do not mean the abolition of slavery, but the abolition of the recruiting of slaves. An Act was passed at the end of March, 1807, stopping the recruiting of slaves. There was no compensation provided, and the Act came into force on the 1st January, 1808. I have no doubt the slave trade had been going on much longer than has the kanaka trade, and that there were hosts of vested interests. But the British Parliament did not suggest that any compensation should be given, nor did it make any trouble about the alteration. It is argued by some that there should be a commission of inquiry. I can conceive of cases in which it would be well to have a commission of inquiry, but what would be the result of a commission in this case? What could it do? Could it give us any more information than has been given so well already?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Certainly.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Then I must accuse honorable members who have spoken in favour of the retention of the kanaka trade of failing to give us all the information in their possession. I should be very glad indeed if they were to give us more. I have listened to their speeches, and if there were a good reason for the retention

of the kanaka, one might reasonably expect that they would have advanced it.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I spoke only for 40 minutes instead of 40 hours.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable and learned member could say more in 40 minutes than most honorable members could say in 40 hours. I am assuming in his favour that his speech on the second reading of this Bill contained the most salient points in favour of the retention of the kanaka. To my mind it is almost revolting to allow the kanaka trade to go on for two years longer. It means that kanaka labourers who have never been in Queensland before will be brought from the islands and subjected to the evil influences which arise from that trade in the tropics. It means a continuance of the injustice for two years more. When we look at the history of this question in Queensland we find that the kanaka traders had notice to quit long ago. They had notice to quit at the elections of 1883, and again at the elections of 1888. There was an Act passed, which became law, forbidding the importation of kanakas after 1890. There have been commissions of inquiry, and investigations, as well as debates *ad infinitum* in the Queensland Parliament, and still the people of that State are convinced that this traffic should be stopped.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—The result of the commission of inquiry was that it was considered inadvisable to do away with the trade.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The result of the elections was that it was decided that the kanaka should go. Of the three members of the commission of inquiry there were two who were strong pro-kanakas. The third, who was the late honorable member for Darling Downs, reported against the retention of the trade. Any one who has read the commission's report will see how much more energy and care were given to the consideration of the subject by the late honorable member for Darling Downs than by the other members of the commission. The others actually copied his words, but altered his conclusions. I hope we shall strike while the iron is hot. I must remind honorable members who are strongly in favour of this Bill that although there appears to be a large majority in this House who hold that view—and I think there will be in another place—those who are interested in the retention of kanaka labour

are not yet beaten. I have to warn honorable members that there are tremendous monetary influences behind these men.

Mr. McDONALD.—They are prepared to spend £30,000.

Mr. MAUGER.—In what way?

Mr. McDONALD.—That is the question.

Mr. HIGGINS.—They have been beaten time after time in the Queensland elections, but still they have managed to hold on to the trade. I want it to be understood that a mere victory upon the second reading, or in carrying the Bill through committee, will not do. What we want the Government to do—and I hope they will do it—is to see that the Bill passes through both Houses before the end of this month, Tariff or no Tariff, and I trust that we shall not allow any business to interfere with the important work of clearing away this stain from our shores. I observe that the honorable and learned member for Brisbane has said that this Bill is the result of a combination of lawyers and labour.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I said that we were under the lash of lawyers and labour, not only in regard to this Bill, but in relation to the Tariff.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am on the same side as the honorable and learned member in regard to the Tariff, and I am sure no lash is needed in that case. If the honorable member objects to the alliance of lawyers and labour—

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I did not say there was an alliance. I said that we were under the lash of both.

Mr. HIGGINS.—At all events the honorable and learned member objects to both joining in the same lashing. I understand the honorable member objects to lawyers and labour. Lawyers have no objection to be found in alliance with labour.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member is himself a lawyer.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I am a labour member, too.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am very glad to hear it.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I have always represented labour.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I do not see why the honorable and learned member should object when lawyers and labour happen to unite for good purposes. He had no objection to the help of other lawyers so long as they were on his own side. I will only say that

those who “toil not, neither do they spin,” are glad to get the help of lawyers upon certain occasions, and I am glad to find that there are a number of us, who belong to the much tarnished occupation of the law, who are willing to help those who have to work for their living to secure what they regard as justice. In regard to the Bill itself, I think clause 2 will require some modification. That clause provides—

“Pacific Island labourer” includes all natives not of European extraction of any island except the islands of New Zealand situated in the Pacific Ocean beyond the Commonwealth.

I have looked up the *Gazetteer*, and I think that Japan is within the Pacific Ocean. If it is not, it certainly is within no other ocean.

Mr. BARTON.—The honorable and learned member agrees with the leader of the Opposition on that point, but I think that by the insertion of one syllable we can prevent any trouble on that account.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I was going to suggest that the Government might place in a schedule all the islands which are to be included within the scope of this Bill. The Government are going to allow “persons employed as part of the crew of a ship” to land here. The Prime Minister will know that there is no more effective loop-hole than that. We have learned that in Victoria. Men who would otherwise be prohibited are often entered as members of the crew of a ship in order to secure their admission into the country. Some precaution will have to be taken in regard to the exception made in the Bill in favour of allowing the admission of persons employed as part of the crew of a ship, who would otherwise be prohibited from landing. What is to prevent a trader from entering 20, 30, or 50 kanakas as members of his crew? There is no limit to the number of men who may constitute a ship's crew, and once they are entered as such it is almost impossible to prevent them from entering the country. Apparently the Prime Minister has waived also his objection to legislating against the entrance of British subjects. There are British subjects in several of the islands which come within the scope of this measure, but, notwithstanding the fact that they are British subjects, this Bill will prevent them from entering the Commonwealth.

Mr. O'MALLEY.—Some of the kanakas are American citizens.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Some of them are. That reminds me that, in August last, a kanaka stood for election as governor of Hawaii, and that the chief plank in his platform was the introduction each year of no less than 10,000,000 of Chinese. I have seen the picture of the man. He was a grand fellow, and had a large following. His proposal was to introduce no less than 10,000,000 Chinese every year in order to develop the country.

Mr. BARTON.—He was worse than the Standard Oil Trust.

Mr. HIGGINS.—His idea was that the Chinese would be so disorderly that the Americans would have to send ships of war there, and that that, inasmuch as he was a boatman, would mean more work for the boatmen. At all events he was not elected. I have to say, in conclusion, that I regard this Bill as the most vitally important measure on the programme which the Government has put before us. I shall watch its course through both Houses with the deepest anxiety, and I feel sure that there is no Bill which will have so deep and far reaching an effect, if we can succeed in carrying it as it stands.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—In view of the very great importance of this question, I crave the indulgence of the House to say a few words upon it. Recognising its importance I determined to gain as much information as possible by paying a visit to the centres in which these sugar plantations are situated. I should like at the outset to thank the Queensland Government for the facilities they afforded in connexion with that personal investigation. From the time I landed in Brisbane to the time I left, the Queensland Government afforded me every facility for gaining information, and for making a thorough investigation. Not only were the Queensland Government officials kind and helpful, but the owners and managers of the plantations afforded a very great amount of useful information. I notice that a number of clergymen who criticise this proposal have visited Queensland, and have gone as far as Bundaberg, but I was assured when I reached Brisbane that unless we went as far as Cairns in the north, we should not be seized of the information it was necessary to gain in order to speak intelligently upon this question. I quite agree with those who make that assertion. Going no further than Bundaberg, with its semi-tropical

climate, one gets no idea of the difficulties, troubles, and anxieties which must be endured by those who are developing the northern districts. I quite agree that in order to gain anything like reliable and complete information it is necessary to go as far north, at any rate, as Cairns. With that object in view, and in order that we might gain the fullest information, I went as far as Cairns with my friend Colonel Reay, who has written some very excellent articles on this question. I may say, at the outset, that almost every Government official, and certainly every planter and every man interested in sugar growing, asserted that sugar growing was absolutely impossible without the aid of kanaka labour. That was the chorus rung in our ears from the time we entered Queensland until we left it, and we almost began to think that that was really the case, until we came in contact with another class of people. The labourers themselves, the ploughmen on the plantations, and the working men's representatives, were just as emphatic that sugar growing was possible by means of white labour, that it could be carried on successfully, and that this great industry would not by any means suffer should kanaka labour be abolished. I am prepared to admit that what are known as the sugar farmers in North Queensland, who are developing that remarkable country—for it is a remarkable country, and one needs to visit it to gain the faintest idea of its character—the men who are developing that country are deserving of every thought and every consideration we can give them. I recognise that the pioneers in North Queensland are deserving of our hearty commendation, and all the support we can possibly give them. They are sturdy, manly, enterprising people; but when I have said that I have said all I think I can say in their favour.

Mr. FISHER.—Whom does the honorable member mean by the "pioneers"? The sugar growers were not the pioneers.

Mr. MAUGER.—Perhaps not in the strict sense of the term, but I refer especially to the small men, the struggling cane farmers. They are men who are labouring under difficulties that members of this House can hardly realize. But let me say at this stage that to my mind there are greater difficulties against which the planter has to contend than the abolition of kanaka labour. There is a kind

of land booming going on in Northern Queensland, and struggling farmers are paying as much as £9 per acre for their land, and from £2 10s. to £3 per acre for clearing, and on this capital value they have to pay interest.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—Where is this?

Mr. MAUGER.—On the Herbert River.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Is it rich land?

Mr. MAUGER.—It is exceedingly rich land.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—They pay a great price for perhaps 5 acres, not more.

Mr. MAUGER.—That does not alter my argument one bit.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—I do not believe the prices to which the honorable member refers are paid.

Mr. MAUGER.—I hold that what is at the root of successful sugar growing is not so much kanaka labour as the land question. If the small farmers have to pay anything like so exorbitant a price as is being demanded for this land—for rich land admittedly—it is impossible for them to grow sugar successfully.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—I think the honorable member must be dreaming upon the subject.

Mr. MAUGER.—I can tell my honorable friend that I was told of not one, but of dozens of farmers who had to pay this price for their land.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member is under the mark.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am quite sure I am under the mark. I am quite sure these farmers had nothing to gain by telling me that they had to pay £9 per acre, and that the land cost them altogether from £11 to £13 per acre, on which they had to pay interest. They almost implored us to urge the appointment of a Royal commission to inquire into the matter.

Mr. KNOX.—That is what we want.

Mr. MAUGER.—The difficulties of opening up the land, the scarcity of labour in the north, and the more serious difficulty of the excessive price which they had to pay for land, impelled them to ask for consideration.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—They are free agents surely?

Mr. MAUGER.—My honorable friend ought to know that there are a great many men in this country who are not free agents. I have heard that expression applied to other

classes of labour, and I know that men are not free agents when they are compelled either to go upon the land or work for wages that are insufficient.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—They are not compelled to pay £9 per acre for land that is not worth it.

Mr. MAUGER.—Men are often compelled to pay £9 per acre for land in order to get a living for themselves and families. Men are often forced into a condition which renders them far from being free agents, and we know that in the labour market, as well as in the commercial market, bargains are often struck which have only one side to them, and that men are compelled to close, not because they wish it, but because they must. I am quite prepared to admit that in the north of Queensland, perhaps, for some considerable time, it will be extremely difficult to get white labour, but the Government do not propose that kanaka labour should be taken away from the sugar farmers immediately. They propose to give them five years.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—They want ten years.

Mr. MAUGER.—My opinion is that if they were offered ten years they would ask for twenty years. But given five years, and given railway communication in the opening up of the country, and anything like enterprise on the part of the Queensland Government, I believe that all the labour necessary can be secured at a reasonable rate in Northern Queensland. In the less northerly parts there will be no difficulty at all. That is admitted. Mr. Gibson, one of the largest sugar growers in the Bundaberg district told me that he believed that sugar could be grown without the assistance of kanaka labour, and that it was only in the extreme north that the immediate stoppage of this traffic would be felt. I am convinced that the labour that is to be found in abundance in the large centres of population could be successfully applied to this industry, if the Government were in earnest in helping the sugar planters who are developing the northern part of Queensland. I hold in my hand a resolution arrived at by the Chamber of Commerce in Mackay, one of the centres of sugar production in the northern districts. They affirm—

That Polynesian labour involves no social, moral, or other danger to Queensland or the Commonwealth.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is their affirmation, and the honorable member for Melbourne cheers it. I consider that that statement is not borne out by experience, and that this labour is a menace, morally, economically, and socially. I think I can prove the statement. First, with regard to the social aspect. We know that there are very stringent regulations in regard to the kanaka traffic, but these regulations are to my mind "more honored in the breach than the observance." That opinion is borne out by the fact that the very first kanaka I met on the cane-fields in Northern Queensland was deaf and dumb. That is only an incident, but it is a striking one.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I suppose that the honorable member got a good deal of information out of him!

Mr. MAUGER.—This is too serious a matter to be sarcastic about. There are regulations providing that no deaf and dumb boys shall be allowed upon the plantations, yet, as I say, the first I met was both deaf and dumb.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—How many more are there?

Mr. MAUGER.—One of the leading planters on the Herbert River assured me that every one of the last eight women sent on to his plantation was diseased, and five of them he expected would never come out of hospital. There are two striking instances of the way in which the conditions are being broken, and will continue to be broken. I was assured by another planter whose name I can give, if necessary, that he had protested time after time against kanakas being thrust upon him who, for many reasons, were physically incapable. This statement was made to me in the presence of Col. Reay, who took a shorthand note of it. This planter said that the examining officer had time after time sent to him men, pictures of whom he shewed to us, who were disabled in limb or wind, or otherwise physically, and had forced these men upon him, contrary to his own wish and request.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is the greatest balderdash in the world!

Mr. MAUGER.—It may be, but I am stating facts, of which proof can be given.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—How could they force the planter to take such men?

Mr. FISHER.—Such statements have been proved over and over again, but no notice has been taken of the proof.

Mr. MAUGER.—There was nothing more patent to me than that many of these men and women were physically contaminated with the worst of possible diseases. We are permitting the spreading of this contamination amongst the white population. I know the full significance of the words I am using, and I say that there is a moral infamy being spread in Northern Queensland which ought to make us blush. When I hear men, for whom I have the greatest possible respect, sometimes ministers of the Gospel, talking about the softening influence exercised upon these people, I can come to no other charitable conclusion than that they know not what they talk about.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—How long was the honorable member in Queensland?

Mr. MAUGER.—That is immaterial. I was afforded every facility for learning. If these are facts which I am stating, it does not matter how long I was there.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I say they are not facts.

Mr. PAGE.—Every word is true.

Mr. MAUGER.—Saying that they are not facts will not alter their truth.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Was it the planter himself or the planter's manager who told the honorable member these things?

Mr. MAUGER.—In one case it was the planter himself, and in the other case it was the planter's manager. I went over the hospital myself, and was shown several of the women incarcerated there, if I may use that word. There can be no doubt about the statements I am making, and the evidence given to me.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Does it not strike the honorable member that these diseases were given to the kanakas by the white people themselves?

Mr. MAUGER.—However the kanakas may have got these diseases, surely it is the duty of this House to keep our own people free from them. I am no apologist for the crimes or vices of white men, but I am speaking in the interests of those who come into close contact with kanakas, and who are likely to be contaminated with their diseases. I am asked how long I was there. I was there some fourteen or fifteen

days, and I was afforded every facility for getting information.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The honorable member is an authority on the subject after fifteen days!

Mr. MAUGER.—I was assured by the managers of sugar plantations that if I stayed six months I could not get more information on the subject, the conditions being much the same in really every instance.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The honorable member spent only seven days among the sugar plantations.

Mr. MAUGER.—As to this Polynesian labour involving no social, moral, or other danger, a letter has been read from a missionary who wrote to Dr. Paton on the subject. I am not going to waste the time of the House by reading that letter again, as it appears in *Hansard*, but I may point out that it was a letter of a man who had been in Queensland the greater part of his life. I want now to call another clergyman to witness—a clergyman who cannot be charged with paying a flying visit, and who speaks of what he knows and testifies to what he has seen. Listen to the burning words of this reverend gentleman, Canon Pyke. Here, however, I would say that he unjustly alludes to the labour party as considering only the economic side of the case. That I deny. To my mind, the economic aspect is very important. It is important wherever issues affecting labour are involved. But it is not the most important aspect of this question by any means. If I have any quarrel with leading reformers, it is that they dwell too much on the economic side of the reforms they advocate.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The honorable member has too much faith in clergymen!

Mr. MAUGER.—I quite agree that there is an economic side to this question, but there is also a moral side to it, and I do not agree with Canon Pyke that the party with whom I usually concur think that the economic side is more important than the moral. These are Canon Pyke's words—

At any time during the past fifteen years there have been from 1,500 to 2,000 Chinamen in the district. These women established themselves in the Chinese quarter, which speedily became the rendezvous of the *kanakas*. They plied their unmentionable traffic openly, without restraint, so that the rising youth of the town were attracted by their blandishments. The facts came under the notice of certain people, amongst

whom was a parish priest, and steps were taken to abate or abolish the evil. A petition was presented to the municipal council. The council, after long discussion, decided by the casting vote of the mayor to leave things alone. One of the local papers defended this decision on the grounds that the Japanese women were a necessary protection to the white women, who but for them would be liable to molestation. Anyone knowing the whole circumstances would understand that such an argument represented the feelings, not only of the majority of the council, but of the major part of the population. There you have the alien question in its naked state. What will remain when the economist and the politician have done their work? Reduced to the first principles, it is a question of morals and religion—exactly the things which are deliberately and willfully ignored by the political parties. The writer has lived in North Queensland many years, and has personally studied this question from its alphabet. He affirms deliberately that the Cairns incident is a reduction to the lowest common denominator of the facts concerning every sugar district in the State. The alien races come here from social and moral conditions essentially different from our own. Their customs, their instincts, their laws of thought and life have been developed under circumstances which cannot be compared with those existing here. They cannot understand us, nor readily adapt themselves to our ideas. We have imported into the country thousands of men who know nothing of self-control, whose passions have been undisciplined by social custom, religious authority, or moral consideration, and to whom sexual morality, particularly, is almost unknown. We have put them to live under conditions that would strain the moral forces of the most cultivated and best disciplined Europeans. Can we wonder at the facts that lie behind the argument of the Cairns press? The marvel is that the country has not been horrified by some wholesale outrage. The present writer has witnessed unnameable things in broad daylight in the main street of Cairns. Then, in juxtaposition to this, we have the presence of women from Japan whose ideas of virtue do not include modesty and chastity. No one reading between the lines of the address delivered by the Bishop of South Tokyo in the Sydney Town-hall, on the last night of the missionary jubilee of 1900, will be surprised to hear that the Japanese women ply their disgusting trade in full blaze of day. Lastly, there is the moral degradation implied in the argument that this state of things is necessary. We fear the argument is unanswerable if the alien is to remain in our midst? but the contemplation of such a necessity sends a shiver through our moral nature. Can any system be for the welfare of the nation which demands the existence of these abominations? Can the moral life of any community be secure when these immoralities are regarded complacently? Can any consideration justify these things? Whatever the economist may have to say, surely the church can find only one verdict, a verdict which is summed up in two words—"White Australia."

Surely no honorable member will contend that this gentleman does not know what he is writing about, or that he has anything to

gain by writing in that way? On the contrary, he has everything to lose. He is living in the midst of these planters; his church is situated in the very heart of this district, and he speaks of that which he has seen. I unhesitatingly assert that if there were no economical reasons, the moral reasons underlying the statement in this indictment are quite sufficient to demand a unanimous vote of the House on this Bill. I hold that the moral life of Northern Queensland is being contaminated by this semi-slavery, and on this point I would commend to the House the very striking words of Karl Pearson in his recently published booklet, entitled *National Life from the stand-point of Science*. He says—

If you bring the white man into contact with the black you too often suspend the very process of a natural selection on which the evolution of a higher type depends. You get superior and inferior races living on the same soil and that co-existence is demoralizing to both. They naturally sink into the position of master and servant, if not admittedly into that of slave-owner and slave. Even in the case of Eurasians whom I have met, mentally and physically fine specimens, I have felt how much better they would have been had they been pure Asiatics or pure Europeans.

In another part, he says—

The civilization of the white man is a civilization dependent upon free white labour, and when that element of stability is removed it will collapse like those of Greece and Rome.

We also have the testimony of the Chief Justice of Queensland. What does he say? Just what Karl Pearson says in his booklet—

Every year that passes deepens my conviction that a free, self-governing population and a servile population not admitted to a share of the government, cannot exist in the same country.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—How long ago is it since he said that?

Mr. MAUGER.—He may have changed his opinion, but he cannot have changed the fact.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—But he said something else, too.

Mr. MAUGER.—If it is a fact, as Karl Pearson asserts, that where we try to blend the black and white, deterioration is inevitable, surely it is just as much a fact when Sir Samuel Griffith asserts it. But if he has changed his opinion on the economic side of the question, that does not alter his opinion on the social side of it.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—He has never changed his view on that point.

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not see how he could. He may have changed his view as to the necessity for this particular class of labour, but surely he cannot have altered his opinion in regard to the effect of trying to blend white men and black men. I contend that Polynesian labour is a danger to the social and moral welfare of this community. I know that it is being urged in many quarters that we are doing a moral wrong to these people in determining to have them removed from our shores. We have had the pulpite ringing with denunciation of the measure; but surely no honorable member will contend that the kanakas have come here of their own accord? No honorable member will contend that if we allowed them a free choice to come to work in Northern Queensland the labour would be supplied.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—They have done so over and over again.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does my honorable friend mean to assert that kanaka labour would be available in anything like the number required if it were not recruited?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—How could they come?

Mr. MAUGER.—Do they want to come in the first instance?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—They come willingly.

Mr. MAUGER.—I most emphatically disagree with my honorable friend. I hold that the labour is recruited; that it is, to a large extent, forced; that the men do not understand the nature of the agreement into which they enter; and that during their removal from the islands to Northern Queensland they are subject to treatment which we have no right to apply to them. There is no getting away from the fact that they are in the position of semi-slaves. What are we told by the planters? That this labour is docile, tractable, reliable.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—To do work which white men cannot do.

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not admit for a moment that there is any labour which black men are capable of doing that cannot be equally well performed by white men. I contend that delving in a railway trench or in a railway cutting in Northern Queensland is infinitely more trying and arduous than trashing in a cane-field. Further, I hold that the charge that is continually being levelled against Australians—that they are

drunken and unreliable—is without foundation.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Who said that?

Mr. MAUGER.—We are continually hearing in Northern Queensland that the kanaka is necessary, because he is reliable and docile. I admit that he is reliable and docile, but not that he has freedom. He is a semi-slave, and is compelled to do as his master dictates; and that being the case, his presence is a menace to the Commonwealth and to free labour. The petitioners go on to say that the withdrawal of the kanaka labour would not be sufficiently counteracted by the imposition of any protective duty, that European labour is not available to replace the Pacific Islanders, and that the Immigration Restriction Bill will not permit either European or any other labour to be imported under contract. We sincerely hope that it will not be possible to import any labour under contract, because we hold that there could be no greater menace to free labour than the importation of any kind of workmen under contract, and that contract labour under any conditions or circumstances is undesirable. I am quite prepared to admit that the sugar industry is a great one, and that its existence is of the greatest possible importance to white labour. I acknowledge, further, that when I visited North Queensland I did not witness any acts of personal cruelty, or anything approaching to it, and that the kanakas appeared to be well fed. When I have said all that, however, I am brought face to face with the fact that there are social and class distinctions between the whites and blacks that must be a direct menace to this Commonwealth. We can go into the beautiful mansion of the planter—because, compared to the “humpies” or huts of the kanakas the planters’ houses are mansions—and see the different safeguards with which he surrounds his own children or family; we can then contrast these safeguards with the dangers to which the working men’s children are subject, and understand how it is that the working classes are anxious that the evils arising from the employment of kanakas should be removed from their midst. It is easy to realize that the planter has no fear because he and those belonging to him are isolated and kept apart from the black labourers, but it is the daughter of the ploughman or the labourer or the mill hand who is liable to contamination through this evil, and it is the

working men, who, on social, moral, and economic grounds, unitedly and determinedly pray that they may be relieved of the presence of the kanaka. The other day I was asked by a minister of religion how I could possibly justify my action with regard to black labour. He said—Has not God “made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” I admitted that, but pointed out that the reverend gentleman, like many others, had quoted only a part of the verse, because it continues—“And hath determined the times before appointed, and bounds of their habitation.” I hold that the bounds of the habitation of the kanakas are to be found in the Polynesian Islands. Apart from this, there is no justification for our taking them from their own islands for the purpose of making richer a number of our own people. Further, I hold that in the interest of the kanaka himself, it is wrong to carry on this traffic. We know of the fearful mortality that takes place amongst these natives, and that in many cases they are dying off like sheep. If the sugar industry depends upon the labour of the kanakas, they ought to be better housed, and better fed, and better paid. Instead, however, of their receiving the highest pay, they receive the lowest pay it is possible to give them; their clothing is unworthy of men, and their habitations are semi-barbarous in character. I hold that it is the duty of this House to support the Government in its determination to give to succeeding generations a white Australia, unpolluted by this black evil, and free from all the troubles that follow in its train.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a second time.

Mr. R. EDWARDS (Oxley).—When speaking during the debate on the second reading of the Bill, I intimated that it was my intention at a later stage to move that this Bill be referred to a Royal commission, with the object of obtaining more information upon the kanaka question and upon the sugar industry in Northern Queensland. I think honorable members of this House are very much in need of more information with regard to the sugar industry, which has been flourishing for a good number of years past in Northern Queensland, and I cannot understand why the Government should be afraid to grant the request for an inquiry.

Mr. PAGE.—They are not afraid.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—They are afraid that they will not find things as bad as they have tried to make out.

Mr. PAGE.—They are worse.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think the honorable member for Maranoa is in error in stating that things are worse than they have been represented. The only objection that could possibly be urged against granting an inquiry is that a few months delay would be involved, but there would be no danger in that, and it would be much better to incur the delay of a few months than to run the risk of destroying, or even injuring, one of the most important industries that Queensland possesses. I am only asking what is reasonable, and what the sugar planters have a right to expect from the Commonwealth Government. It is a principle of British law that no criminal can be convicted without an inquiry being held into the charge against him, but apparently Queensland is not to be allowed the same rights and privileges as the greatest criminal in the land. Queensland has already been convicted in the minds of honorable members, who have come to the conclusion that that State has been guilty of something very serious indeed.

Mr. PAGE.—Why did the honorable member fight the question on the platform at the last election?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I shall be able to justify the attitude I am taking up. As I say, Queensland has already been convicted, and now this Parliament is about to pronounce sentence, without extending British fair play and common justice. If this Bill is carried it will inflict a great injustice on Queensland, and will create a bitter feeling against federation and the Commonwealth Government for a generation to come. I am personally very anxious to avoid any cause of irritation.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member is acting in the right way to cause irritation.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I would ask the Government to appoint a commission before any decisive steps are taken with regard to the kanaka question in Queensland. I am quite sure that the Queensland Government will undertake that the number of kanakas shall not be increased during the time that the inquiry is proceeding. Honorable members know very well that provision has already been made in the

Immigration Restriction Bill to prevent the admission of any other alien races to our shores. By forcing this Bill through, against the wishes of Queensland, we shall be exhibiting a most unfriendly attitude towards a sister State, and doing a serious injury to many industrious settlers. Had the kanakas been as numerous, or had they belonged to a country as powerful as is Japan, the Prime Minister would have hesitated before displaying such an unfriendly attitude towards them. Personally, I am inclined to think—and I have heard a good deal about this matter during the past two or three weeks—that the Government have been forced to introduce this drastic measure by a section of this House. To my mind, the provisions contained in the Bill were dictated by the Queensland labour party. In support of this view, I may mention that in other States there is reason for thinking and saying this. In one of the Tasmanian papers, published at the beginning of last month, I find the following:—

Some members of the labour party were anxious to insist that the traffic should cease in three years, and not in five years, as the Ministry proposed. But in view of the fact that the deportation was to begin practically at once, a general agreement was arrived at that the party should give its united support to the central provisions of the Bill, with the reservation that the alterations of detail and not of moment, which might suggest themselves, should be considered later on.

Mr. BARTON.—Who said that?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The *Weekly Courier* of 5th October. It is published in Launceston. The article continues—

There are indications that the Kanaka Bill will go through the House of Representatives practically unaltered, as it is understood that the Government consulted the Queensland labour party as to the general character of the measure.

Mr. BARTON.—Is that a statement to the effect that the Government consulted the labour party upon this question, because, if so, it is absolutely false?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I have no knowledge of the paper.

Mr. BARTON.—I should think not, because the honorable member is an honest man.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think that those who know me will say that I am equally honest with the Prime Minister. When I make a promise I adhere to it. In the last issue of *United Australia* I find the following,

under the heading of "The Voice of Queensland":—

If Mr. Barton and his colleagues were not wholly given over to the sixteen or twenty labour representatives who sit on the Opposition corner, and to whom at least two-thirds of the Prime Minister's speech on the introduction of the Kanaka Bill were addressed, they would pay more heed than they appear to be doing to the powerful appeal which has been addressed, by the Premier of Queensland, to the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. "The State Government," said Mr. Philp, "was totally unprepared for legislation of so summary and drastic a nature as contemplated in the present Bill." Naturally, they had trusted to some attention being paid to the opinions of authoritative persons, and especially to those of Dr. Maxwell, a recognised expert, who was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to report upon the whole sugar industry. It must be assumed that Mr. Philp represents the Queensland people; for otherwise there would be some counter expression of opinion, either in or out of the State Parliament; yet, though Queensland speaks through the highest political authority in the State, the Federal Government is adamant—why? because the legislation is being demanded by the labour party, and the Commonwealth Government has not the resolution to do what it must know to be just.

Mr. BARTON.—Is that the same rag?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—No; this is another rag, namely, *United Australia*.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is the same class of paper.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think that honorable members have seen some very valuable articles which were written by the Attorney-General published in that paper.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I did not write that.

Mr. BARTON.—Perhaps the honorable member for Oxley will allow me to say that that paper has assumed a partisan tone—notwithstanding the assistance which my honorable and learned friend the Attorney-General and myself have given to it—which renders it unworthy of credence.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—There is some very good reading in it still.

Mr. MAUGER.—But it is very one-sided.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is like the honorable member's speeches.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—It continues—

Another argument—and a strong one—is that there are in existence State laws by which the black labour will be gradually got rid of; yet the Commonwealth has stepped completely over it to satisfy this reckless demand for almost instantaneous suppression, and now proposes to handicap the industry (so far as black labour is concerned) to the extent of £2 a ton on its products—beginning in July next.

In answer to the superficial contention that the of Queensland, as representatives of that

State, are in favour of instant abolition, Mr. Philp answers that those same senators represent only 29,000 out of 104,000 electors. He further says that the State of Queensland will be "victimised"; and there can be no doubt that if that State had, at the last moment, consented to join the union, only on condition that the black labour question should be reserved for the local Parliament, the concession would have been immediately granted. The Queensland people may well feel bitter.

They will feel more bitter still if this Bill becomes law.

Mr. FISHER.—From what newspaper has the honorable member been quoting?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The extracts which I have read are taken from *United Australia*, one of the papers to which the Attorney-General has been writing.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is now a partisan paper.

Mr. BARTON.—I altogether disown the opinion of that paper, although I have been connected with it.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—These extracts confirm my opinion that the provisions contained in this Bill have been dictated to the Government by the Queensland labour party. Possibly that party believe that they are taking the proper course to bring about a white Australia. But I believe that, by forcing the Government to pass this measure against the wishes of Queensland, they are doing a serious injury to the very people whom they particularly desire to benefit. The passage of this measure will result in many thousands of white workers being thrown out of employment. We had that experience in Queensland ten years ago. I mentioned this fact some three weeks back, in speaking about the number of white men who were thrown out of employment in 1891, when the sugar industry nearly collapsed. The state of the industry at that particular period was such that Sir Samuel Griffith, who was then Premier of Queensland, saw that a very serious error had been made, and that if this industry were to be saved, labour would have to be got in some way for the planter. The right honorable gentleman at that time subordinated his own opinions for the benefit of Queensland. I do not say that the right honorable gentleman changed his mind, because I believe that at that time—and at this day—no man was more desirous than Sir Samuel Griffith for a white Australia. However, seeing that a large number of white workers were

thrown out of employment because of the legislation he had introduced and passed through the Queensland Parliament, Sir Samuel Griffith decided on changing his policy, and issued the manifesto which I shall have the pleasure of referring to later on. The result was that kanakas were again allowed to come into Queensland, and planters were supplied with all the labour they required. The industry then went forward by leaps and bounds until the manifesto issued by the Prime Minister at Maitland; and now the planters are getting into difficulties similar to those they experienced about 1890. Financial institutions and banks will have nothing to say now to any sugar securities, and planters are beginning to seriously think not of putting in any more cane, but of getting rid of their properties as quickly as they can.

Mr. PAGE.—How many properties have changed hands since the Maitland speech?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I am afraid that none as yet have changed hands. I said I would justify myself in the stand I have taken in reference to the sugar industry of the State from which I come. I shall do so by reading what I said at public meetings when I was before the electors in March last. I was reported as follows:—

The last sentence brought him to the question of a white Australia, a question which was just now so very prominently before Queenslanders, although he did not think there was much more in the cry than to catch votes. (Applause.) But this question was closely related to the well-being of an industry in Queensland—that of the growing and manufacture of sugar. (Applause.) Queensland could not afford to sacrifice an industry such as this. (Applause.) This industry was the means of providing employment to over 20,000 white people, and he was prepared to support any measure having for its object the gradual abolition of coloured labour. There were 50,000 men, women, and children who derived a benefit from or were interested in the sugar industry, and he would be no party to agree to any hasty or reckless legislation that would bring ruin and disaster to an industry which provided directly or otherwise a living for such a large number of persons. (Applause.) Rather than destroy he would build up and establish other industries, so that they might have abundant and regular work for all their people. He would urge that a Royal Commission of independent men be appointed to take evidence as to conditions of labour on sugar plantations before he would imperil this important industry. There were in our midst Chinese, Syrians, and Japanese, who were a far greater danger to Queensland, together with the Hindoos, than the few thousand kanakas who were entirely employed on the sugar plantations.

He had not known during his 32 years in Queensland the kanaka to become a tradesman or a storekeeper.

A VOICE.—Have you known them to become coachmen?

Mr. EDWARDS said he never had one for a coachman. (Applause.) He objected to kanakas being employed at anything outside of the sugar industry, and did not want them to be in Queensland permanently, but only until the planters could do without them. A number of years at any rate must be given them. As to Chinese, Syrians, Japanese, and Hindoos, they were or became here expert tradesmen, or they opened shops, and were keen competitors with all the white workers throughout the State. Those were the people who became a great danger to Queensland. They had increased in Australia something like 100 per cent. during the last ten years. There had been some 7,000 or 8,000, and now there were between 15,000 and 16,000. Something ought to be done to restrict those people in particular. (Hear, hear.) He only wished them to use their common sense in the matter. Those whose cry was the loudest for doing away with the kanakas were the people who were quite prepared to consume sugar grown in other countries by people who were, it might be said, nothing else but slaves. It was said at one time that the planters employed kanakas because of their cheapness, but a white man had told him the previous night that a white man could do as much work as that of four kanakas. If that was the case, it could not be for the sake of cheapness that kanakas were employed, and they might depend upon it that if the planters could get reliable white labour they would be only too glad to do away with the kanaka. Let them not, however, ruin the industry which had done so much for the colony. If they did so then 20,000 white workers would become unemployed, and nobody wanted that. (Applause.)

I am rather afraid that if this Bill becomes law there will be a much larger number than 20,000 white workers thrown out of work, because the industry is much more extensive now than it was ten years ago. What I have quoted is what I said to the electors of Oxley in March last, and I think I said something to the same effect at nearly every meeting I held during that month. The electorate of Oxley is one of considerable extent, comprising no fewer than half-a-dozen State electorates, which return seven members to the Queensland Parliament. All classes are represented in the electorate, including working men, shopkeepers, merchants, manufacturers, and a very large number of farmers, none of whom are directly, but all of whom are indirectly, and largely interested in the sugar industry. As I explained in the House a few months ago, the farmers are interested in the industry indirectly, because it gives them a more extensive market and better prices for

their dairy and farm produce. I should like to give honorable members as much information as I can upon this question, which I feel is one of very great importance—of very much more importance than the Federal Tariff—to Queensland. I have had conversations with honorable members of this House, some of whom have readily admitted that they know nothing about the kanaka question or much about the sugar industry, and who, under the circumstances, are under the impression that the safest course for them is to follow the Government. Other honorable members who do not know anything about kanakas, whose colour they hardly know except by hearsay and who know nothing about the sugar industry, regard themselves as occupying a judicial position. They listen to the arguments for and against the Bill, in the sincere hope of being able to arrive at a right conclusion before the division takes place. Of the latter honorable members I have some hope, but as to the honorable members who are as much in the dark as the Government themselves, and yet are ready to follow whatever course the Government may take, I have very little hope of converting them. I should now like to read the opinion of the people of Townsville as expressed soon after the provisions of this Bill were made known—

The opinion at Townsville is that the Bill is simply a means to ruin the industry earlier than was expected. The assurance that the Tariff proposals will compensate planters impresses nobody, as the conviction is strongly held that the industry cannot be conducted in the tropics without special labour, and that the labour market is incapable of providing white labour, even if it were suitable.

That report is taken from the *Argus* of October 7.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Subsequently a public meeting censured the council for passing the resolution.

Mr. PAGE.—They were censured before that at the elections.

Mr. BARTON.—Has the honorable member any report of public meetings of citizens in Queensland which have condemned this Bill?

Mr. PAGE.—Even in Brisbane no such meeting has been held.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I shall place some reports of such meetings before the House before I have concluded. I shall be able to put before the House reports of public meetings held in various parts of Queensland to

consider this Bill. The following report is taken also from the *Argus* of 7th ult.:—

DISMAY AT CAIRNS.

A feeling of utmost dismay prevails amongst planters, shippers, and merchants in the Cairns district in regard to the Pacific Island Labourers Bill. In the event of the measure becoming law there will, it is said, be an absolute depreciation of property. No hope is entertained of palliating the effect by any remedial provisions of the Tariff. A feeling of insecurity predominates, and the collapse of the whole industry is foretold, because other aliens may be treated in the same way as is proposed to be done with the kanaka.

I quote again from the *Argus* of the 7th ult., an extract giving the opinions voiced by the *Brisbane Courier*:—

The *Brisbane Courier*, of Thursday, says—“Mr. Barton asks that the Kanaka Bill be read along with the Budget and Tariff presently to be introduced. His faith apparently is that the sugar duty about to be proposed, will enable the planter to carry on the industry with white labour. This faith rests on the assumption that the difficulty in the utilisation of white labour is a difficulty of wages only. It is nothing short of astounding that, after all the representations made by those who know, after the reiterated illustrations to the contrary, produced by this and other journals, after the report of Dr. Maxwell himself, which, if it proved anything, proved that the desideratum was racial adaptation rather than wages, the Government of the Commonwealth should cling to this assumption, and make it the basis of legislation.”

Mr. BARTON.—The *Brisbane Courier* has expressed every possible opinion in regard to the question of black labour.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—It gives very correct opinions.

Mr. BARTON.—But all of them cannot be correct?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I find that in his report Dr. Maxwell sets forth that in 1885 there were 38,557 acres of cane crushed, 55,796 tons of sugar made, and 10,755 Pacific Islanders employed in the industry in Queensland. In 1899, however, there were 79,435 acres of cane crushed and 123,289 tons of sugar made, yet the number of kanakas had been reduced to 8,826. That is, in proportion to the whole of the Queensland sugar industry, the employment of kanaka labour had been reduced by about 60 per cent. during that period. At the date of the making of the report the average area under sugar cane, per grower, was 42·6 acres. It has been pointed out that this indicates that as the number of small growers has increased kanaka labour has decreased,

and that the kanaka is not a source of much danger to a white Australia. It is the Japanese and other coloured races we have to fear. A few days ago I received a letter from a working man in Brisbane, in which he criticised the Tariff as well as the provisions of this measure. I ought to inform the Prime Minister that this gentleman's criticism of the Tariff was not altogether unfavorable, although he acknowledged that there were some items which might be very much improved. Referring to the working men, he then went on to say:—

With one part they are not satisfied—that is the Kanaka Bill—and they are all of one mind. It means destruction to the sugar industry in the north. And a strange thing: I was talking yesterday to some labour men, that is, wharf labourers, and they don't want the kanaka to go. They wish to keep him. They say if he goes the Hindoo will come, and he will be worse. I mentioned the Immigration Restriction Bill. "Oh!" they replied, "the British Government will have something to say on that point."

I have also received a letter from a sugar planter residing at Geraldton. That gentleman writes—

Many thanks for the Kanaka Bill, though at the same time we most heartily wish the measure had never been conceived. Things are indeed gloomy in North Queensland now, and business is at a stand-still. Land security is absolutely valueless, as we know only too well. Banks and other financial institutions refuse point blank to do business in tropical securities, and the farmers—ourselves amongst them—working on borrowed capital, feel the pinch most acutely. Of course, existing crops will be harvested, but further planting will be represented by the minus sign, in view of the early extinction of our labour supply.

The opinion amongst all classes here, save the socialists, is that Queensland, and especially North Queensland, has been most criminally sold by Mr. Barton for the support of legislators who seek to secure a monopoly of all wages work in Queensland at an impossible rate—men who would cheerfully witness the ruin of an industry in which £7,000,000 of money are invested, to say nothing of other smaller investments in the tropics.

Yours, &c.,
F. and W. HARDING.

I have reports of a number of meetings held by associations in various parts of Queensland to consider this measure. The first that I will quote is the report of the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland.

Mr. PAGE.—Where does that association meet?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—In Brisbane.

Mr. PAGE.—I thought so.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The head-quarters of the association are at Brisbane. The following is a statement giving the—

RESULTS OF MEETING HELD AT BRISBANE ON
16TH OCTOBER, 1901.

A special meeting of the National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland was held in the rooms, Courier Building, Wednesday, October 16, to consider the action of the Federal Ministry in regard to the Pacific Islanders Bill. Mr. J. Macdonald, chairman of the Council, occupied the chair, and there were present a large number of representative members.

The chairman said the meeting was called because it was considered by the council that the leading agricultural society in Queensland should have an opportunity of considering the proposed legislation regarding kanakas, which, if passed in its present form, would be, without doubt, a death-blow to the sugar industry. As an agricultural society, he maintained that they had a right to take such business into consideration; and although it was one of the rules that no party politics should be discussed, he felt quite sure there would be no dissentient voice on the action taken. Notices had been sent out to all the leading agricultural societies, and the action of the National Association had been endorsed by them. Replies had been received from about twenty, and there was a remarkable unanimity in the opinion that serious injury would be done to the sugar industry. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. REID moved:—"That in the opinion of this association, the effect of the proposed Pacific Island Labourers Bill, if passed in its present form, will be immediately disastrous to the sugar industry. This meeting considers that, before legislative action is taken, a Royal commission be appointed for the purpose of holding an exhaustive inquiry into the conditions of the sugar industry." In doing so he said that the replies received from the other societies were sufficient justification for calling the meeting. Seeing that the association was identified with the agricultural interests of Queensland, they could not permit legislation of so important a nature to pass without taking some action. The chairman's action in calling the meeting would be endorsed by everyone having the interest of the State at heart. The matter was of great concern to Queensland. Dr. Maxwell's report ought to have appealed to an educated man like Mr. Barton. A fairer and more impartial report could not have been put forward. Dr. Maxwell pointed out that the kanakas in Queensland were paid only one-third of the amount that was paid to the white labourers engaged in the industry. It had been said that it was impossible to produce sugar in Queensland without the aid of black labour, and the statements of the people engaged in sugar-growing ought to be accepted as of some weight and value. Mr. Barton seemed to have listened only to the representations of a certain little party who objected to black labour, and to have closed his ears to the words of those whose interests were at stake. Supposing, however, that sugar could be produced by white labour, and all that was required by the Commonwealth was so produced, what would become of the industry when the production was more than was required

by the Commonwealth? With one or two good seasons they should be in the position of being able to supply more than the requirements of the Commonwealth. If white labour was used entirely then they would be in a serious position. As soon as they had a surplus above Australian requirements they would come into contact with sugar grown by the very cheapest labour, and the Commonwealth would be paying a high price for local requirements in order that they might be able to send away their surplus at a very great loss. He considered that no better means could be obtained to ascertain the facts regarding the industry than a Royal commission.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE seconded the motion. He said the state of the country by the drought was very disastrous, and the proposal of the Federal Premier with regard to the sugar industry would be equally far-reaching in its effects. The matter was of great importance, almost of primary importance as far as the agricultural interests of the north were concerned, and in the south of Queensland their prosperity had been to a large degree dependent on the demand in the north for the produce grown in the south. He held that the people concerned in the industry, whose opinions they had obtained, were in a better position than the ordinary voter, who was supposed to have given a verdict against the retention of the kanaka, to give an opinion on such a question. The matter could be viewed from a religious, moral, commercial, or political aspect, and there was no justification for Mr. Barton's action, no matter from what stand-point it was viewed. When Mr. Barton and his *conféres* induced them to join in becoming one Commonwealth, he said no action would be taken without having the matter well sifted; but when he found it necessary to placate the Labour party to help him pass other measures, Queensland's interests were made subservient. They had been sacrificed so that he could obtain place and power. Some clergymen were inclined to say that there were objections to the kanaka being employed from a religious stand-point, but those gentlemen were false to their Christianity. They would cast the kanaka out of their midst, but did they forget that he was created by the Almighty just as much as they were? They had seen the result of the few demands made in the north by the white people to do the work. In every case it had been a disastrous failure. If they took away from the planters in the north the only labour they had suitable for the work, they were ruining their industry. It meant they must give up sugar-growing, and in a few years it would be wiped out. The kanaka was harmless, and in no way contaminated the whites. They were not in this respect like the Hindoo or other Asiatics. From the commercial stand-point it was necessary that the kanaka be retained. In the tropics, rice, coffee, &c., as well as sugar, would require black labour for their cultivation. If they were going to make any use of their northern territory they would have to do it with black labour, otherwise the land would have to remain waste. Unfortunately they had sent a majority of members to the Federal Parliament opposed to black labour.

Mr. PAGE.—That's the point. All the white men will have votes yet.

Mr. R. Edwards.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—

It was a matter of selfishness. The Labour party feared that with blacks in the country some portion of labour might be taken from them, and they did not see that by doing certain work the blacks created work for the whites. Sending those men down had given Mr. Barton a certain right to say he was acting in accordance with the views Queensland had expressed at the federal election; but they were not returned by the votes of the majority of the right-thinking people in the State. A large portion of those who voted knew nothing of the conditions of the industry. Had a majority of men favorable to the retention of the kanakas been sent down, no doubt the Bill would have been altered. If black labour was taken away they would have to utilize the products of other places where sugar was grown by black labour or by Continental cheap labour. Malpractices might have been resorted to in the past in connexion with the kanaka, but that had been altered, and now the kanaka was better cared for than a great many white men cared for their wives and children in this city.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Now, we shall go farther north to get the opinion of the leading kindred agricultural societies. This is the opinion of the Townsville Pastoral, Agricultural, and Industrial Association of Queensland—

Resolved—

(1) That the Townsville Pastoral, Agricultural, and Industrial Association views with alarm, based on first-hand knowledge of the conditions surrounding the sugar industry in Queensland, the legislative interference with its present labour supply proposed in the measure before the Parliament of the Commonwealth; (2) That, while putting to one side the untried problem of whether Europeans can labour in the cane-field without physical deterioration, it appears to the association to be certain that a sufficient supply of Europeans to supply the vacancy caused by the departing kanakas will not be available within five years; (3) That, consequently, in spite of the higher wages made practical by the fiscal proposals of the Commonwealth Government, the areas of cane under cultivation will decrease considerably, and this will increase the cost of manufacture so greatly that the mills will cease operation, and the industry be extinguished; (4) That the disappearance of kanaka labour desired by Australia should be so arranged as to give the sugar industry in the tropics a fair chance of continued existence, and this could be done without danger to the "white Australia," which we all desire, by extending the period for the substitution of European for kanaka labour to seven years, whilst stimulating production with the former class of labour by a rebate on the excise.

Then there is this telegram, concerning a meeting of the Isis Agricultural Association at Childers—

Meeting last night of the opinion that the proposal in the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill will annihilate the industry. Demand commission of

inquiry. Thank Mr. Philp for his letter, and indorse statement therein. Great enthusiasm.

Mr. FISHER.—I have a resolution to the opposite effect from a meeting held in the same district.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—These resolutions were passed at this meeting :—

(1) That this meeting of cane growers and other persons interested in the sugar industry, are of the opinion that the proposals contained in the Pacific Island Labourers Bill now before the Federal Parliament, if given effect to, will practically annihilate the sugar industry, and they urge the justice of the demand for a commission of inquiry before any decisive steps are taken with regard to South Sea Island labour.

(2) That this meeting desires to express their thanks to Mr. Philp for his lucid exposition of the conditions surrounding our industry, contained in his letter to the Federal Premier, as it appeared in the *Courier*, of the 8th inst., and wish to emphatically indorse of their own knowledge the correctness of the statements contained therein, and to urge upon him the desirability of ascertaining to what extent the Federal Parliament has power to interfere with the labour laws of this State.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the honorable member quoting from?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—From "The Voice of Queensland Agricultural Societies." Probably the honorable member has a copy of the pamphlet.

Mr. SPENCE.—I thought we had the voice of Queensland from her representatives here, but it appears we have not.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—We have only had the voices of New South Wales and Victoria so far.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The Pioneer Farmers' Association of Mackay passed the following resolutions :—

Resolved—

1. That this association, consisting principally of small cane farmers, after many attempts during the past ten years to grow sugar entirely with white labour, find it impossible to do so successfully, because of physical causes. It is distinctly a climatic, not a financial, difficulty, and one which money cannot cope with.

2. The Kanaka Bill now before the Commonwealth Parliament, will, if carried into effect, seriously diminish the production of sugar in Queensland, and on a large portion of the north-east coast there is no other agricultural industry under such legislation that can take its place.

3. That the proposed legislation, if it become law, may benefit a few large mill-owners in the south of Queensland and New South Wales, while at the same time ruining a large number of small growers in North Queensland, many of whom, in good faith, and on the understanding that there would be no sudden alteration in the existing labour conditions, and

that kanaka introduction would not be abolished until a sufficient substitute was provided, mortgaged their homes as security for loans amounting to £1,500,000. This was expended in the erection of co-operative sugar mills. These mills will now, in many cases, be worth scrap iron.

4. The association protests against the treating of the sugar, tariff, and labour questions as one, maintaining that they are all quite distinct. As the Queensland sugar industry employs some men at high wages, men of European race, numbering with dependants about 28,000, besides affording a large market for southern manufacturers and producers, it also is exposed to the most severe competition of cane sugars grown and manufactured entirely with coloured labour, costing 1s. a day in Java and Mauritius, and from European beet sugar, produced with labour costing 1s. to 2s. a day, and State subsidies by export bounties, it is most deserving of protection, apart from the fact that it also employs 9,000 kanakas. We also point out that under the Federal Tariff the cost of production will be considerably increased because of the new duties on implements and machinery. We also desire to have it clearly understood that the sugar industry of Queensland claims protection to counteract the bounty-fed sugar and sugar produced wholly by cheap coloured labour, quite apart from the question of kanaka labour.

5. The association desires to point out that although the kanaka, for forty years, has been coming between Queensland and the islands, they so far show no likelihood of becoming a component portion of our social system. Nor has the kanaka mingled with the white races; so that the fear of him becoming in a future period a racial trouble is utterly groundless. In connexion with the foregoing, we point out that what is termed a piebald population is due almost entirely to Asiatics and aboriginals, and not kanakas. Asiatics always have been objected to by the small cane farmers.

6. We point out that at a comparatively short distance from the Australian coast are numerous small islands from which kanaka labour comes. These, geographically, belong to the Commonwealth. At the same time a powerful foreign nation is anxious to acquire their possession. We venture to submit that it is better statesmanship to bind these islands for trade and other purposes to the Commonwealth than to entirely sever our connexion with them.

7. That in the event of the Commonwealth Government giving compensation to the cane-growers; to which it certainly is entitled, the abolition of the kanaka still will be a misfortune to the Commonwealth. It will mean that the richest portion of tropical Australia will lie idle and unproductive, while a numerous body of European wage-earners, now employed there, will be compelled to seek a living elsewhere.

8. This association asks the other associations of Queensland to support the stand the Premier has taken on the subject, and express a hope that he will, in the interests of the State, maintain his firm attitude.

Now we come to the south of Queensland. I will next quote a resolution passed by the

Drayton and Toowoomba Agricultural and Horticultural Society :—

That, in the opinion of this society, the effect of the proposed Pacific Islands Labourers Bill will be immediately disastrous to the sugar industry, and to the trade of Queensland generally ; also to the agricultural interests of the Darling Downs ; and suggests that it should not be proceeded with until a duly appointed Royal commission has fully reported to the Federal Parliament on the condition of the sugar industry.

The Bundaberg Council of Agriculture has passed the following resolution :—

Resolved.—1. That the abolition of kanakas as proposed will be injurious to this State. 2. That it has never been practically demonstrated or shown by inquiry that cane can be grown by white labour. 3. This council would respectfully point out the injury a large number of struggling farmers would sustain if the present bill is passed, and would ask for a Royal commission to be appointed.

The secretary of the Halifax Farmers' Club has sent the following telegram :—

The Halifax farmers strongly protest against the Kanaka Bill being passed before a Royal commission inquires into the sugar industry. The bill at present means ruin to the farmers of this district. After years of pioneering and labour, the industry in tropical Queensland cannot exist many years without kanaka labour. White labour is not available or reliable. Thirty years' experience by the farmers of this district confirm the fact that white labour cannot and will not trash, cut, and load cane.

Mr. MAUGER.—Is that a sugar-growing district ?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—A great sugar-growing district.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—This is from the Lockyer Agricultural and Industrial Society—

Resolved—That the committee of the Lockyer Agricultural Society heartily support the National Association of Queensland in protesting against the action of the Federal Ministry *re* the Pacific Islanders Bill.

Again, the Central Downs Agricultural and Horticultural Association have passed the following resolution—

Resolved—That, in justice to the sugar-growers, the Federal Premier, before legislating on the kanaka question, should appoint a commission to inquire and report ; failing that, he should allow the sugar-growers the extended term demanded for the employment of South Sea Island labour.

These resolutions are from farmers of the Darling Downs.

Mr. FISHER.—Has not the honorable member for Darling Downs been elected since that resolution was passed ?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—No ; this resolution was passed since the honorable member was

elected. Now I come to the electorate of the honorable member for Wide Bay. The Wide Bay and Burnett Pastoral and Agricultural Society have passed the following resolution :—

Resolved—This society views with alarm the proposed Pacific Islanders Bill now before the Federal Parliament, and it is of opinion that if such Bill is passed without modification it will ruin the most important industry in Queensland. It is, therefore, most desirable that immediate steps be taken to bring pressure to bear upon those who have the responsibility on such a question, with a view to getting an extension of the time at which such labour shall cease to be brought into this State.

Again, keeping to the same district, the following resolution comes from the Titana Fruit-growers and Farmers' Association :—

Resolved—That the association considers that the Kanaka Bill as proposed by the honorable Mr. Barton is far too drastic, and will tend to cripple the sugar industry of Queensland for years to come if carried out in full, and express the desire that it be extended to 10 years, and that we favour a Royal commission on the matter.

Next comes a resolution from the Western Pastoral and Agricultural Association, Roma—

Resolved—That in the opinion of this meeting it is undesirable to pass any legislation dealing with the question of kanaka labour until the receipt of a report from a Royal commission, duly appointed by the Federal Legislature, for the purpose of making an exhaustive inquiry into the subject, and that this Association consider that the Kanaka Bill, if passed in its present form, will inflict a gross wrong on a worthy and hardworking section of the community of Queensland.

Next the Mount Mee Farmers' Association say—

We believe that it would be very injurious to the interests of this State and the Commonwealth if the sugar industry was by any means discouraged ; and we also believe from Dr. Maxwell's report and other information that black labour is essential to the successful cultivation of sugar-cane. We still further believe that there is little or no danger to be apprehended from the continued immigration of the Pacific Islander. Therefore, we believe we are right in lending our aid in protesting against the action of the Federal Ministry *re* Pacific Islanders Bill. The secretary, in transmitting this, states that he was unable to call a meeting, but he had interviewed most of the members, and they unanimously indorsed the statements.

The latter part of the statement is straightforward, at all events. Then comes a resolution from the Burpengary Farmers' Association—

Unable to hold a meeting owing to the unfavorable weather ; but the chairman stated that the feeling of the members was unanimous

that the Federal Government should not interfere with kanaka labour as at present regulated—at any rate, for a period of seven years.

Next I quote a telegram from Cairns. It comes from the Australian Pastoral and Mining Association of that place—

This society has placed on record that in its opinion the proposed legislation means that the cane-farmers will be ruined, and the land will revert to its natural state.

The next resolution is from the Mossman's Farmers' Association—

Resolved—The farmers of Mossman River, the most northern Queensland sugar district, see nothing but ruin and destruction in the Kanaka Bill.

The following telegram was read from the Hughenden Pastoral and Agricultural Association :—

Resolution passed in accord with views of your association *re* Pacific Islanders Bill, and association considers it would be injurious to sugar industry and colony at large if kanaka labour withdrawn.

The Townsville Chamber of Commerce sent this telegram :—

Chamber just unanimously passed resolutions protesting against the Kanaka Bill in its present form. Anxious to co-operate with you and others for united action.

From the secretary to the Upper North Pine Farmers' Association we have the following statement :—

The secretary stated that owing to the short notice there was no time to call a meeting; but he had considered with some of the leading members, and they were confident that had a meeting been called a motion protesting against the action of the Federal Ministry would have been unanimously carried.

Mr. L. G. Corrie, the president of the Queensland Acclimatisation Society, wrote :—

At a meeting of the council it was unanimously resolved to indorse the action of the National Association in its protest against the Bill.

From the Johnstone River Cane Growers' and Manufacturers' Association this telegram was received :—

Resolutions that petition be presented Federal Premier to reconsider proposed legislation, which means absolute ruin to northern cane-growers.

A telegram, which is addressed to the Hon. R. Philp at Melbourne, from the Mackay Harbor Board, was handed to me a few moments ago, as follows :—

At meeting to-day the following resolution was carried unanimously :—That the Mackay Harbor Board view with alarm the proposed legislation contained in the Pacific Island Labourers Bill now before the Federal Parliament; that such legislation will be detrimental to the income of this board, owing to the reduction that must take

place in the exports of sugar from which the board's chief income is derived, as well as from diminished imports. The board, having expended £25,000 in harbor improvements, and incurred liabilities for other sums of money to complete same, will be unable to carry on their work if the proposed legislation is carried into effect. The port being incomplete will be useless, and all the money spent will be lost.

There is no doubt that this will be a very serious matter to the Harbor Board of Mackay. If the sugar industry is in any way checked there will be no revenue, and, therefore, as money for these improvements was borrowed possibly from the Queensland Government, the lenders will never see a penny of it. It has been generally thought that all the evidence forthcoming in favour of the retention of the kanaka to work on the sugar plantations in the tropical portions of Queensland would be from that direction; but honorable members will have noticed that I have read a number of resolutions which are strong evidence of a feeling, even in Southern Queensland, in favour of the employment of that labour. Here is other evidence from the secretary to the Toowoomba Chamber of Commerce—

I have the honour, by instructions, to forward you a copy of a resolution which was unanimously carried at a quarterly meeting of this chamber, held last evening—"That, in the opinion of this chamber, it is undesirable to pass any legislation dealing with the question of kanaka labour until the receipt of report from a Royal commission duly appointed by the Federal Legislature for the purpose of making an exhaustive inquiry into the subject."

The secretary to the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce sends this resolution—

That, in the opinion of this chamber, the effect of the proposed Federal Kanaka Bill will be immediately disastrous to the sugar industry and to the trade and commerce of Queensland; and we would therefore suggest that, before proceeding further with the Bill, an exhaustive inquiry be made.

The secretary to the Brisbane Chamber of Manufactures sends two resolutions, as follow :—

That, in the opinion of this chamber, the effect of the proposed Federal Kanaka Bill will be immediately disastrous to the sugar industry and to the trade and commerce of Queensland; and we would therefore suggest that, before proceeding further with the Bill, an exhaustive inquiry be made.

We are also of opinion that if, in the wisdom of the Federal Parliament, it is decreed that kanaka labour be abolished, at least seven years should be granted to the sugar planters before the provisions of the Bill are enforced.

From the Mount Bauple Sugar Company I received the following letter :—

At a meeting of the directors of the Mount Bauple Central Mill Company Limited, held on Saturday, 12th October, 1901, the subjoined resolution was carried unanimously :—

“On behalf of the cane-growers at Mount Bauple we would respectfully express our opinion that the Pacific Island Labourers Bill will be ruinous to us, and we would respectfully suggest that the recruiting of the boys be allowed till 31st December, 1907.

“Also that the rebate of excise on cane grown by white labour be 6s. a ton from the 1st January, 1902, so as to give every inducement for a vigorous trial of white labour in the cane-fields.”

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Where is Mount Bauple?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—In the electorate of the honorable member for Wide Bay. That is where the honorable member got that large minority.

Mr. FISHER.—No; I got a majority there. I got a majority in every sugar district but one.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I have also received two resolutions passed at a very large public meeting which was held in Brisbane on the 22nd October—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the proposed Commonwealth legislation with respect to Pacific Island labour threatens the destruction of the sugar industry in tropical Queensland, and will prove disastrous to the trade, shipping, commerce, and wages-earners of the State.

That, having regard to the fact that special legislation already exists in Queensland dealing with Pacific Islanders, and restricting their employment entirely to tropical agriculture, this meeting is of opinion that it is desirable an exhaustive inquiry into all the circumstances connected with tropical agriculture should be made before action is taken by the Federal Parliament.

Mr. FISHER.—Three-fourths of that meeting were against kanaka labour, and the chairman knew that when he declared the resolutions carried.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The resolutions were passed anyway.

Mr. FISHER.—No.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—This is the voice of the majority of that meeting.

Mr. McDONALD.—Of the minority.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I am going to pay a visit to the electorate of Wide Bay.

Mr. FISHER.—I shall answer for that.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I hope that we shall hear the honorable member by-and-by on the evidence that I have produced. My only object in speaking and quoting at such

length is that I feel it my bounden duty to place before honorable members all the evidence I can bring, so that they may have as much information as possible regarding the kanaka question and the sugar industry generally in Northern Queensland. I think that they want more information, as they are not in possession of all the facts which they ought to know, and which would enable them to legislate rightly on behalf of such an important industry in the sister State.

Mr. FISHER.—Did not all these resolutions emanate from the *Brisbane Courier*?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I can assure honorable members that I am only just beginning my remarks. I have only covered a very small portion of the subject.

Mr. FISHER.—Put in a file of the *Courier*; it would do just as well.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The honorable member for Brisbane has quite a volume of information which he can lay before honorable members, and we feel that we are in duty bound to give honorable members all possible enlightenment on the subject. Now I desire to read a report of a special meeting of the Maryborough Chamber of Commerce, held on 22nd October. I need not read the names of those present. The report states—

The president briefly stated the objects of the meeting, and touched upon the ruinous effect the Bill would have upon the sugar industry if passed in its present form. He had lately been informed by a gentleman who had spent thirteen years in Geraldton and Cairns, that the Bill would certainly kill the industry in the north. That gentleman was Mr. F. Hives, and his idea was that every responsible body in the country should cable a resolution to Mr. Chamberlain on a given date, to block the Bill if passed in its present form. Of course, that could not be done before the House of Representatives and the Senate had dealt with the measure, and it had been referred to the home authorities for the Royal assent.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is the very way to help the Bill on.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The next speaker was Mr. Harrington, who, I understand, is the managing director of Walker's Foundry, Maryborough, and who probably knows the Wide Bay district as well as does any man. Walker's Foundry employs something like 700 men.

Mr. FISHER.—Not quite so many as that.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—At any rate, many hundreds of men are employed at the foundry from which the sugar plantations

are supplied with machinery to the value of over £30,000 a year. The report continues—

Mr. W. F. Harrington, in moving the first resolution, said that Queenslanders were perfectly aware that sugar could not be grown without coloured labour, but the difficulty that beset them was to impart that knowledge to the southern people and the legislators in the Federal Parliament. No matter what facts and proofs they advanced they seemed to produce no effect on those persons, who regarded it as a foregone conclusion that the kanaka must go. If they would only come and see for themselves, or appoint a Royal commission, the people of Queensland would be satisfied. The press had been teeming with most impressive and convincing evidence, and yet they seemed to be in no more hopeful position now than when Mr. Barton delivered his Maitland speech. He thoroughly agreed with Mr. Hives that, if necessary, they must approach the Imperial authorities as a last resort to save the industry from extinction. If a united appeal were made, he felt sure Mr. Chamberlain would not turn a deaf ear to it. The Federal Government should have left the kanaka question in the State Government's hands to deal with. He was sure that Queensland would never have federated had she known that her sugar industry would be attacked in this ruthless manner. He moved—“That this chamber, in a most emphatic manner, protests against the Pacific Island Labourers Bill, now before the Federal Parliament, as, if carried into law, a cruel injustice will be inflicted on the sugar industry, and irreparable loss sustained by those engaged therein. They strongly urge that a Royal commission be appointed to inquire into the whole of the conditions of the sugar industry, prior to any legislation being enacted in connexion with the employment of Polynesian labour therewith. Failing the appointment of a Royal commission, this chamber urges an extension of the recruiting of islanders for at least seven years.”

Mr. McDONALD.—I rise to a point of order. I do not desire to interrupt the honorable member, but we have had such a number of these newspaper reports read to us that I think we should return to some form of order. Standing Orders 267 and 268 bear upon this matter, and provide that no honorable members shall read extracts from newspapers or other documents referring to debates in the House during the same session. These newspaper reports are pure comments upon the Bill which is now before the House, and upon the debates which have taken place in connexion with it.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER.—It will be within the recollection of honorable members that, acting in another capacity some little time ago, I gave a ruling in accordance with the honorable member's contention. The committee then expressed the desire that reference should be allowed to reports dealing

with debates during the current session, and, as that seemed to be the unanimous feeling of honorable members, I take it that the House desires that the same course shall be followed until our standing orders have been reported upon and amended.

Mr. McDONALD.—I submit that the debate on the second reading of the Bill has been concluded, and that we have now arrived at another stage altogether. The reports which the honorable member is now reading refer to a matter which has already been decided upon by this House.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Oxley intimated to me that he intended to move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, and he is now quoting the opinions of people in the State of Queensland in order to show why the Bill should be so referred. I have carefully followed the honorable member's remarks, and I cannot take exception to anything he has stated.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I ascertained, after consultation with the officers of the House, that I should be perfectly justified in the action I am now taking. I regret very much that it should be necessary for me to take up so much time, but I desire to place before honorable members all possible information.

Mr. MAUGER.—We have had that information direct—every one of us.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—But I desire to place it officially before the House.

Mr. McDONALD.—Suppose we rake up the *Hopeful* case again—as we should be perfectly entitled to do.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I hope the honorable member will do so, because he will then give us an opportunity of showing why the kanaka should be retained.

Mr. McDONALD.—If we read the report of the *Hopeful* case there is no one in this House but would blush with shame.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The report proceeds—

Mr. Henry Palmer seconded the motion, and remarked that he began sugar growing 35 years ago on Tinana Creek, and had continued more or less in the industry ever since. The extraordinary measure which had been put before the country made them think that they had men legislating for them who were no better than fools. The way they were going about the abolition of the kanaka would be most ridiculous and absurd were it not so serious a business for the planters, especially in the north. As far as his long experience went, he had no doubt whatever

that if the Bill passed the northern planters at least must go. It was only by coloured labour that they could maintain their position. So great would be the ruin of property, and the misery of thousands, that it was difficult to realize that a serious attempt was about to be made by persons presuming to be statesmen to pass a measure that would produce such direful results. There were legislators who were going to vote for the Bill who admitted that they knew nothing about the industry. It was scandalous the way this thing was being rushed through in a state of complete ignorance. The cry of "White Australia" at any price was a fallacious one, and would never be fulfilled. They were making the harmless kanaka the scape-goat for the time being, but if the kanaka went to-morrow Australia would remain almost as black as ever, and would continue so the end of time. No country in the world of the size of Australia, and so much of it in the tropics, was of one colour. The belief that white men would supplant the kanaka was utterly fallacious, and the bonus on cane grown by white labour would at best be but a temporary benefit to the grower. The grower must have a full supply of labour to keep the mills supplied, for unless the mills saw a sufficient supply of cane forthcoming for the season they would not crush at all. The effect of the Bill would be that the supply of cane would fall off, the mills would gradually drop out of operation, and the production of sugar would be so diminished that the people of Australia would no longer submit to the high duty and bonus to support it. There seemed little hope of impressing the southern people with these facts, and it seemed that they would have to go to the Throne for justice. Mr. Chamberlain was a sterling man where oppression was concerned, and he would not see the planters driven out and ruined.

Captain Mackellar supported the resolution, and indorsed all that had been said by the previous speakers. The resolution embodied what the planters had asked for when Mr. Barton first arrived in Queensland on his Ministerial tour, namely, that a full inquiry be made into the conditions of the sugar industry in Queensland before legislation was passed. He referred to the terrible depression that followed the State anti-kanaka legislation prior to 1893, and said the effect of the present Bill would be infinitely worse. In the north the outlook was regarded as utterly hopeless, and it was hard to realize how very disastrous the effect of the Bill was going to be. Old residents would remember what Maryborough was in the busy days of the sugar industry on the Mary River, when from sixteen to twenty sugar mills, large and small, including Yengarie, were in full swing. It was Sir S. W. Griffiths' anti-kanaka legislation that had crippled the industry in the Maryborough district, and it had never recovered its former position again. Most of the sugar lands were now lying idle, and where thousands were settled there were now but hundreds. In taking away kanaka labour the Federal Government should find a satisfactory substitute, and this should be done before restrictive legislation was resorted to. Mr. Barton had declared in Maryborough that, in any legislation that was brought forward, he would not allow such a great industry upon which Walkers Limited, the saw-mills, and other splendid

industries in that town so largely depended to be injured; but he had, nevertheless, struck a blow greater than they could yet realize. The Isis and Bauple districts would never have gone in for sugar but for the repeal of the restrictions on kanaka labour, and the assurance of the continuance of reliable labour that was given with it. He and many others had gone in for sugar-growing solely on the understanding that reliable labour was to continue. He hoped that the southern growers, who might secure a few profitable years with the aid of the bonus and the surplus white labour of Brisbane, would not throw over the northern planters, but all stick together. Even the Nerang Central mill farmers, though so close to Brisbane, were unable to take off their crop without black labour. How, then, were the Mossman, Mulgrave, and other northern districts to get white labour to replace the kanaka? The southern farmer, who imagined that he would get along all right with the bonus, should remember that, if the industry went out in the north, the people of Australia would not go on paying a bonus to keep up a high duty for the benefit of a handful of southern farmers producing a few thousand tons of sugar. Mr. G. H. Reid, who would probably succeed Mr. Barton, had declared that, when the kanaka went, free-trade would be resorted to. Dr. Maxwell had told them that in New South Wales and Southern Queensland many growers were possessed with the idea that if the industry died out in the north it would be all the better for them; but it was a selfish and foolish notion, for it was only the great magnitude of the industry that induced the Federal Government to offer concessions and protection, and it was the north that gave the industry its great magnitude. He then referred to some of the arguments of the supporters of the Bill, such as the moral aspect of kanaka labour, and warmly denounced the slanderous and untrue statements that were made under this head. Then there was the "slavery" cry, and he ridiculed the statement that the "boys" did not understand their agreements. It was strange that so many "boys" should return again and again to the plantations and work under them. In the great majority of cases every attention was paid to the moral, spiritual, and temporal welfare of the "boys." They could scarcely wonder at the attitude of the southern people when the Federal Premier made the wild and unfounded statements about the kanaka that were to be found in his speeches. He (Mr. Mackellar) thoroughly believed in majority rule, but it was surely only right that the majority should understand what they were doing. For that reason he appealed for the fullest inquiry, and that the matter should be thrashed out on the facts. If that were done, and the matter put before the public by impartial judges, he would then be prepared to bow to the decision of the majority. But if the majority still decided to deprive them of the labour which had been assured to them when they had invested their all in the industry, then fair compensation should be made for the losses they would suffer, because the present asset of from seven to nine millions would be worth not seven hundred thousand if there was no reliable labour to carry it on with. Those who had mortgaged their properties to the Government for central mills, and who relied on the promises of

the State Government to continue kanaka labour, would have a special claim for compensation. The planters did not wish to clear out of the industry if they could help it, but it would be a hard job for the industries and businesses of the towns to keep going if they did, and they, therefore, had a claim on the townspeople to help them to fight this drastic measure. It was not a question of retaining the kanaka for an indefinite period, but of postponing the commencement of the restrictive process for a reasonable time to enable them, if possible, to face the situation and overcome the problem of reliable labour. As the Bill stood, the withdrawal of the reliable labour set in immediately, without giving them any time to look about. Mr. Atlee Hunt, the Federal Premier's private secretary, had strongly advised him after the visit to Bundaberg that Queensland should send down several good lecturers to educate the south on the question. If casual visitors from the south were so impressed with what they saw, what might they not expect from a Royal commission composed of southerners? When the Bauple mill started, the majority of the growers decided to try and grow the cane without coloured labour, but now all but three were employing kanakas. He hoped that by united and strenuous effort they would at least succeed in gaining an extension of time.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. POYNTON.—From whose speech is the honorable member quoting?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I am quoting Mr. Mackellar, a sugar planter in the Wide Bay district. Then the Maryborough Chamber of Commerce passed the following resolution—

That this chamber in a most emphatic manner protests against the Pacific Island Labourers Bill, now before the Federal Parliament, as, if carried into law, a cruel injustice will be inflicted on the sugar industry, and irreparable loss sustained by those engaged therein. They strongly urge that a Royal commission be appointed to inquire into the whole of the conditions of the sugar industry prior to any legislation being enacted in connexion with the employment of Polynesian labour therewith. Failing the appointment of a Royal commission, this chamber urges an extension of the recruiting of islanders for at least seven years.

The Bundaberg Chamber of Commerce, I understand, has despatched the following telegram to the Prime Minister:—

Bundaberg Chamber of Commerce humbly pray that in the opinion of this chamber, proposed Pacific Islands Labourers Bill will have paralysing effect on sugar industry and trades and commerce.

This State generally would respectfully suggest that the Bill be altered as follows:—

That recruiting be permitted until 31st December, 1907; that kanakas in Queensland not to exceed 10,000 at any time, and to be employed as specified under present Queensland laws and regulations. Reasons for suggestions are that, owing to the large amount capital involved in the

industry, if proposed Bill be passed much capital invested will be absolutely lost, and many worthy colonists ruined. Ten thousand kanakas cannot possibly menace Australia in either racial or moral way. Health officer states there is not a kanaka half-caste in this district; that kanaka preferable to any other alien labourer; wages earned by him spent in Commonwealth; that kanaka does not compete with labourer, but creates higher-grade work for him; that immigration of kanakas has done very much to civilize and christianize South Sea Islanders; that during harvesting season it would be impossible to get sufficient white labourers to do the work. An additional ten hundred men would be required in this district, and to maintain that staff, a floating reserve of at least six thousand white men would have to be available, and that reserve does not exist here; that the rebate of excise on sugar-cane grown exclusively by white labour be six shillings per ton, ten per cent., cane beginning 1st January next, for if sugar can be produced by white labour, every inducement should be given at earliest date possible to those farmers and planters who would endeavour to grow cane under these conditions, so as to prove conclusively whether sugar-cane can be so grown or not.

J. S. MEIKLEJOHN,
President.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—That is a good long telegram.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—This question is so important that people are obliged to spend money in endeavouring to give honorable members as much information as is possible. The following letter, dated 23rd October, is from the Bundaberg Harbor Board:—

Sir,—I have the honour, by direction, to forward you herein the following resolution, which was duly passed at last night's meeting of this board:—

That the Federal Premier be written to and advised—

That this board views with apprehension the provisions of the Pacific Islands Labourers Bill now before the Federal Parliament. This board affirms that its revenue is almost entirely obtained either directly or indirectly from the growth of sugar cane in this district. It has embarked upon, and during the past year commenced, a very heavy expenditure of £50,000 in connexion with a comprehensive scheme for river improvements, so as to enable suitable steamers to use the ports, such as are absolutely required by the sugar industry. Anything tending to restrict the development of the sugar industry would be disastrous to the revenue of this board, and would probably prevent us from fulfilling our obligations to the State Parliament on account of interest and redemption of loan; at least it would greatly embarrass the board. The Federal Government and this board are in harmony in desiring that the sugar industry should be carried on as far as possible with white labour. It is desirable that the change should be by evolution, and not by revolution; because,

although the farmers might do their utmost, any sudden shortage in cane would probably close up one or more mills (as it is impossible to work sugar mills, unless they are fully supplied) and a mill once closed seldom re-opens again, as we have witnessed at Mackay and Maryborough. We therefore would respectfully suggest that to encourage the growth of cane by white labour, the Federal Government at once make the rebate to cane-growers using white labour only, 6s. per ton instead of 4s. per ton, also that the large plantations be allowed to divide their plantations into portions, and elect to grow certain of these portions with white labour only, and thus earn the rebate which would at the same time have the effect of gradually doing away with black labour, without placing too great a strain on the white labour available. This will induce and encourage both the small farmers and the large growers to endeavour to grow cane by white labour, which is the desire of all parties. To enable the above to gradually come into operation without imperilling the industry, we trust you will agree to allow the present Queensland Polynesian Act to remain unrestricted for at least four years, except that the number must not be increased beyond the present total. The above we consider will both give large and small growers an opportunity to gradually change present methods, and will also induce all to give a fair trial to growing cane by white labour. This board fears that if the kanaka is hurriedly deported before other alien labour, the Asiatic aliens from the southern colonies, will be attracted to Queensland during the crushing season, while in the slack season they would be idle and in relatively large numbers would form a menace to the white population of the sugar districts.

I have now to put before honorable members an account of a meeting held by the Chamber of Commerce, Bundaberg [*House counted*].

Mr. BARTON. — Will my honorable friend allow me? I think that the House has done its duty to-night. The State Parliament of Victoria has not sat to-day. We have got through as much business as was possible in the circumstances, and I will not accuse the honorable member for Oxley of endeavouring to obstruct the passage of the Bill.

Mr. R. EDWARDS. — I have no such desire.

Mr. BARTON. — I say I will not accuse the honorable member of that, and he knows me well enough to understand what that means. So long as I have the assurance of the honorable member that there is no intention of obstructing the Bill —

Mr. R. EDWARDS. — I assure the Prime Minister that I have no such intention.

Mr. BARTON. — I shall be quite content to allow him to continue his speech at the next sitting of the House. If the honorable member moves for leave to

continue his remarks to-morrow, I shall agree to that course.

Motion proposed —

That the honorable member for Oxley have leave to continue his remarks at the next sitting of the House.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy). — I have no objection to the motion, but it appears to me that the only purpose which the honorable member for Oxley can serve in continuing his speech is to carry out the desire of certain politicians in Queensland, that certain opinions which have been expressed should appear in *Hansard* in order that they may be sent to England and used as a protest against the passing of this Bill and the giving of the Royal assent to it. It appears to me that it will lead only to a considerable waste of time. It can serve no other purpose. We have listened very patiently this evening to a great deal of matter read by the honorable member, which has no weight or value whatever. It has sprung entirely from one particular source. I certainly should have given the honorable member credit for declining to allow himself to be pulled in this way. However, he has been pulled, and I am not going to raise any further objection to leave being given to the honorable member to continue his speech to-morrow. Nevertheless, if we allow the business of the House to be conducted in this way it will not be very creditable to us.

Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at 10.34 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 6 November, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITIONS.

Senator CHARLESTON presented a petition from nine electors of the State of South Australia and members of the Legislative Council thereof, praying that the Senate would reject the *Matrimonial Causes Bill*.

Petition received and read.

Senator CHARLESTON presented similar petitions from sixteen electors of South Australia and members of the House

of Assembly, from six electors of South Australia and from two citizens of South Australia being members of the Society of Friends.

Petitions received.

PAPERS.

Senator DRAKE laid upon the table—

Minute by the Prime Minister to the Governor-General in reference to preferential duties of customs in Canada.

A despatch, dated 17th May, 1901, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General, with enclosure.

Ordered to be printed.

ASSENT TO BILLS.

Royal assent to the following Bills reported—

Service and Execution of Process Bill.
Supply Bill (No 4).

ELECTIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS COMMITTEE.

SAUNDERS v. MATHESON.

The PRESIDENT.—Before Senator Glassey moves the contingent notice of motion which, I understand, he is about to do at the request of Senator Symon, I think I ought to state to the Senate that I have been considerably exercised in my mind as to whether Senator Downer, chairman of the committee, who is in charge of the order of the day, ought or ought not to have priority with his contingent notice of motion. But inasmuch as I am informed that he has no objection to the contingent notice given by Senator Symon being taken first, I am relieved of that difficulty, and therefore I call on Senator Glassey.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland). — I move—

That the petition against the return of Senator Matheson be not further entertained.

I regret, as I am sure every honorable senator does, that Senator Symon is unable to be present to move this motion. I believe that I express his sentiment when I thank Senator Downer for the very courteous position which he has taken up. It is also due to Senator Downer to say that, throughout the proceedings of the Elections and Qualifications Committee, he was uniformly courteous and considerate to his fellow members. I am only doing my duty in putting on record this acknowledgment of his urbanity and courtesy in the

chair. I desire to correct a misstatement which has been made in the press that members of the committee have taken strong political sides. I do not believe that any honorable senator has been actuated by political bias. I cannot be charged with political bias, inasmuch as the opinions of Senator Matheson and myself on some political questions are as wide asunder as are the poles. Having met him on several occasions, not only in the Senate, but in the old Federal Council, I know that he is a very strong free-trader, and, as I take the opposite side of the fiscal question, I cannot be charged with being biased in favour of him. In the inquiry, I took the course which my judgment and conscience dictated to me as correct. I consider that the majority of the committee have all along taken the correct view—namely, that the petitioner had been negligent in the presentation of the petition, and that, inasmuch as he had not complied with the conditions of the procedure which he adopted, he was out of court. Senator Matheson ought therefore, in all fairness, to be allowed to take his seat in the Senate. This is a matter to which I gave some thought and consideration while I was a member of the committee, and some time ago I moved accordingly. Therefore, this is not a new proposal so far as I am concerned. I hope that the Senate will adopt the motion and that the sitting member will consequently be entitled to take his seat. When this question was before the Senate on the 24th July last, I regretted very much that I was not able to be present. I communicated with the Vice-president of the Executive Council with a view of having the subject postponed, if possible, until I was able to be present. Unfortunately, circumstances were such that the honorable senator could not comply with my wish. I thank the honorable senator who paired with me on that occasion, so that my vote was not really lost. The elections for senators in the State of Western Australia, as in some of the other States also, took place on the 29th March of this year. I presume that the elections in that State, as was the case in the other States, were conducted in accordance with the existing law of the State. Therefore, if any dereliction of duty occurred on the part of any candidate, or if he violated any law, he must necessarily have violated the law of his own State. I

am not aware that there is any other law under which the elections could have been held. Senator Matheson was elected at that particular time. I understand that some time elapsed before the actual declaration of the poll was made, but that does not alter the fact that he was duly elected on the 29th March. If Senator Matheson violated any provision of the law of Western Australia, surely there was sufficient time for the petitioner and his friends to take any action which they deemed advisable, and to lodge a petition in due form and in due time in accordance with the practice which was ultimately adopted by them. It is alleged in the petitioner's behalf that Senator Matheson was guilty of bribery and illegal practices, that he used undue influence in promising certain persons sums of money for supporting his candidature, and that he or his agent gave to Mr. Croft, the Secretary of the Political Labour Party and the Trades and Labour Council of Western Australia the sum of £50. These are the charges which are alleged against the sitting member. If they were proved, then undoubtedly Senator Matheson would have some difficulty in retaining his seat. Indeed, speaking as a person who has had considerable experience in political matters, and in the conduct of elections, I say that if these charges were proved or could be proved, the sitting member would not be entitled to retain his seat. Petitioner Saunders, after a long delay, which is inexcusable, took action under the law and practice of Western Australia. He did so of his own free will. I presume that he was advised by his legal advisers to take that course. At any rate, he voluntarily elected to proceed under the Western Australian law and practice. Therefore, it was most natural that, inasmuch as he was advised to adopt that procedure, he should of course and of necessity have complied with the provisions of the Western Australian Act. Under that law, a certain course has to be taken, and certain rules must be adhered to, before a petition can be heard. The question arises—did the petitioner comply with those rules and provisions under which he and his legal advisers choose to proceed? I contend that he did not. Some honorable senators have contended that he did all that he was capable of doing. I contest that statement. That is the view I have taken all along, and my position is strengthened by the evidence given by the Clerk of this

Senator Glassey.

Senate in accordance with the resolution passed by the Senate on the 25th July last. When this matter was before the Senate on the previous occasion, it was said that the petitioner had done all he could to get a hearing. Let us see how far that is the case. Sections 146 of the Western Australian Act lays down certain rules to be followed. Those are the provisions under which the petitioner elected to proceed—I presume in accordance with the advice he received from his legal advisers. Those rules lay it down, first, that there shall be a petition, and, secondly, that the petition shall be addressed to the House affected, and presented by a member or left with the Clerk within 40 days after the return. Further, it is laid down that the petition shall be signed and attested, and, fourthly, that it shall be accompanied by a deposit of £50. It has been alleged that petitioner Saunders complied with every one of those conditions, and that that is all he had to do and could do. How very innocent the petitioner was! So the allegations made in his favor would lead us to believe. But I do not agree that the petitioner was so innocent; and certainly I do not believe that his advisers were either innocent or ignorant regarding the law. There was no innocence in their conduct in the petitioner's case, but an exceeding lack of activity and vigilance. For that lack the petitioner was entitled to pay the penalty, and not the sitting member. Of course the petitioner and his advisers had before them all the rules with which they had to comply. It has been contended that so soon as the petitioner left the petition with the Clerk he had done his duty. That is the whole point. I think Senator Sargood went so far as to say on the last occasion that it was not the duty of the Elections and Qualifications Committee to enquire whether all the rules of procedure had been complied with, but to go on with the case. Nothing in the instructions given by the Senate could be taken to have that effect. The Senate gave certain instructions to the committee, who very justly and properly found that, inasmuch as the rules adopted by the petitioner had not been complied with, the petition should not be further considered. In deference to the resolution passed by the Senate on the 25th July, the committee made further investigations and exercised, so far as they were capable of exercising, all the care they could in

endeavouring to obtain evidence, with the view of presenting their report to the Senate. They examined the Clerk of this Senate as to whether the petitioner had complied with all the rules with which he was bound to comply, and whether he was the innocent person some honorable senators would have us believe. I will take the liberty of reading the evidence tendered by the Clerk as to whether the petitioner and his friends actually were in a state of innocence, and whether they knew what action had to be taken, not only with regard to the lodging of the petition and having it signed and attested, and with regard to the deposit of £50, but also with regard to the time when the petition should be presented, and as to its presentation by a senator. The petition was presented to the Clerk, and, in so presenting it, the petitioner and his advisers were perfectly cognisant of what had to be done, in addition to the fulfilment of the conditions to which I have referred. The Senate met on the 9th May, but the petition was not presented to the Clerk until the 23rd May. The majority of the committee, after hearing the evidence of the Clerk, presented their report, together with the reasons for the position taken up by them. By so doing, they vindicated this Senate and the Clerk against any implicit charge of negligence on their part. It cannot be contended that the Clerk was to blame or that the Senate was to blame. The only person to be blamed, and the person who should suffer, is the petitioner himself. Surely it is wrong and manifestly unjust that the sitting member should be harrassed, and put to enormous expense in view of the fact that the neglect to which I have referred rests entirely with the petitioner. In Parliamentary practice nothing is more strongly insisted upon than rigid adherence to the conditions as to time in the lodging of a petition. No blame attaches to the sitting member, and he ought to be held innocent until he is proved guilty. From my own experience in connexion with election petitions—which goes back as far as 1880, when in the town of Lichfield, I had something to do with the unseating of a member—as well as from reports I have read of proceedings on petitions in the English courts the utmost vigilance is insisted upon on the part of a petitioner. If any concession is to be made it should be given to the sitting member, and particularly to the State which has suffered the

loss of one representative in the Senate for months past. The Senate met on the 9th May. The petitioner was here on the 8th of May, but he did nothing for a fortnight. The petition was not even signed until 23rd May, 35 days after the return of the sitting member, and on the verge of the 40 days' limit. On 23rd May, it was taken to the Clerk of the Parliaments, Mr. Blackmore, who never regarded the lodging of it with him as equivalent to its presentation to the Senate. Nor did the petitioner regard it in that way. Mr. Blackmore was examined before the committee on the 15th August, and gave evidence as follows:—

Senator Sir J. H. Symon.—You have the original petition against the return of Senator Matheson?—Yes.

Do you see the indorsements on the printed petition?—I am satisfied that the indorsements are correct.

When was the petition left with you?—On the 23rd of May of the present year.

Who left it with you?—It was brought in by two gentlemen who, at the time, were unknown to me. I believe they were Mr. Saunders and Mr. Ward.

You mean Mr. Saunders, the petitioner?—I believe he was one of them.

Some statements were made, and some discussion took place in the Senate during the recent debate on this subject, as to what took place between yourself and these two gentlemen when the petition was left with you. Will you kindly tell the committee what did take place?—Two gentlemen entered the room which I was then occupying, and came to the desk where I was writing, and said—"We have a petition to lodge with you." I said—"Certainly." It is a common thing for honorable members to leave petitions with me, so that I may hand them to them in the Senate when they are wanted. They said—"This is a petition referring to a disputed return which will be challenged," and they referred me to a section of the Constitution, and said that it had to be presented under conditions prescribed by the law in Western Australia, the Commonwealth not having yet provided the *modus operandi*. As it happened, my attention had never been drawn to the law of Western Australia, and I did not know it; but they were good enough to produce the Electoral Act, and show me the sections governing the procedure in regard to presenting a petition against the return of a member. Then they opened the petition, and showed me that they had complied with the provisions of the sections of the Western Australian Act. Then they went on to say—"You will observe by this Act that we have to lodge £50 with you as a deposit." I said—"Very well, I shall receive that, and indorse on the petition that you have lodged it as security for costs. I shall give you a separate receipt, which you can take, so that you may have an extra guarantee." Then we got into conversation, and they began to talk about further procedure. I said at once then—"As an officer of Parliament, I cannot give you any advice

or take any action myself in a matter referring to the unseating of a member, but I may tell you what is the common law of Parliaments with regard to all petitions, and that is, that they should be presented by a member of the House, to whom the petition is addressed." I particularly guarded myself against referring to any class of petitions; I said—"All petitions." Then, of course, as is natural, there was a little more conversation. I said—"Mind, whatever I say to you is non-official. Being an officer of Parliament, I cannot interfere in this matter." But as we got on in conversation, I simply made this remark—"By the way, I might point out to you that there is some difference of opinion as to whether the Constitution Act refers to the mere technique or *modus operandi* of getting a member returned, or whether it goes further, and applies to matters after the return. My own opinion is that it does not." To the best of my recollection, and I think I am right, that is the extent of what passed between us.

Was anything said about a member?—I beg pardon, I am glad to be reminded. When I mentioned about the common law being for a member to present the petition, they said, to the best of my recollection—"Oh, yes, we have thought of that, and we have a member in our eye." Then they asked—"Would there be any difficulty in getting the petition from you?" I said, "No, I shall lock it up, and I shall take it down to the chamber every day, and put it in my drawer of the table, and as soon as a member comes up to me and says that he has undertaken to present it, I shall hand it to him." I said—"Until some one comes up to me for the petition, it will go back to my office each day." That is the extent of what passed between us.

Mr. Fink (counsel for petitioner).—Was that an unofficial conversation?—I do not know.

You were speaking unofficially?—With regard to taking the petition down, you may take that as official or unofficial as you like. It was simply saying what I should do.

By Senator Walker.—You told them unofficially that there was a difference of opinion? That was a sort of conversation.

I then examined the Clerk as follows:—

You told the gentlemen who waited upon you that you would take the petition and keep it in your drawer from day to day until such time as some member would call upon you for it?—Yes.

Did you do that?—Yes.

How long did you have the petition before any member called upon you for it?—I could not tell you exactly the number of days, but some two or three days—at least three days I think—before it was presented. Speaking from memory, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, through his secretary, asked me if I would allow him to see the petition, and, of course, I did; and they had the petition in their custody until it was presented.

That was about three days after you received it?—No; I should say not more than three days before it was presented. It did not return to me until it was presented.

The Vice-President of the Executive Council, through his secretary, got the petition from you, *Senator Glassey*.

and, I presume, he held it for several days?—I would not say how many days. I doubt if it was more than three days.

The witness was then examined as follows:—

By Senator Sir J. H. Symon.—Had you any conversation with any one else about the petition?—No, except that from time to time, as we were crossing the passage, Senator Matheson asked me if it was going to be presented, and I said—"I have heard nothing more." He never came to my room to ask the question.

By Senator Walker.—I think you said that you told them unofficially that there was a difference of opinion?—That is a different matter. When they came in they naturally got into conversation. It was an ordinary conversation; it was not official. We discussed the whole thing, and I said—"I may tell you that there is a difference of opinion as to whether that section of the Constitution applies to matters after a member is elected."

I think that evidence proves clearly that both the petitioner and his legal advisers had full knowledge of the fact that it was necessary for an honorable senator to present the petition to the Senate in due time and that form, and the Clerk was merely to be the custodian of the petition for the time being. That condition the petitioner did not comply with, and it remained for the Vice-President of the Executive Council to obtain the petition from the Clerk and present it to the Senate. He presented it on the 27th of June, whereas it should have been presented to the Senate on the 28th of May, therefore it was nearly a whole month too late. If ever there was neglect on the part of any person having dealings of this kind it was shown by the petitioner in this case. In view of the evidence, which has been given clearly, distinctly, and concisely, showing that the petitioner and his advisers had full knowledge of the conditions it is now too late in the day to try and persuade honorable senators that the petitioner believed he had performed his duty and complied with the rules of the Western Australian Act when he handed the petition to the clerk. He and his friends deliberately adopted the Western Australian Act, and so far as they knew there was no other law by which they were to be guided. They fulfilled some of the obligations of that measure, but did not comply with the condition that the petition should be presented by an honorable senator within a certain time. I cannot swerve from my position in the slightest degree that the petitioner's neglect is unpardonable, and that the penalty of his neglect should be that the petition should not be entertained. The

honorable senator petitioned against should be entitled to take his seat. Senator Matheson even asked the Clerk whether the petition was going to be presented. The Clerk was unable to tell him, but the petitioner was here all the time from the 8th of May. What was he doing? What were his legal advisers doing?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—The honorable senator knows more about the petition than others do.

Senator GLASSEY.—I know from Senator De Largie, who travelled on the same ship as the petitioner, that he came over on the 8th of May. With regard to the merits of the petition I know absolutely nothing, and I care nothing; but with regard to the seat of the sitting member I care a great deal. I care not upon what side in politics an honorable senator may be against whom a petition has been presented, but I care a great deal about having justice done. It was not my business to inquire into the merits until the preliminary necessary proceedings had been complied with. They were not complied with, and I know of no court in the world in which one can secure the hearing of a case except upon complying with certain conditions. It was the 27th of June before Senator O'Connor presented the petition, and it was then received for the first time by the Senate. It has been contended that the Senate is the court, but if so the petition should have been before the Senate in due time. If it was impossible for the petitioner to comply with that condition he should have moved the Senate in the matter. He should have explained that it was impossible to comply with that condition, and he should then have asked for further time. There was no effort or attempt to do that. The petition was not presented to the Senate in time, nor was any extension of time asked for. I think I said in the earlier part of my remarks that it was contended, on the 24th of July, that the Senate instructed the committee to inquire into the merits of the case, and report upon them to the Senate. When were those instructions given, and by whom? I believe that that was the contention set up by Senator Sargood, but I deny that any such instructions were given. I want to know where those instructions are. If the Senate has given instructions, I shall be very pleased to see them. Certainly the Senate appointed a committee to make an

inquiry and report, but upon what? Senator Sargood says, upon the merits of the case, but I deny that. I say that it was with regard to the preliminaries being taken into consideration prior to the merits of the case being inquired into by the committee, whether the court was the Senate or the committee. It was to consider whether the rules voluntarily adopted by the petitioner and his legal advisers had been complied with or not. If the Senate were the court, the Senate would be very guarded indeed in entering upon the consideration of the merits of the case, without inquiring whether the necessary preliminaries had been complied with prior to the hearing of the case being granted. So far as I am concerned the contention positively falls to the ground, inasmuch as I am not aware of any definite instructions having been given by the Senate. When this question was before the Senate very great compassion was bestowed upon the petitioner, inasmuch as he was an innocent man and had done all he could do. The Vice-President of the Executive Council was exceedingly strong on that point. He told us that no person could gainsay that it was an utter impossibility for the petitioner to do anything else than what he did. I do not agree with that statement at all. I should be very slow indeed to question the authority of Senator O'Connor on legal matters, but I say that this petitioner did not do all that he should have done. He complied with certain of the rules; why did he not comply with them all? Who is to blame for his want of compliance? It certainly could not be his legal adviser; otherwise that gentleman could not have given the question the consideration which he should have given it. I should be very slow to believe that the petitioner or his legal adviser were without knowledge that a further condition had to be complied with. It was not complied with. I think the sitting member is entitled to all the consideration and compassion, and not the petitioner. I have no prejudice in the matter, but I have a great desire for fair play and justice. Whether the person whose seat is petitioned against is a political opponent of mine or not, as a member of this Senate, he shall have the fullest consideration and compassion from me, and I shall consider also the State which he has the honour of representing, rather than a petitioner who is

minority and the majority of the committee on the first occasion. Now, approaching this matter with a desire to do even-handed justice, I ask where was the negligence? The petitioner left the petition with the Clerk on the 23rd May. No one complains that it was not left in time. Where is his negligence after that? He left the petition with the Clerk, and that, according to the law of Western Australia and Victoria, is the proper course, and it is the only course in other places, which have statutory courts, and complete methods of procedure by which the thing works itself out without any motion. Therefore, there would seem to be no negligence. But it is said that there was negligence because the petitioner spoke to the Clerk of the Senate, who said that he did not know what the law of the Constitution was, but that under the law of Parliaments some one ought to present the petition. That, however, was not the law of Western Australia, or of Victoria. What had been going on? On the 23rd May the petition was presented to the Clerk. On the 6th of June, notice of motion was given for the appointment of the committee. On the 12th June, the committee was appointed. On the 23rd June, the committee became operative and could proceed with business. On the 27th June, the petition was presented to the Senate. During the whole interval from the 23rd May to 27th June, between the time when the petition was lodged, and when it was referred to the committee, the petition lay with the Clerk.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is the honorable and learned senator's point that as there was no committee there could be no presentation?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It could have been presented to the Senate.

Senator CLEMONS.—Of course it could; the appointment of the committee has nothing to do with the presentation of the petition.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Either there is an absolute rule, and if there is, it was not complied with; or there is not an absolute rule, and then it is a question of negligence. Whether the petitioner assumed that he had to act under the law of his own State of Western Australia, or under the law of the State in which the Senate was meeting, Victoria, the lodging the petition with the Clerk was equivalent to its presentation to the Senate, and the rest was a matter of course, a perfunctory act.

If the petition had been presented by 20th June, what could the Senate have done more than it actually did? The view I have taken about this matter throughout, knowing nothing about the merits, and anxious to be relieved from one of the most painful positions I have ever been in in the course of my life—a position in which I have endeavoured to do justice, but have obtained great offence and great indignity—is what I have explained. No one could be more happy to be relieved of the position I occupy than myself; but, at the same time, if this Senate wishes it to go forth that we are not a mere political body, allowing party considerations to tread upon the sanctity of justice, we should continue this inquiry. Whether it be continued by the present committee or some other body I care not. I shall be glad to be out of it. At the present time I look upon the subject simply as a person knowing nothing of the merits of the case, but as a fair-minded man of the world accustomed to studying cases, with a desire to arrive at reasonable conclusions. From that point of view, I say that nothing on the part of the petitioner would justify this Senate in denying to him the right to an inquiry, and to the justice which he demands.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).

—I think that if this Senate has anything to deplore since we first met in this Chamber, it has been the illness of Senator Fraser. If he had not been ill we should undoubtedly have had at the present moment a majority report from the Elections and Qualifications Committee, as it was at first appointed to inquire into this petition. That majority report would have met with the approval of the majority of the Senate. But Senator Fraser's resignation from the committee resulted in a dead-lock, and led to the difficulty with which we are now faced. On the last occasion when this question was before the Senate—leaving out the time when we had to decide whether the chairman of a committee had a deliberative as well as a casting vote—I contended that there was no evidence to prove that the petitioner had not done all that he could possibly have done under the circumstances. It was my belief at the time that the petitioner really thought that when he presented his petition to the Clerk of the Parliaments, Mr. Blackmore, he was doing all that he ought to have done under

the law of Western Australia. Being under that belief, I thought we had no right to take advantage of the ignorance of any individual on a matter of this kind, particularly as it was the first time any petition had been presented to the Senate on a matter relating to a disputed return. As there was no law on the subject, I thought that we had no right to take advantage of a mistake that an individual might easily fall into. Therefore I voted with the majority, in favour of referring the matter back to the committee for the purpose of making still further inquiries. The committee have taken no evidence on the merits of the petition, but they have, I understand, heard the lawyers on each side. We have before us no report as to what was said by these learned gentlemen. But we have before us the evidence given by Mr. Blackmore, our Clerk, and that evidence shows that the advisers of the petitioner are not such wonderfully ignorant persons as might have been supposed. I entirely disagree with the statement of Senator Downer when he says that there is no fixed law on the subject, and that if there is a fixed law the petitioner complied with it. I contend that, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, there is no law on the subject, but it was certainly understood that the elections of senators were to be conducted under the laws of the States concerned. There is no doubt in my own mind that that was the intention of the framers of the Constitution. It is the common-sense position. Therefore, there was a law on the subject, and the petitioner's advisers knew it thoroughly. Yet in the most unaccountable manner they failed to comply with the conditions of that law. Take the evidence of Mr. Blackmore. The petitioner or his representatives came to that gentleman with their petition. Did they look upon the mere fact of lodging the petition with the Clerk as a compliance with the law of Western Australia? Decidedly not. They said, "We have in our eye a senator who will present the petition." Is it to be supposed that, if they had their minds thoroughly made up as to the procedure they ought to adopt, and if such procedure had been in the direction of simply leaving the petition with the Clerk, they would have thought it necessary to do any more? Nothing of the sort. But they distinctly said, "We leave it with you"—to do what with it? Was the Clerk to present it to

the Senate? Decidedly not. Was he to hand it to you, Mr. President? Decidedly not. He was to hold it in his hand for the purpose of safe custody, and give it up at the proper time to a senator who would present it to the Senate—the very procedure which the law of Western Australia prescribes. Therefore, the petitioner knew thoroughly well what he had to do, and it is not for us to inquire how it is that he neglected his duty. I suppose that there is scarcely a senator who would not have presented that petition if he had been asked. I should never refuse to present any petition if it were respectful, even though I disagreed with what it asked for. There is never any difficulty in obtaining a senator to present a petition. But the petitioner's advisers waited day after day, although they knew exactly what procedure had to be taken. They absolutely neglected the petition and the procedure. So far as the deposit is concerned, they had paid the money. They had complied with the whole of the law of Western Australia, except in regard to the presentation of the petition, which they had prepared in proper form, and had ready for presentation. It was not left with the Clerk as a compliance with the law of Western Australia. Therefore, the petitioner did not comply with the law of Western Australia, and Senator Downer's contention, that if there is a fixed law governing the case they complied with it, is a mistaken one. There is a fixed law, but they did not comply with it, and as they neglected to do so, they must suffer the consequences.

Senator O'CONNOR.—What, in the honorable senator's view, is the fixed law?

Senator PLAYFORD.—The law of Western Australia, whatever that may be. That has been shown to be the case in regard to a petition presented to the House of Representatives against the return of Mr. E. Solomon. But in the present case the petitioner did not comply with the law, and under the circumstances I think that the best course the Senate can adopt is to pass the motion moved by Senator Glassey. If I thought that this petitioner was ignorant in what he had done, and made a mistake through his ignorance, I should take a different course, because I believe that we should not judge matters of this sort in accordance with the strict letter

of the law, but should consider the equities of the case. But here we have a man deliberately coming to the Clerk of this House, knowing what to do, and doing it up to a certain point, and then neglecting to attend to a certain matter. Therefore I shall vote for the motion.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—I sincerely hope that the Senate will not be led into taking the course involved in Senator Glassey's motion. To do so would be, in the first place, to absolutely stultify the Senate itself, and, in the second place, to deny justice to the petitioner, on grounds which are in themselves not only untenable, but, it appears to me, absolutely farcical. I cannot understand how any honorable senator who remembers that we are dealing with the question of the rights of the petitioner, as well as the rights of the sitting member, could come to the conclusion that, on the flimsy grounds which have been put forward by one section of the committee, and by the mover of this motion, we should deprive any one of the slightest right which any man might claim, much more than that we should deprive him of the right of sitting in this Senate. A great deal of time has been expended already upon this matter. I do not wish to devote any more time to it than is absolutely necessary, but I feel that the credit of the Senate is involved in the course which is to be taken now, and, therefore, I think it necessary to state, in a very few words, the position in which the matter now stands. The Senate referred this petition, on 27th June last, to the Elections and Qualifications Committee. The committee was appointed for the express purpose of dealing with this question, because, although it is a standing committee, open to consider any other petition, there was actually no other petition in existence when it was appointed, and it is unlikely that any other will come before it. The committee having been appointed as the tribunal to consider this question, the petition was referred to it on 27th June last. Since that time the matter has been before the committee, and now a member of it asks us to take action. In what circumstances? It has been considering the matter from the 27th June until the 6th November, and has at last arrived at a position in which it is equally divided and cannot determine upon any conclusion. That is the report which it brings before us.

Senator CLEMONS.—And it has kept the sitting member out of the Senate all this time.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I hope it will be understood that I am not attempting in any way to attach blame to any member of the committee. Every member of it has a right to his own opinions, and if, unfortunately, the committee is so divided that it cannot agree, there is no other course open to it than to come to the Senate itself which has delegated its power to it, and to inform it of the condition of affairs which prevails. But whatever the reason may be, the committee, being absolutely unable to agree, has brought up a report to the Senate which deputed it to inquire into the matter. In that report the members say practically—“We are equally divided; we can come to no conclusion.” That being the case, Senator Symon gave notice of the motion which has been moved by Senator Glassey, to the effect that the petition be no longer entertained. That is to say, that is the view of one section of the committee. But on what grounds? On the grounds that the law of Western Australia has not been complied with, and that—

There has been unexplained delay and want of diligence on the part of the petitioner in such presentation and prosecution prejudicial to the sitting member and his State.

Those two grounds are absolutely the same. They both depend entirely upon the question of whether the law of Western Australia applies. The question was thoroughly thrashed out in the Senate on the occasion of the first report. The committee, having considered the matter from the 27th of June until the 11th of July, brought up a report on the latter date, in which they said that—

The petitioner has not conformed with the electoral law of the State of Western Australia; and your committee recommend, therefore, that the petition be not entertained.

The Senate listened for hours to everything that was to be said upon the question. In addition to that, most of the evidence given subsequently by the Clerk was before the Senate, although only as hearsay and rumour. Having heard all these matters the Senate came to the conclusion that the law of Western Australia did not apply.

Senator CLEMONS.—It did not hear the Clerk's evidence on that occasion. No evidence of that sort was heard before.

Senator O'CONNOR.—What I said was that the matter subsequently given in evidence by the Clerk was substantially before the Senate on that occasion as hearsay and rumour.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable and learned senator asks honorable senators to attach the same value to rumour as to evidence.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The Senate had to consider the grounds upon which it was said at that time that the law of Western Australia applied. It was admitted by Senator Symon that, apart from the action of the petitioner himself, the law of Western Australia did not apply. Of course that is the only conclusion that any reasonable person, much less any senator knowing anything of the law, could come to.

The PRESIDENT.—I wish to point out that strictly speaking, reference cannot be made to the former debate, but inasmuch as the matter now before the Senate is so much mixed up with it, and really a continuation of that debate, I feel justified in relaxing the rule.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Senator Symon, on that occasion, said this—

What the majority of the committee felt was that they, at any rate, could not sanction any evasion of the Act of Parliament.

I inquired, "Of what Act of Parliament?" and Senator Symon replied—

Of the Act of Parliament prescribing the practice which they had adopted.

In answer to my further inquiry, "What Act of Parliament?" Senator Symon said—

The Act of Parliament of Western Australia. As I have said so far as my own opinion is concerned, I hold that the Act and practice of Western Australia have no application whatever. The committee never said so for a moment. But there was no practice and no procedure. The Senate might have adopted—and I venture to think it was the duty of the Vice-President of the Executive Council when he moved in this matter to have formulated—sessional orders governing the limitation of time within which petitions should be presented, and the procedure that should have been adopted. That has been done in every instance with which I am acquainted.

And so on. I quote from *Hansard*, page 2890. Therefore the honorable and learned senator admitted that the law of Western Australia did not apply. But the law of Western Australia has been dragged in to the detriment of the petitioner in a curious way. It is said that it is quite true that the law of Western Australia does not apply ;

that there is no procedure which does apply ; that no procedure has been laid down by the Senate which could have been followed, but, because the petitioner himself followed the law of Western Australia.

Senator FRASER.—In part.

Senator O'CONNOR.—In part, therefore he is bound to follow it out altogether, notwithstanding that it does not apply. In other words, if the petitioner had chosen to follow no particular law, but had simply lodged his petition without any deposit, or in any way he thought fit, who could say that he had not complied with the law ? But, because he took it upon himself to be more accurate, and to follow the law in certain particulars, then it is said he was bound to follow it in a way which was absolutely impossible.

Senator FRASER.—There may be still more petitions in that case.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I sincerely hope that no honorable senator is going to allow himself to be influenced in dealing with this matter by the consideration that he has been making his seat safe by creating a precedent of this kind. I trust that the matter will be decided entirely upon the consideration of the rights and justice of the case. Of course it is true that the Senate might at any time lay down rules relating to the presentation of petitions. But these rules in effect would be standing orders which practically could not apply to a case of this kind, the petition having been presented before they were formulated. No rules could have been formulated before, because in the nature of things a court of this kind is created only after election, and it has no power to create standing orders until the Senate itself is elected. It could not make rules in regard to the presentation of petitions which would have a retrospective effect. It is, therefore, idle to say that petitioner was bound by rules which had no existence. It is because he adopted to a certain extent the law of Western Australia, but did not adopt it in full, that we are asked to say that he must be taken to have failed in his compliance with the conditions necessary to be observed before he can be heard on the facts.

Senator FRASER.—The House of Representatives adopted that view.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Never mind the House of Representatives. The Senate has decided that the law of Western Australia does not apply.

Senator CLEMONS.—What?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The Senate has decided that there is no law which prevents the petition from being heard.

Senator CLEMONS.—No. It has not been decided that the law of Western Australia does not apply.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Then the honorable and learned senator contradicts a resolution passed by the Senate.

Senator DE LARGIE.—No. The Senate neglected its duty.

The PRESIDENT.—Order. The honorable senator must not reflect on a vote of the Senate.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I will read the exact words of the resolution. The report I have referred to already was presented on the 11th July, setting forth that—

The petitioner has not conformed with the electoral law of the State of Western Australia; and your committee recommend, therefore, that the petition be not entertained.

The Senate then passed this resolution—

That in the opinion of the Senate the law does not prevent the committee from entertaining the petition, and that the petition be referred back to the committee for further inquiry and report.

That is to say the committee having reported that the law of Western Australia prevented an inquiry because the petitioner had not complied with it, the Senate taking even a wider ground than that said, "There is no law which prevents a petition being inquired into." If there is no law to prevent that, then the law of Western Australia does not prevent it. I hope that no honorable senator has so mean an opinion of the intelligence of the Senate as to advance the opinion that because the words "the law of Western Australia" were not used in that resolution, therefore the Senate expressed no opinion as to whether it applied or not. The sole ground for the report of the committee was that the law of Western Australia did not apply, and, therefore, that the petition could not be entertained. The Senate, however, sent back the petition with the intimation that there was no law—meaning the Western Australian or any other law—which prevented it from being entertained. The petition was considered, but the committee could not arrive at any conclusion. Now they report again with the sole difference in regard to the facts that in the meantime they have taken the evidence of the Clerk. I appeal to any honorable senator who looks

at this matter in the same way as he would look at any case involving the decision of the smallest possible claim or right, to say whether there is anything in this evidence except in regard to the law of Western Australia. And if the law of Western Australia has no application, is there anything whatever which is relevant in this evidence given by the Clerk? What is the effect of it? The effect of it is simply this: This petition was lodged with the Clerk with a deposit. A conversation took place as to what the procedure was. I am not going into the details now, but the petitioner seemed to intimate that he was inclined to think that the petition might have to be presented by somebody. The Clerk stated what he believed to be the general parliamentary rule, but expressed no definite opinion about it, and he told the petitioner and his friend, very properly, that there was some doubt as to whether the Constitution applied the laws of the State after the election or not.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—And he thought it did not.

Senator O'CONNOR.—And he said that in his opinion it did not. There was a conversation of that sort, and during the conversation one of the persons happened to mention that, if the petition had to be presented, they had some one in their eye who would be able to present it. What if they had? I say it does not matter. Is there anything in the whole of that evidence which affects in any single degree the right of this person to have his petition considered by the Senate? There is no law, as the Senate has decided already, which prevents that being done.

Senator MCGREGOR.—On what law is it to be decided?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The Clerk told the petitioner that in some cases these petitions were to be presented, but he was doubtful whether the law of Western Australia applied or did not. The whole matter was left in a state of doubt and uncertainty, and what is there in that which would deprive the petitioner of the right of having his petition considered if he had that right before? If we say that the law of Western Australia is to be applied, that is a different matter, but it is admitted that the law of Western Australia cannot be applied unless upon the ridiculous assumption that because the petitioner has adopted it, we should

therefore apply it against him. In what other way does it deprive him of the right which he has to have this petition decided by the Senate? Now, let me state as concisely as possible what, in my view, the right of the petitioner is. Under the Constitution, this Senate is the court by which these petitions are to be tried. From the very nature of things, no procedure could be laid down, or has been laid down, for the trial of these petitions. The Senate, therefore, is the court to try these petitions, unhampered by any procedure of any kind whatever.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Under what law?

Senator O'CONNOR.—I have said already, under the Constitution. That is the only law.

Senator MCGREGOR.—And the Constitution does not provide?

Senator O'CONNOR.—And the Constitution could not provide.

Senator FRASER.—The Government should have dealt with the matter.

Senator O'CONNOR.—That does not get rid of the difficulty. The honorable senator says that the Government should have dealt with the matter. That is a very easy way of getting rid of anything, but I ask the honorable senator how was that possible.

Senator FRASER.—By passing a short Act.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Will the honorable senator tell me what the provisions of the short Act should have been, or how any Act could have such a retrospective effect as to deprive, after a petition had been presented, any man of his right under the petition? With all respect to the honorable senator, if that is the ground upon which he comes to this conclusion, I think he will see upon reflection that he is wrong. The Constitution has provided no general law for the trial of these claims, and it must therefore leave the procedure to the Senate itself. At the time the petition was presented, Parliament could not possibly have provided any procedure, and whether Parliament ought to have provided procedure or not, no procedure was in existence. Under these circumstances, what was the right of a person presenting a petition to the Senate? Surely, if he brought his case before the Senate in the way in which such matters are ordinarily brought before such tribunals,

he did sufficient so far as he was concerned? He did that on the 23rd May by presenting the petition. It is then in the hands of an officer of the House. Then what has he to do? In Victoria, as Senator Downer has said, the practice is to lodge the petition with the Clerk. In New South Wales the petition is lodged either with the Governor—that is, the Executive Government—or with the Speaker, to be presented by them to the House. According to the law of Western Australia, it is lodged with the Clerk. How could any one suppose that in regard to this petition to the Senate, which had no procedure laid down, a procedure unknown to any other Legislature should suddenly be adopted for the purpose of preventing an inquiry being made? Unless the Senate is prepared to adopt that view, I can see no reason whatever why the evidence which has been given by the Clerk should make any difference in the conclusion which the Senate arrived at upon the other occasion. Of course, I admit at once that, the Senate being the sole judge of procedure, it would have the right to say—“Well, this petitioner has taken a very long time; he has taken months to formulate his claim. On the face of it we can see from that that he has been guilty of such negligence that we ought not to entertain his petition.” The Senate, under these circumstances, would be perfectly justified in laying down its own rules, and in saying that under these circumstances it would not listen to the petitioner. I take it that if a petition was presented, say, so late for instance as at the present time, the Senate would be perfectly justified in coming to such a conclusion. But is that the case here? Is there here any element of neglect whatever? On the contrary, did not this petitioner follow exactly and in every particular, so far as he could follow it, every known procedure in bringing his petition before the Senate? I have spoken of the matter entirely upon the rights of the petitioner and of the sitting member. Something was said here about the innocence or want of innocence on the part of the petitioner.

Senator GLASSEY.—That was alleged.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I do not know who alleged it. I know that with regard to the majority of honorable senators it was no ground whatever for the decision arrived

at. Whatever his innocence or knowledge was, it did not affect his rights in any way. I say now that we should decide this question entirely apart from any knowledge or want of knowledge on the part of the petitioner. It is not a personal matter at all, and not a question of mercy or commiseration in any way. It is a question of what the petitioner's rights are, and if he has the right to be heard, he ought to be heard. If he has not that right, the action should be taken which Senator Glassey suggests. Those should be the only considerations. I have referred to the evidence for the purpose of showing that it makes no difference whatever in the facts that were before the Senate when we came to a conclusion on the last occasion. The Senate having come to the conclusion that this petition should be entertained, and that there was nothing in the law to prevent its being entertained, it is now asked to retrace its steps, and to refuse to hear the petitioner. Why? On precisely the same grounds—no other substantial ground—that were before the Senate on the last occasion. I say that it is trifling with the Senate, and trifling with its position as a deliberative body, that a committee, which has been instructed to do a certain thing, and which has certain principles laid down for its direction, should send a portion of its members here to ask for a further decision, to ask for a reversal of the former decision of the Senate, and that this petition should no longer be entertained. The additional ground they have given—that there has been an unexplained delay and want of diligence on the part of the petitioner, which has been prejudicial to the sitting member—is absolutely without any foundation. In the first place, it is said that the law of Western Australia has not been complied with. Although the sections were referred to in the last debate, I should like to tell honorable senators substantially what the law is that has not been complied with. In the first place, the petition is to be presented by a member or left with the Clerk within 40 days after the return. That has been done. It is to be signed by the candidate or by a person qualified to vote at the election, and certain formalities with regard to witnesses are to be followed. That has been done. A deposit of £50 has to be lodged. That has been done. All these conditions have been complied with. Then it is said that the

next condition, section 147, has not been complied with.

All petitions shall within ten days after the same have been received be referred to the court.

Be referred by whom? Be referred by the House—that is to say, this being the law of Western Australia, the House of Western Australia has to do this. But it has no application to the Senate, and if it had an application to the Senate, how could this petitioner in any way secure the reference of his petition, or how should he be to blame if the petition was not referred? And would it not be the grossest injustice to shut out the right of petition here, and refuse to hear this petition because the Senate having the petition before it did not take some action in regard to referring it to some tribunal for inquiry?

Senator FRASER.—The petitioner himself did not take it.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It is the most grotesque injustice that could possibly be perpetrated to send away the petitioner from this Senate, and refuse to hear his petition on this technical ground, which has absolutely nothing whatever to recommend it, and which if followed would certainly be utterly unworthy of the position of the Senate, charged with the duty of inquiring into these petitions, and would be a discredit to everybody concerned, in avoiding the duty which the Constitution has placed upon it. As I said on the last occasion, I know nothing whatever as to the merits of this petition. It is a matter of exceeding regret to me, as it must be to every member of the Senate, that this question has dragged on for so long without being brought to a conclusion. I think the way in which we solve this difficulty now is a matter for very serious consideration. On the one hand we are asked by Senator Glassey to solve it by flying directly in the face of what we have already decided, and by coming to a conclusion which has nothing whatever, either in law or in fact, to recommend it, and refusing to entertain this petition first because the petitioner has not complied with a law which has no application; and secondly, because he has been guilty of neglect, when it is perfectly obvious that there no neglect can be pointed to that he has been guilty of. That is one way out of the difficulty which is proposed, and which it is impossible for the Senate to follow in justice to itself, to the

petitioner, or even to the sitting member. There is another way suggested by Senator Downer. I presume that as his motion is a contingent notice of motion relating to the same matter, I shall not be out of order in referring to it. Senator Downer suggests that the committee should go on. That is also impracticable, because it is quite evident that a dead-lock would occur. Both these courses being impossible, I intend to suggest a course which will do justice to both the petitioner and the sitting member, which may be followed with credit by the Senate, and which is the only practical way it can find out of the difficulty into which it has got through no fault of its own. The committee having had for months the consideration of the petition in hand has found that it is unable to agree about it, and it has come to the Senate for instructions. The only way out of the difficulty is—first, that the committee be discharged from further inquiry; secondly, that steps may be taken if necessary for rescinding in accordance with the standing orders the resolution appointing the committee; and, thirdly, the appointment of a new committee to which the petition may be referred. I have spoken to the President, and he has permitted me to say that, if requested by the Senate, he will undertake the very responsible duty of appointing another committee.

Senator GLASSEY.—Are we to pass a vote of censure on the first committee?

Senator O'CONNOR.—It is not passing a vote of censure on the first committee, but if that is the only way in which the Senate can do right and justice to the petitioner and itself, why should it hesitate to follow that course? The committee has brought up a report in which it has admitted that it is impossible that it can go on, and under these circumstances what right has any member of the committee to complain when the Senate says it shall be discharged from further action? The way out of the difficulty suggested by the committee is to take the view of one section of it in opposition to a resolution of the Senate. That cannot be done. Whether the committee take it as an adverse comment on their action, which is not intended—

Senator GLASSEY.—I certainly shall!

Senator O'CONNOR.—I am very sorry if the honorable senator takes that view, but I see no other course to follow.

Senator GLASSEY.—Than get a partisan committee?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Considering the circumstances in which we find ourselves, and considering the report of the committee in which it confesses its inability to do any thing more, it should not be surprised if the Senate comes to the conclusion that it be asked to hand over its functions to another committee which will be able to arrive at a conclusion. I move—

That the question be amended by the omission of all the words after the word "That" with a view to insert in lieu thereof the following words:—1. The committee be discharged from further consideration of the petition. 2. Steps be taken if necessary for rescinding in accordance with the standing orders the resolution appointing the committee. 3. Action be taken in accordance with the standing orders for the appointment of a new Committee of Elections and Qualifications, to which the petition shall be referred.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I hope that the Senate will not carry the amendment, because it must be quite evident to every one that it will be utterly impossible to get an impartial committee after the case has been discussed so much as it has been. If another committee were to take up the work it would be in a worse plight than we are in and, goodness knows, the committee has not been a happy family. The decision of the committee is practically a majority decision. If it had not been for the unfortunate circumstance which caused Senator Fraser to retire, the motion of Senator Glassey would have been practically the decision of a majority of the committee. Therefore, to appoint another committee would be unfair, not only to Senator Matheson but to the Senate as a whole and the present committee. I do not see how it would be possible, after every one has committed himself on one side of the question or the other, for the Senate to appoint a committee which would be impartial.

Senator O'CONNOR.—No one has expressed himself on the facts at all; we know nothing about them.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Honorable senators have expressed themselves very freely all round.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I have not. I do not know anything about the facts.

Senator DE LARGIE.—We have expressed ourselves very freely as to the procedure under the law which applies to the petition. The whole case hinges so much on the procedure that we could not possibly

get away from the remarks we have made in the Senate and the votes we have given. In the last debate on this question, there was some doubt as to whether the petitioner had received a fair deal in bringing the petition before the Senate. There seemed to be some question as to whether the officials had done their duty; whether it was the President or the Vice-President of the Executive Council who should have presented the petition. But, with the evidence of the Clerk in our possession, there need be no further doubt about the matter. The petitioner made it clear, when he presented the petition to the Clerk, that he intended to go on, and according to the law of Western Australia, he knew perfectly well the way to go on with his petition, and his very failure to proceed after having said that he was going to proceed in a certain direction proves that the neglect rested solely and wholly with himself. I ask the attention of honorable senators to the following passage from the evidence of the Clerk:—

When I mentioned about the common law being for a member to present the petition, they said, to the best of my recollection—"Oh, yes, we have thought of that, and we have a member in our eye." Then they asked—"Would there be any difficulty in getting the petition from you?" I said—"No, I shall lock it up, and I shall take it down to the chamber every day, and put it in my drawer of the table, and as soon as a member comes up to me and says that he has undertaken to present it, I shall hand it to him." I said—"Until some one comes up to me for the petition, it will go back to my office each day." That is the extent of what happened between us.

In the face of this statement, and knowing that no honorable senator would have refused to present the petition, if asked, it is quite clear that the petitioner alone was responsible for it not coming before the Senate in a proper way. I feel sure of this because of certain things I have heard privately as to the attitude which was taken up by the petitioner.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—That is the worst of it. The honorable senator has got private information I do not know anything about?

Senator DE LARGIE.—Perhaps the honorable and learned senator has obtained information privately that I do not know anything about?

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I wish I had. For instance, they say that the honorable senator is the person accused of having bribed. I do not believe that.

Senator DE LARGIE.—That is utterly false so far as I am concerned, and no one dare say it is not. But I have heard it said that the honorable and learned senator has a brief in this case. One thing is about as dishonest as the other.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It would be if it were true, but the honorable senator knows that that is false as far as I am concerned.

Senator DE LARGIE.—And the other is false as far as I am concerned. I know that the demeanour of the petitioner for weeks and weeks in this place was such that he was in very grave doubt whether he would go on with his petition. There is no doubt that he knew the law, for we find this statement in the evidence of the Clerk—

They referred me to a section of the Constitution, and said that it had to be presented under conditions prescribed by the law of Western Australia, the Commonwealth not having provided the *modus operandi*. As it happened, my attention had never been drawn to the law of Western Australia, and I did not know it; but they were good enough to produce the Electoral Act and show me the sections governing the procedure in regard to presenting a petition against the return of a member.

The motion of Senator Glassey is the only reasonable one which we can adopt, and in the light of the evidence of the Clerk, there is nothing left for the Senate to do but to reject the petition.

Senator DOBSON.—I feel it my duty, sir, to rise to a point of order. Senator Glassey is asking the Senate to undo the resolution which it passed some weeks ago—

That in the opinion of the Senate the law does not prevent the committee from entertaining the petition, and that the petition be referred back to the committee for further inquiry and report.

My point is that the word "entertaining" meant that the committee should inquire into the matters of the petition, and that they should then have given us a further report on the merits of the case after hearing the evidence. They allege that because they have taken the evidence of the Clerk, therefore something new has arisen which justifies them in reporting again, on the ground that they have made further inquiry. I desire, if I am in order, to cut that ground from under their feet, by saying that I do not recognise the Clerk as having given any evidence affecting this matter, excepting the fact, which everybody knew before, that he did on a certain day receive the petition

and the £50 deposit. Another point is that the Senate has already decided that the law—it does not say what law—does not prevent the petition from being entertained. As I understood their arguments, it appears to me that Senators Glassey, Playford, and De Largie, are relying on the ground that the law of Western Australia does apply, that that law has not been complied with, whereas the resolution of the Senate was that the law of Western Australia did not apply, and that there was no law whatever to prevent the petition from being entertained. I would also point out that Senator Symon himself ridiculed the idea of the law of Western Australia applying. He emphatically stated his opinion that that law did not apply at all. I am sure, Mr. President, that we shall look to you to prevent the Senate stultifying itself, and to see that whatever resolution we pass is in accordance with constitutional practice, and is not a resolution which, by a side wind, undoes something which we did weeks ago after the most thorough inquiry. My first point is that no law prevents the petition from being entertained; and my second point is that the petition was referred back to the committee to be entertained for inquiry, and that that has not been done. The committee have not entertained the petition except by simply examining the Clerk on matters which any court would be bound to take cognisance of. They have by doing that sought to show that they have taken evidence which justifies them in their further report. I contend that it does nothing of the kind.

The PRESIDENT. — The point upon which the honorable and learned senator asks me to rule is this—that the Senate is precluded by its own standing orders from considering the motion moved by Senator Glassey, because on a former occasion it passed the following resolution:—

That in the opinion of the Senate the law does not prevent the committee from entertaining the petition, and that the petition be referred back to the committee for further inquiry and report.

This point has not taken me by surprise, because it struck me when I first heard the contingent notice of motion that it was, if not contradictory of the former resolution of the Senate, at all events something like it. I considered the matter before I came into the chamber to-day. If honorable senators will look at the resolution passed by the

Senate, they will see that what was decided was that—

The law did not prevent the committee from entertaining the petition.

The motion moved by Senator Glassey does not contradict that. It simply says that the petition “be not further entertained.” It does not say whether the law does or does not prevent the petition being entertained. It simply asks the Senate to arrive at the conclusion that the petition be dismissed. The second portion of the resolution passed by the Senate on the 25th July was—

That the petition be referred back to the committee for further inquiry and report.

The committee have made further inquiry and have presented a report; and I do not think that it is within my province to say what the value of the evidence given before that committee is. Therefore, I rule that the motion can be entertained by the Senate.

Senator DOBSON.—Do you rule, Mr. President, that the committee have entertained the petition?

The PRESIDENT.—I cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the committee have made further inquiry and have reported. As to the value of the evidence taken by them I do not think I ought to be asked to give an opinion.

Senator DOBSON.—Could not the committee have entertained the petition on its merits?

The PRESIDENT.—I do not say anything about that. This motion does not say whether the law does or does not prevent the committee from entertaining the petition; it simply asks the Senate to order that the petition be dismissed.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Of course we come back to the question of substance—whether the committee have in their last report gone any further than they did in their original report.

The PRESIDENT.—That amounts to this—that you are asking me to say what the value of the evidence is. I do not think I should do that.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I do not wish to press the matter.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—The only reason why I have risen to speak to the substance and merits of the question is that I feel that, if the motion of Senator Glassey is carried, the Senate will practically, although not technically, stultify itself. I also feel that the Senate will do an act of

the very gravest injustice upon grounds which honorable senators would not for one moment entertain if they realized that they were taking upon themselves the position of judges. We have been told that it was the duty of the petitioner in this case to comply with the law of Western Australia as far as he could; and yet, because the unfortunate petitioner did comply with the law as far as he could, but did not comply with every absolute particle of it, the whole law of Western Australia upon the subject must be taken as our guide in this case. It is said that the law of Western Australia ought to apply, because the petitioner himself thought it ought to apply. Would any honorable senator advance such an argument before a court? Honorable senators might as well say that if a certain litigant imagined that certain facts were in his favour, those facts would have to be taken to be in his favour. The committee having been told to take back their report for further inquiry, we immediately heard rumours that in all probability they would not entertain the petition, and would refuse to take evidence and to hear the case on its merits. I think that almost every honorable senator believed emphatically that the meaning of the resolution passed by the Senate was that the committee were to inquire into the merits of the petition, and examine such witnesses as both parties tendered. But all they have done is to comply with the instructions of the Senate technically by putting the Clerk into the box and taking his evidence. I affirm that there is no evidence whatever to justify the additional report of the committee, except as to facts which we have had all along, and of which we were bound to take judicial notice, that our custodian of records—our own Clerk—had received a certain petition, together with security for costs, which the Western Australian law said every petitioner should deposit.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Then is the honorable and learned senator going to adopt that law?

Senator DOBSON.—We are going to adopt the law of Western Australia that there should be security for costs, and that the petition should be lodged with the Clerk. Then we have to look at the law of the Commonwealth itself as contained in the Constitution. It is nonsense to say that the whole of the Western Australian law must be complied with because that law

requires the Legislature to send a petition to the court. That process has no application to our procedure whatever. The Legislature in Western Australia might have found that the £50 deposit was made by a cheque which was dishonoured by the bank, or might have had various other grounds to justify it in not referring the petition to the court. But here the Senate itself is the court, and the petitioner presented his petition to our Clerk together with the necessary deposit. The whole ground upon which the further report of the committee is justified is that our Clerk has testified what we all knew all along.

Senator FRASER.—That it not so.

Senator DOBSON.—Surely we all knew that the petition had been presented and that the £50 had been deposited. If honorable senators are allowed to take that point, then I will say—what precious fools the members of the Senate made of themselves by discussing this matter for hours some weeks ago! Every one knows there are some things of which we have to take judicial cognisance. There are certain things of which a judge takes judicial cognisance. When we have a Clerk and documents are left with him to be dealt with in a way to be determined afterwards, we are bound to take judicial notice of the fact that those documents are in his custody. Then is it not ungracious, ungenerous, and unjust not to take into consideration also the fact that no machinery whatever was formulated under which the Senate could hear petitions of this kind in its own fashion. We have not had time to devise our machinery for dealing with election petitions, and yet honorable senators are not willing to make allowances for the petitioner, who could not have known exactly what machinery he had to comply with. I think that if petitioner is refused the justice he asks for, we shall be doing a very grave injustice to him, and shall be putting the Senate in a humiliating position on the first occasion when we are asked to perform a judicial act.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—This has certainly been an unfortunate affair from the beginning. Senator Glassey took up the ground that the petition was not presented in due time. What is due time? I have looked through the Constitution, but I cannot find any indication whatever as to the time within which a petition must be presented.

Senator GLASSEY.—What practice did the petitioner adopt?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—We have nothing to do with that. He might have adopted the practice of the British Parliament. That would not bind the Senate in the slightest degree.

Senator GLASSEY.—Does the honorable senator find anything in the Constitution relating to the amount of the deposit, or the time in which a petition should be lodged?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—The question of whether a deposit of £50 or nothing was lodged does not affect the Senate. In neither case would the petitioner have violated the Constitution under which the Senate is constituted.

Senator GLASSEY.—Should there be no rule of procedure?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Yes; but up to the present there are no rules governing this question. We have no more to do with the law of Western Australia than we have to do with the law of South Australia or Victoria. The only law that we have to consider in this connexion is section 47 of the Constitution, which deals with disputed elections. The preceding section does not affect the question now before the Senate. That has to do with the election of a member under the laws of a State, unless in the meantime the Senate has taken certain measures.

Senator GLASSEY.—Against what law has Senator Matheson offended?

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—He has not offended against any law. I believe he could have taken his seat in the Senate from the first without rendering himself liable to any penalty. Section 47 of the Constitution provides that—

Until the Parliament otherwise provides—

This Parliament has not provided anything up to the present time—

any question respecting the qualification of a senator or of a member of the House of Representatives, or respecting a vacancy in either House of the Parliament, and any question of a disputed election to either House, shall be determined by the House in which the question arises.

The matter must necessarily be determined by the Senate in any mode it thinks fit. Then again Senator Glassey takes up the ground that the committee was authorized only to take the preliminary steps in this matter.

Senator GLASSEY.—No; I said the committee received no instructions whatever.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I took down the words as Senator Glassey uttered them, but I am prepared to accept the statement he has just made. Let me remind him that on the 6th June the Postmaster-General, by leave of the Senate, moved—

That the President be requested to lay upon the table as early as practicable his warrant for the appointment of a Committee of Elections and Qualifications, consisting of seven members of the Senate, to inquire into and report on all questions respecting the qualification of any member of this House, or respecting a vacancy in this House, and all questions of disputed elections to this House.

Not “some” questions, but “all” questions. On the 27th June the Vice-President of the Executive Council moved—

(1) That the petition be referred to the Elections and Qualifications Committee, for inquiry and report.

Not for partial inquiry and report, but for full inquiry.

Senator GLASSEY.—The word “full” was not used.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Surely Senator Glassey would connect that motion with the formation of the committee which had to consider all questions. I fail to see why he should attempt to limit the powers of the committee as appointed on 6th June. On the 27th June this question was referred to it, without any limitation of its powers. Therefore, I am justified in saying that the committee was not only empowered, but practically directed, to make full inquiries into all matters relating to the election. The honorable senator says that the petition was not lodged in time. Up to the present moment any member of the Senate is liable to have a petition lodged against his return, until the Senate takes some steps either by act or standing orders, fixing the time within which petitions may be lodged. Senator Glassey will find that in the draft standing orders there are three or four rules providing for this matter, but up to the present time there is nothing in the Constitution or in our standing orders requiring a petition to be lodged within a certain period.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Nothing providing for petitions of any kind.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—No; there is a perfect blank in

that respect. On the other hand, there is nothing to prevent any one from presenting a petition on any subject to the Senate. If any one chooses to present a petition against the return of any member of this Senate, the question has not to be decided by the law of any State.

Senator GLASSEY.—I should claim the protection of the law of my own State in such a case.

Senator PLAYFORD.—And so would I.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Then the honorable senator would be resting on a broken reed. According to section 47 of the Constitution, the power is vested, not in one State, but in the representatives of all the States assembled in the Senate. The Senate alone can decide whether it should even receive a petition.

Senator GLASSEY.—Then, in such a case, there would be a political, and not a judicial, trial.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—That is beside the question. Perhaps I agree with Senator Glassey as to the mode in which a petition should be dealt with, but the Constitution itself places the matter solely within the determination of the Senate. In this case the Senate decided to request the President to appoint an Elections and Qualifications Committee. That was done. It then decided that this petition should be remitted to the committee for inquiry and report. The committee met, and there was a considerable conflict of opinion as to what the preliminary proceedings should be. Unfortunately, up to the present time there has been no finality in the proceedings of the committee in regard to this question, nor is there any likelihood of finality. Even assuming that Senator Glassey's motion was carried, and that we decided not to entertain the petition, I do not think there would be anything to prevent the petitioner from bringing up another petition on the following day. The motion is not that the Senate should decline to entertain another petition, but simply that this petition should not be entertained. Senator Downer very properly took up the ground that justice should be done. The word "justice" is sometimes open to two interpretations. There is such a thing as "legal justice," if I may use that term, and there is also "equitable justice." That they are not always synonymous terms so far as

disputed elections are concerned is proved by the fact that under the Victorian Constitution and parliamentary standing orders it is laid down that the strict legal procedure need not be followed in relation to elections, the object being to insure that the equities and justice of a case shall be ascertained.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I think I used the word "right," not "justice."

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—The honorable and learned senator said "Do justice."

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Yes, I will not depart from that.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—We both want to see justice done. The petitioner has adopted, rightly or wrongly, a certain procedure which in my opinion does not affect the case in the slightest degree. The Senate has decided that the petition should be received, and has forwarded it to the committee. The committee is hopelessly divided, and cannot come to any decision. A most unfortunate delay has taken place, entailing very heavy costs and loss of time upon both parties. Western Australia has lost the services of a valuable representative during all this time, while the Senate itself has been deprived of the services of a valuable member. Seeing that this delay has not arisen from any fault on the part of either the sitting member or of the petitioner, but has been due rather to the want of action on the part of the Senate itself, it is hard that the parties should alone have to suffer. The question is, What is to be done? It appears to me that it would be useless to remit the matter to the present committee. On the other hand, it would be a very serious thing to adopt the proposal submitted by the leader of the Senate and practically discharge the committee. I certainly have never known of a case of that kind in my experience. The difficulty would be overcome if the members of the committee could see their way clear to resign and leave the matter open to the President to take what action he might think fit in the circumstances. I should hesitate a great deal before taking such a stringent and novel action as that recommended by the leader of the Senate. I should rather see the matter delayed a little longer before we are asked to vote upon such a strong proposal.

Senator O'CONNOR.—What would the honorable senator propose? We must do something.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—I am willing to state frankly that, in view of the position, the members of the committee would clear the way if they resigned of their own motion. Failing that the Senate must do something. On the one hand, Senator O'Connor asks us to discharge the committee and to say practically that they have failed to carry out the instructions of the Senate.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—But the committee has said that.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—But that has arisen from the unfortunate illness of one of the members of the committee, whose retirement has led to the committee being equally divided—three on each side. Had that honorable senator been in his usual health, some report would have been brought up. However, there is a deadlock, and, if the members of the committee do not see their way clear to resign in the exceptional circumstances of the case, I am not sure that the Senate will not be compelled to adopt the course recommended by the leader of the House.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I think it will.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—In the circumstances my sympathy lies very largely with the sitting member. I know nothing about the merits or demerits of the case. I have taken care to keep myself free from them, but, naturally one's sympathy goes out towards a gentleman who has fought for his seat, and who has occupied it for some time with credit to himself.

Senator GLASSEY.—What about the honorable senator's vote? His sympathy and vote should go together.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—My sympathy and vote would, as a rule, go together, but I recognise that there is such a thing as justice to be done to the other side. A man has a right to petition against the holding of a seat by any senator, and it would be a very serious thing to deny the right, even if the petitioner has delayed in taking action or followed the wrong procedure owing to some misunderstanding. As a matter of fact, I think the whole procedure was wrong from beginning to end, and that the petitioner need have paid no attention

whatever to the Western Australian Act. Since I looked into the matter I have always thought so. Still he did adopt a certain course, and the committee are under the impression that because he adopted that course only to a certain extent he is therefore to be put out of court. I cannot go so far as that. If it comes to a division to-day I shall be compelled to vote for the amendment, but I would very much rather not be called upon to pass what I think would be to a certain extent a slight upon the committee. Under the circumstances, if I were a member of the committee I should unhesitatingly resign.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I did not intend to speak at all, but I think I have a right to say that I retired from this committee in very bad health, believing that it would go on with its business just the same in my absence as in my presence.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The honorable senator did not know about this deliberative vote.

Senator FRASER.—But for the deliberative vote it would have been so, and we should now probably have had a majority report from the committee.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—I do not know; the honorable senator had grave doubts.

Senator FRASER.—I have always grave doubts until my mind is made up. I think every honest man should. I try to see both sides if I can. I may be wrong, and perhaps I am wrong now, but I do not claim infallibility. I believe that this petition should have been presented by a member of the Senate, because I hold that if the Government take up a matter of this kind, it is only a question of pushing the wedge home, in order to get rid of a number of honorable senators. I have seen that kind of thing done in times past. I therefore hold that the Government should be the last to take up a position of this kind, and it cannot be denied that there are members of the Senate who would have presented the petition. In my humble opinion the petitioner had just about made up his mind to abandon the thing. That is how it struck me then, and strikes me now.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—Has the honorable senator any grounds for that statement, because it is new to me?

Senator FRASER.—Yes, I have some grounds for the statement.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—That is what I have been trying to get—grounds for the conclusions of the other side.

Senator FRASER.—I shall give honorable senators my grounds for the statement. The evidence given before the committee by Mr. Blackmore leads me to that view. It may be erroneously, I do not know, but I am not going to be led or dictated to even by my respected fellow committeemen.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—It led the honorable senator to that conclusion before he heard it.

Senator FRASER.—No. That is what decided me in the matter. I was not present when the debate took place before in the Senate.

Senator Sir JOHN DOWNER.—Mr. Blackmore had not given his evidence then ; that is what I mean.

Senator FRASER.—We know that the House of Representatives has already thrown out a petition upon grounds similar to those upon which we are asked to throw this out, namely, that the petitioner had not complied with certain procedure. It would be absurd to say that the petitioner need not adopt any procedure. The petitioner in this case deliberately adopted the procedure of Western Australia, but when he came to a critical point he abandoned it. Speaking of the matter of justice, I do not think we have any right to do injustice to the sitting member, because the petitioner has failed on many points in regard to his petition. Holding the opinions I do, if a division is called for I shall have to vote with my honorable friend Senator Glassey.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—On the 25th July last we had this matter before the Senate, and after carefully listening to the arguments of legal gentlemen on either side, and being left hopelessly befogged as to whether the petitioner had done all that was required of him, I then recorded my vote in a certain direction. I thought I was justified in so recording it, using my own opinion as a layman and entirely disregarding the opinions given by legal gentlemen on both sides in the Senate. We had then no evidence before us that would enable a layman to make up his mind, and the arguments from either side were equally convincing, or unconvincing. But since that date, on the 15th August, something transpired which has put into the hands of honorable senators evidence

which might cause them to alter the opinions they expressed on that occasion, evidence which, had I then been in possession of it, would have made me record my vote in another direction. The Clerk of the Senate has given evidence to the committee showing that the petitioner knew what procedure he ought to have taken. I did not know that when the matter was previously before us, because that evidence had not been given. I wish briefly to justify the change in my opinion, and the change in my vote. I said then I was giving a vote for the motion proposed by the Vice-President of the Executive Council in order that the matter might be referred back to the committee, because I had been led to believe that the petitioner had done all that he could reasonably be expected to think he had to do. I find from the evidence given by the Clerk that he did not do all that he knew he was expected to do, and I shall, therefore, have to vote for the motion submitted by Senator Glassey.

Senator BARRETT (Victoria).—Before the motion is put I should like to say that if we were in a difficulty on the previous occasion when the Senate divided upon this matter we are in a greater difficulty at the present moment. I think the Senate ought not to divide upon the question to-day.

Senator HARNEY.—We have had enough of it ; let us get done with it.

Senator BARRETT.—That may suit the honorable and learned senator, but in this case we have got to do justice, and there is a suspicion in the minds of the public outside that the petitioner is not receiving justice. We cannot shut our eyes to that.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Where does the honorable senator get that from ?

Senator BARRETT.—I have heard it as common talk outside.

Senator PEARCE.—If the honorable senator were in Western Australia he would find there was a strong suspicion that the sitting member was not receiving justice.

Senator BARRETT.—I am not in Western Australia but in Victoria, and in Victoria it is common talk that so far as this case is concerned there is something being kept behind. In the interests, therefore, not only of the petitioner but also of the sitting member, we should approach this question in such a way that we shall do justice to both sides, and that we shall not only satisfy the public outside but be clear

in our own minds that we are doing what is right in regard to it. Senator Sargood pointed out in the course of the discussion the difficulty he had in a making up his mind, and it is a difficulty that I feel. Through certain circumstances that have arisen the committee was evenly divided. The result has been a dead-lock, and they bring back a report to the Senate in which they say they are hopelessly divided. What in the circumstances is the common-sense proceeding to adopt? If it were an ordinary legal case in which a jury disagreed, what result would follow?

Senator HARNEY. — A *nolle prosequi* would be presented if we could only have the same jury.

Senator BARRETT. — A new trial would take place in regard to the petition, and justice, if it be possible to mete out justice in this particular case, would be given to either side. The difficulty I have is that I do not desire to pass a vote of censure upon the committee, and I do not by my vote wish to take a course unknown in the annals of our parliamentary history. Under the circumstances it would be a good thing if the debate were adjourned for a few days or a week in order to allow the committee themselves to take a certain course. If the committee did not feel it is their duty to do so, I should be prepared to vote in the way I think right in the matter. I hold that there should be an inquiry into the merits of the case. I hold that strongly, and if to-day I have to record my vote it will be in that direction. The whole thing is unfortunate, and I believe that if the course I suggested were taken, and a new committee was formed on the nomination of the President, there is no reason to doubt that the new committee would approach the case in a judicial frame of mind, and do justice to both parties. If in the present circumstances I am compelled to give a vote to-day, it must be in the direction suggested by the leader of the Senate, in order that we may have a new committee to hear the petition on its merits. Since we came to the last decision on this question I hold that the committee have not given the matter the consideration which they should have given it. That, of course, is a matter of opinion, and honorable senators have the right to differ with me as to that. I repeat that I think it would be a good thing to adjourn the matter for a day or two, in order to see if we could not

discover some way out of the difficulty the Senate finds itself in.

Question—That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question—put. The Senate divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | 15 |
| Noes | ... | ... | 6 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 9 |

AYES.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Clemons, J. S. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| Dawson, A. | Pearce, G. F. |
| De Largie, H. | Playford, T. |
| Ferguson, J. | Pulsford, E. |
| Fraser, S. | Stewart, J. C. |
| Glassey, T. | Zeal, Sir W. A. |
| Harney, E. A. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| McGregor, G. | Higgs, W. G. |

NOES.

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Downer, Sir J. W. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Drake, J. G. | Dobson, H. |
| O'Connor, R. E. | |

PAIRS.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Keating, J. H. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Walker, J. T. | Millen, E. D. |
| Macfarlane, J. | Symon, Sir J. H. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Neild, J. C. |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Amendment negatived.

Original question resolved in the affirmative.

PAPER.

The PRESIDENT laid upon the table—

A letter from Mr. J. B. Marsden, architect, with tracing of a design for small desks for the members of the Senate.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

In Committee (consideration of message and amendments of House of Representatives resumed from 4th October, *vide* page 5641).

Clause 27 (Registration of newspapers).

Senator DRAKE (Queensland—Postmaster-General).—There are only two comparatively unimportant points on which the Senate is not in accordance with the other House. When the Bill came back from that House, it was accompanied by a schedule of 104 amendments. We disagreed with seven of those amendments and agreed to a number of others with consequential amendments. The other House has given way in the case of six of the amendments on which we disagreed, and has taken exception to our consequential amendments in only one case. I would not like to say that

either of the two points of difference between the Houses is in itself unimportant, but I think as compared with the great importance of the Bill they sink into insignificance. It is exceedingly desirable that the Bill should be passed. The date which is fixed for the Bill to come into operation is the 1st of December, and there is a general feeling throughout Australia that as soon as possible uniform regulations should come into operation. I desire to have regulations ready to be tabled immediately the Bill becomes law. It is also desirable that a Rating Bill should be introduced dealing with newspaper postage and telegraphic rates, and I hope to be able to bring it forward during the present season. For all these reasons, it is very desirable that we should come to an arrangement with the other House, and seeing that it has met us very fairly, it is not unreasonable that we should yield to them in the two matters which are outstanding. There are only two, because the three amendments are substantially the same. The question is whether the word "seditious" shall remain. The objection which has been taken in the other House to it is that sedition is a thing which it is impossible to define.

Senator PLAYFORD.—They do not say that it is impossible, but that there is a difficulty in the way.

Senator DRAKE.—It is a difficulty almost amounting to an impossibility, and their contention has been that it is not desirable that there should be a power to interfere in any way with correspondence on the ground that it contains matter which could come under a word, the definition of which is so difficult, if not impossible. The offence can be dealt with in another way. My sympathy goes always in the direction of maintaining the utmost secrecy with regard to correspondence. My inclination is to preserve everything passing through the Post-office inviolate as far as that can possibly be done. I should prefer that the Postmaster-General should not be charged with the duty of stopping any correspondence on such grounds. I move—

That the committee do not insist upon the amendment inserting the word "seditious" in sub-clause (1) of clause 27.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—I observe that Senator Drake repeatedly used the term "correspondence," as if to convey the idea that the clause gives some power to open letters to see if they contain

any thing seditious, but it is necessary to bear in mind that it deals with only newspapers, and that there is no question about the inviolability of matter passing through the Post-office.

Senator DRAKE.—I thank the honorable senator for the correction; I thought it dealt with correspondence.

Senator PULSFORD.—I think it is desirable to retain the word "seditious." If we do not have some provision of this character, what sort of stuff may get into the columns of newspapers and be disseminated throughout Australia? I do not think there is any other clause which gives the Government any power to check the issue of matter which may be of a very grave and serious character. I am quite sure that the Postmaster-General is not a man who would pull up a newspaper for anything which was not of a serious character; but we can all conceive of publications which would be so gravely seditious that it would be his duty to stop their circulation through the Post-office, even if this word were taken out of the clause. Therefore, I think we shall only be doing our reasonable duty if we allow these words to remain in, and authorize the Postmaster-General to stop the carriage of newspapers which contain matter of a very gravely seditious character. I hope the Senate will insist upon the maintenance of the word.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I hope the committee will do nothing of the kind, because it simply means that by retaining the word we may risk the passage of the Bill for the present session.

Senator PULSFORD.—No, no!

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator does not seem to realize what his protest or objection means. The other House have met us in the most friendly way by accepting over 100 of our amendments without any question whatever. If the honorable senator had been present when our second message went down, he would have seen that we were met in the most friendly manner by the other Chamber. Are we going to hang up this Bill because certain senators think that there are existing in the Commonwealth certain dangerous persons who are likely to disseminate sedition? I have been amongst crowds of people in all parts of the Commonwealth, and I think that we are a very law-abiding community. The position taken up elsewhere is that these offences, if committed, may be dealt with

under the State Acts. Furthermore, the other Chamber is of opinion that it is very difficult to define the word "sedition." Such being the case, I think we should give way, and let the measure go through as soon as possible.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I hope that we shall not give way. I can hardly understand honorable senators saying that it is difficult to define the word sedition.

Senator DAWSON.—What is the honorable senator's definition?

Senator FRASER.—If seditious language is used, or there is an attempt to send it broadcast, the Postmaster-General is a very good authority to decide the point.

Senator DAWSON.—But what is meant by the word "sedition."

Senator FRASER.—A man who is hostile to his country, and who refuses to obey the laws of his country and sets them at defiance, and who seeks to bring his country and its laws into disrepute, is guilty of sedition.

Senator DAWSON.—Then the honorable senator would condemn all the labour party?

Senator FRASER.—If they are against their country, certainly.

Senator DAWSON.—We want to improve the laws of the country.

Senator FRASER.—The labour party are not in favour of disseminating seditious language.

Senator DAWSON.—We are very often against the Government of the country.

Senator FRASER.—So am I, sometimes, but that is not the point. We have adopted a Constitution and a form of government in this country. We believe we have one of the best forms of Government on the face of the earth. We certainly should not allow a small section of the community to spread broadcast literature that will poison the minds of the people. I hope that the Senate will adhere to the word and will reject the amendment of another place. They only made this amendment by a majority of one. It should not be difficult to get that one member to go over to the other side. Let us therefore adhere to our previous decision.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—I should like the committee to bear in mind that since this Bill was first introduced the President of the United States has fallen a victim to assassination. That was an act of sedition, and there is a very strong

awakening throughout the United States as to the evil consequences that follow from sedition being preached in the newspapers. Publications such as have appeared in the past in America are to-day being curbed, and efforts are being made to punish the authors. If we remember these facts and do our share to keep down such dangerous publications we shall do well. There is no desire to hang up the Bill, and the remarks of the Postmaster-General and Senator Higgs on this point might very well be met by the representative of the Government in the other House saying that the Government want to get the Bill through at once and that this end will best be served by the amendment not being insisted upon.

Senator STEWART (Queensland).—I do not think that any honorable senator who loves liberty, as we all profess to do, will have the slightest sympathy with Senator Pulsford in his attempt to Russianize our institutions. The honorable senator tries to frighten us with the bogey of the assassination of the President of the United States. He says that that assassination was brought about by the reading of seditious literature in the newspapers. But will he give us a definition of sedition? It appears to me that although Senator Pulsford is a most serious student of the question of free-trade, and a tremendous authority upon statistics, he has never studied history. If he cares to look into the history of Great Britain, he will find that the people who, less than 100 years ago, advocated the franchise which at present exists in that country, were taken up, tried, and transported for sedition. We ought to learn from the experience of the past. We cannot promote liberty by stifling discussion. After all, who is to judge of what is sedition and what is not? A number of people in Australia would consider it seditious if I were to get up and advocate the abolition of the monarchy and the institution of a republic. But I claim that I have a perfect right as a citizen of this country to advocate any change in the system of government if I consider that our present system is capable of improvement.

Senator PLAYFORD.—But the honorable senator has no right to advocate it by violence.

Senator STEWART.—I should never think of advocating a change by violence.

Senator FRASER.—That is what it leads to.

Senator STEWART.—Why should it lead to that? Does not the honorable senator see that the conditions to-day are entirely different from what they were a century ago? At the beginning of the last century only a very limited number of people possessed the franchise. If they wanted any change in the Government the only way they could obtain it was by violence. It is perfectly well known that if the Duke of Wellington had not backed down in 1832 there would have been violence. The people of England were quite prepared for rebellion at that time, and if the Duke had persisted in refusing the franchise there certainly would have been bloodshed. We stand in a different position to-day. The people have the power in their own hands. Every man possesses the franchise. When the ballot is in the possession of every citizen there is no reason to resort to the bullet. There is not the slightest idea that anyone in Australia is going to advocate the use of force to bring about any particular change in our political system. If any one does, he offends against the laws of the country, and if he can be tried under the common law, there is no need to make this postal measure a special vehicle for legislation on the subject. I shall certainly support the Postmaster-General in the attitude which he has taken up.

Senator HARNEY (Western Australia).—I cannot see any reason why we should not adhere to the amendment originally passed by the Senate. The clause itself seems to be aimed at authorizing the Postmaster-General to remove from the register any newspapers which offend against the law. The offences against the law prescribed in this Bill are sedition, blasphemy, indecency, or obscenity.

Senator PLAYFORD.—We have given up the word “blasphemous.” We could not define it very well.

Senator HARNEY.—Those four words stood in the Bill originally, and they seem to be exhaustive of the character of the offences against the law which can be committed by a newspaper. Why should we eliminate from these words one which will render those which remain not exhaustive of the possible offences that may be committed? If we strike out the word “seditious,” we leave uncovered the power given to the Postmaster-General to remove papers that commit offences that are of frequent occurrence. It has been said that there is

more difficulty in defining sedition than there is in defining indecency or obscenity. We must allow a certain discretion to the administrative officers in this case; but I take it that “sedition” instead of being less definite in character is considerably more definite than either “indecent” or “obscene.” It has already been defined by Stephen. The definition he gives is—

to incite any person to commit any crime in disturbance of the peace, or to raise discontent or disaffection among Her Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of such subjects

by unlawful means. Let me put this to the committee. Suppose we were to substitute for the word “seditious,” the definition of it which I have quoted. Is there any one here who would argue that a newspaper that attempted to excite discontent or disaffection by unlawful means ought not to be removed from the register?

Senator DAWSON.—Does it say by “unlawful means”?

Senator HARNEY.—The definition of unlawful is the doing of something by any means that are not warranted by the law of the land. No reason can be advanced for making an exception in favour of newspapers that offend other than by publishing indecent or obscene matter. Senator Higgs said that the House of Representatives had treated us very fairly, that they had consented to a hundred or more of our amendments, and that it would be somewhat discourteous to run foul of their wishes over a mere trifle. If it is an immaterial amendment, I want to know why the House of Representatives persists in demanding that we should eliminate from the category a word which is included every day in the stereotyped phrase? Any one who has read a law book dealing with offences that can be committed by newspapers must know that the word “seditious” is always coupled with the words “indecent,” “obscene,” and “blasphemous.” If the House of Representatives want us to depart from this time-honoured category, and the amendment is immaterial, why should we give way? If it is material it becomes material because those anxious to have the word eliminated from the Bill see that it designs to interfere with something that they anticipate may be committed. If they think it immaterial, they have no ground to stand upon. If they think it material their ground must be that they apprehend there will be

something published, which, to the ordinary impartial judicial mind, would answer the description of being seditious.

Senator DAWSON.—Is there no other power to deal with seditious matter?

Senator HARNEY.—There are other powers in this Bill, just as there are other powers for punishing a person using, or publishing, indecent language. This clause, however, aims not at the punishment of the offender, but at the removal from the register of a newspaper contrary to public policy and public right.

Senator DAWSON.—Public policy is not always public right.

Senator HARNEY.—It is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the two; but we generally understand public policy to be this:—By the laws of civilization, both written and unwritten, there are certain things which every reasonable-minded person objects to. Any one of these is said to be contrary to public policy. It is entirely contrary to public policy that a newspaper should be allowed to remain on the public register which could be dealt with in a court as being contrary to the law. If the matter complained of is not contrary to the law, then it is not seditious, and the newspaper will remain on the register. If it is contrary to the law, and capable of being dealt with in the courts, then the newspaper should not be allowed to remain on the register.

Senator STEWART.—Why not bring the question before the court?

Senator HARNEY.—The answer to that is obvious. The Postmaster-General, in carrying out the provisions of this measure, has to do a great deal at his own risk. If he removed a newspaper from the register on the ground that it contained not merely seditious but offensive or indecent matter, and action were taken with the result that it was proved that it did not contain that matter, then this measure would be no answer by the Postmaster-General for his action. I have nothing further to urge. It certainly does seem to be somewhat extraordinary that this exception should be asked for in the case of seditious language. What is the difference between that class of offence and the other evils that we deal with in the clause, that it should have this exemption?

Senator DAWSON.—It cannot be defined.

Senator HARNEY.—It is more easy to define than either obscenity or indecency.

The true object of putting all these words in the clause is not that the Postmaster-General may become captious in his criticism of newspapers filed on the register, but that the power may rest in his hands, if the occasion arises, to destroy that which, according to public opinion and the laws of the land, ought not be allowed to exist on a record available to the public. I think we should insist upon the word being retained in the Bill.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—It appears to me that Senator Harney has not given sufficient weight to the reasons which exist against a provision of this kind, altogether outside the domain of lawyers. It is right that what is seditious is merely a question of degree, that the sedition of to-day may be the popular parliamentary cry of a few years later. If the honorable and learned member's definition is to be accepted—and no doubt it is a true and proper definition of what is seditious—then anything which involves an attack upon the existing state of things, and suggests that it should be carried out by unlawful means might be sedition. As Senator Harney knows, the term unlawful is not confined merely to offences of violence. The term may apply to means that are not recognised by the law. If a combination to bring about an alteration of the law, or it might be a strike, or any combination which in the old days was unlawful, no doubt a Judge would have to hold it to be seditious. The difficulty of giving a power of this kind may be described very shortly. The power is to be exercised by the Postmaster-General upon his own initiative and responsibility. He has an arbitrary power, before the matter is decided, of saying whether the newspaper is to be carried through the post or not. The question of sedition will involve in most cases political considerations, and that is the great difference between dealing with this and questions of indecent and obscene matter. In dealing with indecency or obscenity one deals with something upon which the whole community are in a certain sense agreed. The whole community are certainly against what is indecency or obscenity, but in regard to what is seditious the people are not unanimous. There is a party always trying to bring about a certain condition of affairs. It is not a wise thing to place within the power of any administrative officer

the right to decide a question of this kind, which may be very largely a political one.

Senator FRASER.—That right has rested with the Postmaster-General since the beginning of Australian history.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The giving of that power was probably the blind adoption of some words which were contained in the English Postal Acts. Every honorable senator will recognise that freedom of speech has advanced very much since the days—some 30 or 40 years ago—when these words were recognised as proper. We have to legislate according to the times.

Senator HARNEY.—In some respects Shakespeare would be indecent to-day.

Senator O'CONNOR.—And seditious also in some respects. Is it wise to place this power in the hands of a Minister controlled by the decision of a Judge of the High Court? If the question came before the High Court, the Judge would have to decide simply whether, according to the definition laid down by the law, the matter complained of was seditious or not, and he would be bound to follow such a statement of the law as that which Senator Harney read. That is to say, we might have a question of whether or not a newspaper should be carried through the Post-office determined by the Judge on a statement of the law pronounced by some eminent Judge 50 years ago. This discretion of the Minister is to be controlled by the cast-iron rule, which must be administered by the Judge who has to deal with the matter under this measure. The question is whether, considering all the powers that have been given already to the Postmaster-General, considering the other remedies still left for dealing with seditious matter, it is wise to place a power in the hands of the Postmaster-General, in the exercise of which there might be a great deal of doubt and difficulty. I think it must be evident that it is an exceedingly arguable question whether this power should be given. It certainly is against all tendencies of modern thought and freedom of speech to give such a power. We have to remember that this Bill contains many matters with which the other place disagreed in the first instance. We have come almost to a conclusion, and if there is a fair reason why we should give way in regard to any of these amendments, then for the sake of completing legislation we should give way on this particular point.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—It is somewhat remarkable that the Senate should now be listening to Senator O'Connor, asking it to omit from the Bill a word which was inserted by the Government, and the inclusion of which he supported on a previous occasion. I should like the Senate to remember that the remarks we have had from Senator O'Connor amount to very little more than special pleading; he has been showing us what we know: that there are questions of sedition which may be difficult at times to define. But honorable senators are not likely to imagine that the Postmaster-General would for a moment think of removing from the register of newspapers, or of stopping from transmission through the post, any newspaper because of the fact that it contained an article simply of a debatable character. The clause is inserted in order that the Postmaster-General may have power where liberty—which is precious to us all—has degenerated into licence, and where evil is likely to follow. In these circumstances I hope that the Senate will retain the words originally inserted in the clause by the Government and always supported by the Senate.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—I wish I were a lawyer, because lawyers can argue always in so many different directions. It does not matter whether they want to prove that black is white or white is black; they have always got arguments to support their case. I should like honorable senators to look at the position in which Senator Harney has placed himself. Not many months have elapsed since that honorable and learned senator was using all his oratory and eloquence in an effort to convince us that the Postal Bill should not be made an instrument to carry out the law. That was in connexion with another matter that was discussed at very great length. To-day, because something in connexion with the political morals of the people cropped up, he takes the opposite direction. One day he is flying with the wings of an eagle, and the next with the wings of a dove. Senator Pulsford was continually croaking that we were getting away from the condition of things that existed 50 years ago. A couple of years ago, if any individual had expressed certain opinions in connexion with the action of the British Government in South Africa, people would have called for his scalp, and Senator

Fraser would certainly have said that he was seditious. Do not honorable senators know that in some of the States civil servants have actually been discharged for expressing an honest opinion in a certain direction?

Senator FRASER.—I would discharge any man who was against the British flag. I would string him up mast high.

Senator MCGREGOR.—There have been a great many patriots in times past—

Senator FRASER.—I rise to a point of order. If the honorable senator will insist upon speaking in such a way as to offend and insult honorable senators, he cannot expect to have silence amongst us.

The CHAIRMAN.—There is no point of order.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Honorable senators are getting disorderly. I was asking the honorable senator who has just sat down whether a certain thing was not a fact. The honorable senator knows that it is, and yet he says he would strangle anybody who would be against the British flag.

Senator FRASER.—Certainly any one against my country.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am not going to object to the honorable senator for doing so. In defence of the British flag I probably have done as much as and would do more than the honorable senator; but what I want to point out is that the greatest patriots Britain ever had were those who had the courage to point out her faults and mistakes.

Senator FRASER.—Not when she was fighting—after the fighting was all over.

Senator MCGREGOR.—If the honorable senator had lived in the days of Cromwell, would he have hanged him?

Senator FRASER.—We need not go back that far.

Senator MCGREGOR.—If the honorable senator had lived in the days of King William, I suppose he would have hanged him. They were all seditious in their turn, but they came out on top, and of course they were great men. That is the reason why I think we should not further delay an important measure of this description by going into the particular phases of loyalty or disloyalty which may be involved in such a term as seditious. It depends upon the administration of the department at the time, and upon the administration of justice afterwards. One honorable senator sitting as a judge in the case of a certain expression might

declare it seditious, while another might declare that it was not. The history of Great Britain has furnished hundreds of examples where, even in connexion with the administration of the law, party prejudice has led people astray. I hope that, in the interests of the country, nothing will occur to retard the passage of this Bill. We have ample opportunity in the Commonwealth or in the different States to pass laws to deal with those who act against the interests of their country, and we should not introduce our party inclinations or feelings in the discussion of this measure. I hope the Bill will be carried in the way in which it left the House of Representatives, and that it will become law as expeditiously as possible.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—This is by no means a new question. We are aware that certain honorable senators were opposed to the inclusion of the words "seditious" and "blasphemous" in the Bill, but the Senate determined to insert those particular words, and at the instance of Ministers. Clause 27 was debated at considerable length, and amendments were made in it, but the words "seditious" and "blasphemous" were left in by the Senate. The other House struck those words out, and when the Senate was called upon to consider the matter again, we met the other House by omitting the word "blasphemous," and retaining the word "seditious." Now the Senate is asked to say that the matter is so little worthy of consideration that it is prepared to back down at the request of members of the House of Representatives.

Senator DRAKE.—Look at the number of matters in which they gave way to us.

Senator Major GOULD.—I admit that they did give way in certain matters, but not in matters upon which strong opinions were expressed. It has been said that "seditious" is hard of definition. We have heard a definition of it, and honorable senators must bear in mind that the matter will be entirely in the discretion of the Postmaster-General. He will not be compelled, because of a legal definition, to say that a paper shall not be permitted to go through the post-office. We may assume that the discretion will be exercised wisely, and that it will not be merely for a technicality that a newspaper will be interfered with. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the

Postmaster-General would not use his discretion wisely, how long would honorable senators keep a Postmaster-General who grossly abused his position, and depended upon pure technicalities? I ask, is it not desirable that the Government should be able to exercise this power in order to prevent what might be really seditious, and might be attended with serious consequences to the well-being of the Commonwealth? The Government, through the Attorney-General, advised the House of Representatives not to insist upon taking out this word "seditious," and now they ask us not to insist on its retention. I hope that honorable senators will determine this matter according to their own good judgment and common sense. If they do so I believe they will insist upon retaining this word, and adhering to their previous decision.

Question.—That the committee do not insist on the amendment—put. The committee divided—

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | ... | 14 |
| Noes | ... | ... | ... | 14 |

AYES.

Dawson, A.
De Largie, H.
Downer, Sir J. W.
Drake, J. G.
Glassey, T.
Higge, W. G.
McGregor, G.
O'Connor, R. E.

O'Keefe, D. J.
Pearce, G. F.
Playford, T.
Smith, M. S. C.
Stewart, J. C.

Teller.

Keating, J. H.

NOES.

Baker, Sir R. C.
Barrett, J. G.
Best, R. W.
Dobson, H.
Ferguson, J.
Fraser, S.
Gould, A. J.
Harney, E. A.

Macfarlane, J.
Neild, J. C.
Pulsford, E.
Sargood, Sir F. T.
Zeal, Sir W. A.

Teller.

Clemons, J. S.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Senator DRAKE.—The next amendment of the Senate to which the House of Representatives has disagreed requires a little explanation. It will be noticed that two amendments in the clause were rendered necessary by the omission of the words "seditious blasphemous," in the other House. The Senate proposed to re-insert the word "seditious," but in order to make the sub-clause read grammatically, it became necessary to insert the words "if such issue contains," before that word. The two amendments hang together. If

our amendment to which the other House objects is insisted upon, then of course we insist upon the consequential and grammatical amendment. I feel myself obliged to ask the committee not to insist on the amendments. I regret the result of the division on the last amendment, because I think it is calculated to hamper the passage of the Bill. Perhaps I should have explained before, that the Bill has made three passages backwards and forwards, and that according to our standing orders our power of dealing with the matter by means of messages will be exhausted on this occasion. If we insist upon disagreeing with the other House, it will be necessary to ask for a conference. I think that the importance of getting the Bill into operation is so very great that it far transcends—

Senator Major GOULD.—Any matter of principle?

Senator DRAKE.—No, not any matter of principle. The honorable and learned senator was not present when I pointed out that the other House has made a very great concession in regard to very important amendments. In seven instances we disagreed with their very important amendments, and they have given way to us, and insisted practically on only one amendment.

Senator Major GOULD.—There is one very memorable case in which we assented to one of their amendments, although we originally held a very strong opinion about the employment of black labour on mail boats.

Senator DRAKE.—That was one out of 104 amendments, which the other House made in the Bill. Seeing that there are only two points of difference between the Houses, we might very well have given away. I do not think it is a concession of principle.

Senator HARNEY.—It is a trifling matter.

Senator DRAKE.—I would not speak of either matter as being unimportant, but in comparison with uniform regulations, and the Rating Bill, these are matters of comparatively slight importance. I move—

That the committee do not insist on the amendments in sub-clause (3) of clause 27, inserting the word "seditious," and agree to the amendment transferring to stand before "seditious," the words "if such issue contains."

Senator Major GOULD.—I ask, sir, whether it is in order for Senator Drake to go behind the decision of the committee on these particular words?

The CHAIRMAN.—Sub-clause (1), as now amended, provides that—

The Postmaster-General may remove from the register any publication a posted copy of which contains seditious, indecent, or obscene matter.

We have now come to sub-clause (3), which, dealing with a different matter, says—

Any Deputy Postmaster-General may refuse to transmit or deliver any publication containing seditious matter.

I think that the amendment is quite in order.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—I accept your ruling, sir, but I would point out that we are asked to undo by a side wind, what we did at an earlier hour. It is perfectly certain that had the committee not insisted upon retaining the word “seditious” in the first part of the clause, it would willingly have accepted this amendment as being consequential. I ask the representatives of the Government whether it is fair, having ascertained the opinion of honorable senators, to attempt now to get the decision of the Senate reversed. Some honorable members who voted previously may now be absent. There were 28 votes recorded, and the probability is that if another division is taken there will be fewer votes recorded. If the same senators are present I have no doubt that the division will be precisely the same as the last one, because the principle is exactly the same. I cannot conceive that any honorable senator would be prepared to stultify himself by voting in one way at half-past six o'clock and in another way at 8 o'clock. We are asked to stultify the decision we arrived at this evening, and to make the clause absolutely inconsistent. The Senate has to be guided by its own sense of what is right and what is wrong. We have had this question under discussion on four or five occasions, and we have invariably come to the one conclusion. Is it consonant with the dignity of the Senate or with the representatives of the Government that they should say—“We disapproved of the decision given, but we may by a chance vote reverse it and make the clause inconsistent.” Is it reasonable to adopt a course like that? I submit that it is not. The Postmaster-General has said that the other House have conceded a great many points to us.

Senator DRAKE. — They did, most generously.

Senator Major GOULD. — I will assume that they did so most generously. Take the usual course which is pursued in relation to Bills. We sent a Bill to the other Chamber; they sent it back to us with amendments; we accepted some of those amendments. Whether we accepted them wisely or not, we did accept them. That showed that we were willing to consider any of the points which they thought important. But, having given way as to the words “blasphemous,” another place wants us to give way as to “seditious.” The matter was regarded by the committee as a matter of principle, and not as one of no consequence. Why should it be regarded as unreasonable for us to stand by our own principles in this matter? I am quite certain that a number of honorable senators who voted for the retention of the word “seditious” before the dinner hour believed that the whole question had been settled on that division. Is it fair, therefore, that on the chance of one or two senators being absent through a misapprehension of what the Government would do, the Postmaster-General should go behind their backs and say, “Now that these senators have gone we are going to try to induce the committee to reverse the decision that has been arrived at”? In other words the Government ask the committee to say that a thing which is black at half-past six is white at eight o'clock. The Postmaster-General may say that this is a matter for a conference between the two Houses, as we have determined one way and the other Chamber has come to a different conclusion. But if we consent to the amendment it will simply show that the committee does not know its own mind, and that the conference will be a means of ascertaining what the mind of the committee really is. I will ask those honorable senators who voted with the Government before half-past six, out of respect to the Senate, to vote in the opposite direction now. I regret that the Government feel justified in adopting this course. I should have preferred to see them respect the decision of the committee. They should not take advantage of a mere chance vote at an hour in the evening when many honorable senators did not know that such a division was about to be taken. If the Postmaster-General had intimated earlier that the Government intended to divide on the

subsequent amendments, and those honorable senators to whom I refer had left, it would be their own look out; but was it conceived for a moment that the division taken at half-past six was other than a *bond fide* division to settle the whole question? I have heard members of the Government themselves, when defeated in this Chamber, say—"We look upon this matter as being settled, and any amendment consequential on what has been done shall be made." That is a fair way to treat the committee, but it is not fair to those honorable senators who may have been under the misapprehension that the Government would abide by the decision given earlier, that the Government should now seek to reverse that vote.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I do not know why the Government should be asked to study the wishes of the fourteen honorable senators who voted for the retention of the word "seditious," rather than the wishes of those who voted for its elimination. Those who were in favour of the amendment made by the House of Representatives are entitled to just as much consideration as those who voted against the acceptance of the amendment, especially considering that those who voted against the amendment were not a majority. Had there been a full House I feel sure that the majority would have been in favour of the amendment of the House of Representatives. I think it can also be said that the question now before the Chair is not on all fours with that on which the committee previously voted. If honorable senators will turn to the Bill they will find that the question we dealt with before the dinner adjournment was that of removing from the register newspapers containing seditious, blasphemous, indecent, or obscene matter. But this is a question whether the Postmaster-General shall have power to refuse to transmit such newspapers. Under sub-clause 4, the question is whether the postal authorities will have power to destroy them. It has been urged in favour of this provision that the newspaper proprietor has power to appeal to a Judge. But if the circulation of his paper is stopped, and the copies of the issue have been destroyed, the matter is already judged so far as his property is concerned. Therefore, the question now raised is a different one than whether the Postmaster-General shall have power to remove the name from the register, because

that action in itself does not inflict any irreparable injury, inasmuch as the proprietor can proceed to get an injunction to have his name registered. In any case, his property is not destroyed, and the circulation of his paper is not interfered with. Therefore, it can fairly be said that this provision raises a different question to that raised in the preceding sub-clause. The fact that some honorable senators who voted in the previous division are now absent is one for which no blame can be laid upon the shoulders of the Government. It is the business of honorable senators to be here to deal with matters as they arise. I hope that the Postmaster-General will insist upon this amendment, if only in justice to those who supported the Government on the previous question.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—I can well understand the anxiety of Senator Gould for the dignity of the Senate and the conduct of the Government, because that honorable and learned senator has no desire to see this measure carried. It is of no moment to him.

Senator Major GOULD.—Is it in order, Mr. Chairman, for Senator O'Connor to impute an improper motive to me?

The CHAIRMAN.—It is not necessarily an improper motive that is suggested.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I did not intend to impute any improper motive.

Senator Major GOULD.—I am satisfied with that explanation.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Yet let the committee make no mistake about what I mean. It is this—that it is no particular concern of the honorable and learned member to see this Bill carried. We have spent months upon this legislation. It is legislation for which the whole Commonwealth is waiting, and we have got so far with it that the matter upon which we are now engaged and the question to follow are the only things which stand in the way of the completion of the measure. I can quite understand that Senator Gould is a member of the party that has no particular desire to see this legislation carried out, or to see the legislation carried by this Senate up to the present time passed into law. I suppose that is party politics. I do not know that I am out of order in imputing to the honorable and learned senator that he is a strong party man. I am only calling attention to

it to show the value of the arguments of the honorable and learned senator about the position of the Government and the consistency of the committee. The honorable and learned senator wants to make it impossible for this Bill to become law without inconvenience, and wishes to embarrass the Government in any way he can.

Senator Major GOULD.—That is absolutely incorrect.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I will leave the committee to judge of the correctness of that statement. I hope the committee will not allow the passing of the measure to be frustrated by what is a party move on the part of the honorable and learned senator. I have no hesitation in saying that although this particular amendment involves probably the same question as the amendment dealt with previously, the last division was taken at a time when honorable senators did not thoroughly realize the position in which the question stands. I am quite certain that many honorable senators who voted in that division would have recorded their votes differently if they had realized the true position. At all events the subject is of such importance in regard to the carrying of this measure that I feel justified in asking the committee to reconsider it. It is not a mere matter of whether this or that is or is not inconsistent. The position of the Government is that we shall fight this question on every occasion when we can possibly do so. We shall fight it now and upon the next amendment, and I hope we shall be successful in reversing the decision which the committee have already come to, and which, I fear, was arrived at without really proper consideration as to the consequences which that vote involved. What is it we are talking about? I could well understand that, if it were a matter of vital importance to the administration of the measure, we might insist upon the clause as it left the Senate being retained so far as this particular provision in it is concerned. But what does it amount to? We have given over to the administrators of this postal measure a large number of powers. Amongst them we have given them the power which involves a decision by one man, an official, of a question which it is exceedingly difficult to decide. That is, whether a particular statement is or is not seditious. I am free to admit that there are many statements about which there can be

no doubt whatever, and which the Government ought not to allow to be disseminated through the post. On the other hand, there are a great many statements and exhortations to action which may be highly disapproved of by the Government of the day, but which are not seditious. What more dangerous weapon could we put into the hands of the Government of the day than the power to stop, through the post-office, the publication of some particular doctrine? Then the newspaper proprietor has an appeal to the court, which, however, cannot be expected to decide the question on the grounds of principle, but will simply look at it from the point of view of the hard-and-fast, cast-iron rule laid down by Judges in the definition of what is seditious. We are, therefore, face to face with the question of whether, after all, it is a wise thing to hand over that power to any one man. I can understand that power being given in regard to publications that are obscene or indecent. That is a matter of judgment not involving political feeling or party considerations. But the publication as to which the question of sedition is raised may be one which simply contains a condemnation of particular views. Therefore, I have no hesitation in saying that, although this is a Government measure, I feel quite satisfied on a consideration of the matter that the inclusion of a clause of this kind in a Postal Bill is a mistake. Do not we all know that in the history of the empire, in the history of England, and of Ireland, and of Scotland, there are numerous cases of men having been arrested and imprisoned for making speeches which would be within the ordinary rule of political controversy at the present day.

Senator GLASSEY.—Far stronger speeches are delivered to-day.

Senator O'CONNOR. — Undoubtedly. The fact is that public opinion is moving always in the direction of freedom of speech.

Senator CLEMONS.—Licence.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Licence may be an abusive epithet, but that does not help us to settle the question. What one person might call licence, another would call liberty. I am speaking of the substance of the matter—I do not care what we call it—and the tendency is to give more perfect freedom of speech. Where freedom of speech is such that it obviously outrages the system of government itself, there are abundant opportunities for bringing the

culprit to justice through the ordinary process of the law. This proposal does not take away the right to prosecute for seditious libel, nor to deal with an offender in any way which the criminal law will permit. The person so charged may be brought before the court, and have his case tried in a proper way, with a jury to decide whether he has been guilty of sedition or not. This puts the power of appeal ultimately, however, in the hands of a Judge, who has to decide as a naked question of law whether the particular publication is seditious or not.

Senator HARNEY.—At the risk of the Government. If the Government take action upon an article which is not seditious they are not justified by this Bill in doing so.

Senator O'CONNOR.—But we must have a definition of what is seditious. If there was an appeal to a Judge, the only question which he could decide would be whether the matter complained of was seditious within the meaning of the law. Senator Harney frankly admitted a little while ago that the law as to what is sedition has been laid down consistently. If the Judge decided that the matter brought before him was seditious, there would be no remedy whatever against the stopping of the publication, because the Postal Bill goes on to say that the decision of the Judge shall be final. I do not care about quoting law books, as a general rule, but the whole matter turns upon the question of what is seditious, in the sense of the way in which a Judge would be called upon to determine it. I should like to quote now from a great authority—Stephen's *Digest of the Criminal Law*. It gives a definition of what is a seditious intention, and it is a definition which would be acted upon by any Judge who was called upon to decide the matter—

A seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the person of Her Majesty, her heirs or successors, or the Government and Constitution of the United Kingdom, as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite Her Majesty's subjects to attempt, otherwise than by lawful means, the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to raise discontent or disaffection amongst Her Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of such subjects.

An intention to show that Her Majesty has been misled or mistaken in her measures, or to point out errors or defects in the Government or Constitution as by law established, with a view

to their reformation, or to excite Her Majesty's subjects to attempt by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to point out, in order to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of hatred and ill-will between classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is not a seditious intention.

What can be gathered from that? The substance of the first portion of the definition is that it is seditious to have an intention—

To bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection against the person of Her Majesty, her heirs or successors or the Government and Constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice.

I have no hesitation in saying that if some person should be so rash as to publish in a newspaper the opinion that the time had arrived when party Government should be brought to an end, or that we should have a president elected here and some resort to the American system, no one would suppose that the foundations of society were in danger of being subverted. Yet a Judge would be bound to hold that such a statement was seditious, and, if a Postmaster-General, acting upon that view of the law, were to stop the publication, that stoppage would be adhered to. I ask the committee whether, considering the nature of the proposal which was made here—considering how out of touch it is with every tendency of thought and feeling upon the question of freedom of speech—it is right or wise in any circumstances for us to insist upon retaining that word in the Bill. Adherence to this amendment might necessitate a conference with the other House at a time when every moment is valuable. There is another aspect to which we are entitled to call the attention of the committee. It is true we might have a conference with the other House, but that would mean the interruption of business in both places.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—For a couple of hours.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It is all very well to say that, but it would be an entirely new procedure, so far as the Federal Parliament is concerned. It would involve constitutional questions as to procedure and practice, and all simply because the Senate insisted upon retaining something which ought not to have been in the Bill originally. It is one of those things which may be copied from Bill to Bill, going back to times when the powers of Government and

freedom of speech were very different to what they are now.

Senator CLEMONS.—Yet it was proposed by the Government.

Senator O'CONNOR.—What of that? The Government are not infallible. They may make mistakes which other people may make. I think that if I had been speaking to the matter originally I should have said that it went too far. We are dealing with the position as it is. I ask the committee to remember that they are likely to miss the fruits of the long labour which they have devoted to this Bill, and to throw back this very necessary legislation. In any event, the proceedings would be protracted if the committee adhered to its determination. I ask the committee to assent to my honorable and learned colleague's proposition, and to take steps to make the Bill law in the shortest time possible.

Senator HARNEY (Western Australia).—The observations which have just been addressed to the Senate would have had a good deal of force, perhaps, if they had been used when this matter was first discussed this afternoon. I take it that we will try to give some sacredness to our own decisions. Senator Pearce has said that this case is different from the one with which we dealt this afternoon. Personally, I thought at first that this should have been a consequential amendment. I see now that it is a different case, but different only in being very much stronger. What we decided this afternoon was that the Postmaster-General should be at liberty to remove from the register the name of a newspaper one of whose numbers contained seditious matter. What we are now asked to do is to allow the number which we decided this afternoon should incapacitate further issue of the whole paper, to be itself disseminated. There may, perhaps, be senators present now who did not vote on the last division, but whatever their opinions may be, I would ask whether they are prepared to allow a Bill to leave the Senate which provides that an article containing certain matter is to destroy further publication of the whole newspaper, but, nevertheless, that that article itself is to be freely published. That is what Senator O'Connor seriously asks us to do. Senator Pearce said there were fourteen to fourteen on the last division, and he asked why should the opinion of one fourteen be regarded as more important than that of the other? My

answer is that it is so by virtue of the Constitution which says that where the numbers are equal in certain circumstances, the vote shall go in a certain way. It was by a reference to that rule of the Constitution that those who favoured the retention of this word succeeded. Therefore they are entitled to the preference if we are to have any regard for the Constitution under which we work. The Vice-President of the Executive Council has entered once more into the argument on its merits, and I wish to reply to one or two remarks which he made. He said that this measure was one of vital importance.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable and learned senator said the passage of the Bill was of vital importance.

Senator HARNEY.—Very good. The insertion of these words, he said, hazarded the passage of the Bill, therefore their omission was a matter of vital importance.

Senator DRAKE.—He did not say that.

Senator HARNEY.—But it follows. If it is a matter of vital importance I want to know whether this Senate is to eat its own words in order to please the House of Representatives?

Senator DRAKE.—That is not a fair way of putting it, because the presence or absence of the words is not of vital importance.

Senator HARNEY.—Where does the vital importance come in? Is there an apprehension that the inclusion of these words will hit upon publications in the future?

Senator DRAKE.—The two Houses must be in agreement to pass the Bill.

Senator HARNEY.—The honorable senator told us that probably these words were copied from some previous Act. I am quite sure they were, because the words "seditious," "blasphemous," "obscene," and "indecent" are always used together as exhaustive of the offences which papers can commit. Why should we in this case depart from the ordinary rule, and adopt words which are not exhaustive? It has been said that this will give the Postmaster-General a monstrous power, but by sub-clause (5) there is an appeal to a Judge. If there was no appeal there would be some force in the argument which has been used, because it might be said that sedition was a matter which could only be fairly ascertained by a judicial inquiry. We have the

judicial inquiry provided for in this case, and the proprietors of newspapers will, therefore, not be dependent on any haphazard decision which a Postmaster-General may give. It has been said that this is a dangerous power because political opinions differ and Governments are always changing, but I am unable to see any connexion between politics and sedition. Seditious is creating disaffection or discontent by some unlawful means, entirely irrespective of whether a free-trade or a protectionist Government is in power. No one could put this view more strongly than did the Vice-President of the Executive Council when the measure was introduced. But it has pleased the Government in another House to entirely forget the Senate, and for certain political purposes to allow the elimination of this word. They wish to force upon us the conclusion they have come to on account of political exigencies, and they justify the course they have taken by the most flimsy arguments I have ever heard put forward by any person priding himself upon logical reasoning.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).

—I may be dull of comprehension, but I see a great deal of difference in the position the Senate is in now and that in which it was previously. Previously the penalty for what was interpreted as sedition by Heaven knows who—for no one can tell who the Postmaster-General or his deputy might be—was the removal of the publication from the register. The object of a newspaper being registered at all was that it might be carried at newspaper rates. Is there not a vast difference that, when a paper is removed from the register under the amendment we have carried here, yet it may be carried under this amendment at a higher postal rate? That is where the difference comes in. I am not arguing in favour of any difference, but on the principle that it is an evil thing to put it into the power of any one or two individuals to determine what is or is not sedition. No one knows better than Senator Harney that it is very nearly time that this combination, to which he has referred so repeatedly, should be done away with altogether. Not only the country to which the honorable and learned senator belongs, but the country also to which I belong, has had many martyrs to the term we are discussing to-night, and yet to-day they are considered to be patriots. I am getting a

little light, however. I was getting it when this party reference was made by Senator Harney. I know how Senators Harney and Clemons and myself fought for the exclusion of the clause dealing with Tattersall's sweeps. Is this a back-door attempt to destroy the Bill that is going against our inclinations in that direction? Is this the result of the fine weather and the win the public had on Cup Day at Flemington? I would like to ask Senator Sargood and other honorable senators who were so strenuous in their resistance to Tattersall's sweeps, and so economical in the direction of saving the postage of Victoria, whether they are going to be parties to destroy the Post and Telegraph Bill simply because it will prolong the evil they objected to before? Is it for the purpose of defeating the intentions of the Government in that direction that there is such opposition to the Bill now? If so, although I fought honestly and fairly on the former occasion, I am not going to take part in a fight of this description just now. Something was said by Senator Pearce in connexion with the consideration that should be given to majorities or minorities in the Senate. Senator Pearce never for a moment intended to throw any reflection on the Constitution when he referred to the memorable fourteen who voted one way or the other. Senator Harney would like to make it appear that the fourteen who, by the Constitution, got the advantage of the position, should receive more consideration. I do not deny that they should, so far as the Constitution would give it to them, but are the other fourteen not to be considered if their attendance in the Senate is more earnest, and more regular, than that of the fourteen who are so earnest in their advocacy of the Constitution when it suits them. I hope the question will be reasoned fairly, and that party considerations of all kinds will be kept out of the Senate. I hope we shall consider the question from the point of view of having the Post and Telegraph Bill passed as speedily as possible that the people of the Commonwealth may get the advantage of it. While the people of the Commonwealth have power by their laws to deal with those who are seditious or blasphemous or in any way violate the statutes, I do not think the importance attaches to this amendment that Senator Harney would have us believe. I hope the amendment will be agreed to, and that the previous decision will be reversed.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—The honorable senator who has last spoken is going upon the assumption that in connexion with this amendment a party issue is being raised. If anyone is responsible for an attempt of that kind, it is the Vice-President of the Executive Council, who took occasion a little time ago to state that the opposition to the Government proposal was not *bona fide*, and came from men who were strong party men. The honorable and learned senator alluded to me as being a strong party man. I admit that at once, but so is the honorable and learned senator. I deny, however, that the mere fact of a man being a party man is sufficient to induce him to destroy a Bill that will be of great benefit to the Commonwealth, and which every senator must know ought to be passed as early as possible.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator will do anything to discredit the Government.

Senator Major GOULD.—I am not like the honorable senator, who is always finding out bad motives for everybody. Then, we heard Senator O'Connor speaking with great vigour in support of the proposition made by the Government. True, he admitted the fact that the Government introduced the Bill containing these words, and excused himself by saying that the Government were not infallible. If the clause had gone through without question or debate, he might have been in a position to say that the word was retained through pure inadvertence, but it was debated at very considerable length, and no one fought more strongly for it than did the representatives of the Government. Certain words in the clause were omitted here, with a view to insert them in another place, showing that they were considered most carefully at that time. In its original form the clause provided that—

The Deputy Postmaster-General of each State may refuse to transmit or deliver any publication containing seditious blasphemous indecent or obscene matter.

At that time the Government saw no necessity to make a strong stand against their own proposal. In the other House a change was made, and the Senate insisted on the retention of the word "seditious." The Government had an opportunity of pointing out then all these objections; but they only point them out

now because they find that the other House insists on the omission of the word, and because they consider that the Senate is a subservient body, which is prepared to swallow its own words in order to pacify the other House. We have heard honorable senators talk about the necessity of the Senate being a strong House, and adhering to its opinions; but we are asked gradually to whittle away our expressed opinions on different matters. On one very vital question the Senate backed down in a remarkable manner. In the Senate the representatives of the Government fought for one thing; but in the other House their colleagues fought against it, and when the Bill was returned to us Ministers here swallowed everything they had previously said. These things show what the policy of the Government is with regard to the Senate. I do feel surprised at honorable senators taking up a position for no other reason than that the other House adopts a certain course. This is not a question in which party politics are involved. No honorable senator will recognise more readily than will the Postmaster-General that honorable senators on all sides did their best to mould the Bill and that they offered no obstruction. It is unreasonable for the representatives of the Government to ask the committee to "jump Jim Crow" again.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania). — I should have liked to hear from Senator O'Connor a more definite statement as to what he intends to do in order to repair the obvious inconsistency which must arise if we keep the word "seditious" in sub-clause (3), after having struck it out of sub-clause (1). If a division were taken to either retain or omit the word, and I found myself in a minority, I should certainly on the next occasion sit with the majority, because I am always prepared to accept loyally the decision of the majority. If Senator O'Connor wants to upset the decision we came to on the last division, it would have been much more desirable if he had made that attempt at once, rather than seek to do something which is utterly inconsistent, and trust to a chance mood of the Senate to repair an inconsistency afterwards. Our desire ought to be to see that our legislation is fairly consistent with itself. It is obvious to every one that if we do what is proposed we shall bring on the Senate — I think deservedly — ridicule. We should not legislate in a way which is

inconsistent with our self respect, and unworthy of the Senate. I ask Senator O'Connor to reconsider his position. I do not like the method he is adopting. I understand that he is prepared to recommit the clause, but he might fail in his attempt, and the inconsistency would remain. I should rather that the fight, if necessary, were begun *de novo*. My only concern is that we should be consistent in our action.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I have no doubt that legal gentlemen like Senator Harney can show us that the word "seditious" has occupied a place in all Acts of Parliament for many hundred years, but we have to consider the question of practical utility. For some months we have been considering a Bill of 150 clauses. The House of Representatives agreed to about 100 of our amendments, and now, because a majority in that House have found it incumbent upon them to strike out the word "seditious," some honorable senators appear to be prepared either to hang up the Bill for a considerable time, or to bring about a state of tension which is not necessary. I ask Senator Gould if he knows of a single newspaper having been stopped at the Post-office because it contained seditious matter.

Senator HARNEY.—Where is the harm in leaving in the word?

Senator HIGGS.—The harm comes from the fact that the other House has insisted on the amendment, and that we have reached the end of our tether.

Senator HARNEY.—Why does the other House insist on a departure from the usual form?

Senator HIGGS. — The honorable and learned senator has stated that the Ministry has seen fit to turn a somersault for political reasons. He undoubtedly made this a party question when he used those words. He meant that the Government had found it necessary in order to hold office to placate certain members in another place by accepting their amendment. If there is any party feeling in the matter at all, I imagine that it comes from those honorable senators who are anxious to see a change of Government. The Government have at their disposal a great many lucrative positions, and no doubt these honorable senators think that if they were in office they could fill those positions with a great deal more credit to the country, and probably profit to their friends. I appeal

to impartial senators who are anxious to see the business of the country done, whether, although they may object to the word "seditious" being struck out, it is worth while to insist upon its retention on account of the danger which threatens the Bill.

Senator CHARLESTON (South Australia).—If I had been here when the last division was taken I should have voted with the Government, and practically reversed the vote I gave on a previous occasion, on the ground that I was never very strong in favour of the retention of the word "seditious," but only thought that it might be advisable to give the Minister power to restrict the circulation of certain publications. The other House agreed to our amendment in one respect, but it refused to go the whole way. We then asked the House to reconsider its decision, but it has decided that the word, if retained, would be injurious to the working of the Post-office, and might cause a great deal of friction and a great deal of loss to newspaper proprietors and others. For these reasons it has not seen its way to accede to our request. There is no great principle involved in the retention of the word.

Senator HARNEY.—If no principle is involved, why do they depart from the ordinary form?

Senator CHARLESTON.—Owing to the broad meaning which might be placed upon the word by different persons, according to their temper of mind at the time, it was thought advisable at this period, when we boast of freedom of speech, that it should not be retained. I do not think we should gain anything by continuing the struggle any longer. A time may come when we shall have to insist upon certain things in the interest and for the benefit of the States we represent. As this is not particularly a State matter, and as it is essential in the interest of the Postal department that this Bill should become law, it would be extremely unwise to wreck the measure by insisting upon the amendment. If we are determined to be stubborn without any particular cause, another place will be inclined to be stubborn upon other questions; and how can we justify our votes before the people by maintaining a sort of pigheadedness which has no reason to be urged in favour of it?

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—When in the last division I voted against the

Government upon this matter, I had not thoroughly considered the position in which the Bill stood. We have no standing orders of our own, and in consequence of the complicated and tedious procedure which has to be gone through if there is to be a conference, it will not be wise to reject the amendment made by the House of Representatives. If there is a conference it will practically be a dumb conference. We shall have to appoint managers, and a committee to draw up reasons, and they will have to come away without being able to discuss the subject. Then another place may also move for a conference, which will also be a dumb conference; and not until then can a free conference be held. The principle contained in the word "seditious" is an important one, but as a matter of practical results it is a small point, because the Postmaster-General never seems to be inclined to put such powers into operation. Is it worth our while, therefore, to embarrass the Government and run the risk of the loss of the Bill, by insisting upon the retention of the word "seditious"? I shall feel inclined to vote on the ground of pure expediency, and to help the Government, which I think we ought to do in a matter of this kind. I must say, however, that I have been greatly disappointed all through the discussion because when honorable senators have been determined, time after time, to retain the terms of legislation which in practice have been found to be desirable, there has been a strong inclination on the part of other honorable senators in the opposite direction. Personally I am absolutely in favour of the retention of the words, "blasphemous, seditious, indecent, and libellous." So far from thinking that the time has come when we ought to have free speech, free songs, and free everything else of a blasphemous and indecent description, I think that we ought to go in the other direction. I know that newspapers are published which frequently contain matter that is positively seditious and blasphemous. These papers are sent through the post. What is more, there are novels lying on the drawing-room tables of some of our good people in Melbourne—and for the matter of that, in Hobart also—which seem to have been written with the one idea of being indecent, and really are indecent.

Senator CLEMONS.—Yet the honorable and learned senator is voting for the striking

out of this word on the ground of expediency!

Senator DOBSON.—It is not so many hours since Senator Clemons determined to hold his tongue on the ground of expediency. I intend, however, to have the courage of my opinions. I should like to give a little illustration of what I think might be called seditious. I was residing in Sydney for 48 hours some few Sundays ago. Finding there were two Sunday newspapers I bought one. I happened to buy *Truth*. I had not looked at it for many minutes, when I saw some doggerel rhymes about Lord Kitchener and the South African war. The proprietor of that journal, Mr. Norton—a gentleman whom I do not know by sight—had inserted this doggerel under the initials of the Postmaster-General, "J.G.D." These lines positively called Lord Kitchener a butcher, and stated that he was absolutely gloating over the position of the women and children who were dying of measles in the refugee camps. There is one line which alludes to the fact that this "butcher," Lord Kitchener, is congratulating himself upon how well he appears to have succeeded in practically bringing about, wilfully and deliberately, the death of the people by measles.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is the sort of paper Senator Dobson would allow to go through the post.

Senator DOBSON.—I would not if I could help it. But how often do we find a Postmaster-General who would put such a drastic clause as this into effect? Such provisions are scarcely ever put into force, and I give that as a sufficient reason why, on ground of expediency, I am going to vote with the Government.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—I am going to vote with the Government, not on the ground of expediency. I am glad, however, that Senator Dobson is looking upon this matter in a wise light in spite of what honorable senators opposite may say. After all, what is this fight about? For the retention of one little word in this Bill, which has now reached the stage when we want it to become law as soon as possible.

Senator PULSFORD.—A little word with a big meaning.

Senator O'KEEFE.—But it is a meaning which has a very wide significance. It may have a different meaning to Senator Pulsford to what it has to myself. Senator Harney said he was afraid that all kinds of

party motives have been actuating the Government in another place.

Senator HARNEY.—Oh, no! I said that since they had neither logic nor sense they must have party motives.

Senator O'KEEFE.—If the honorable and learned senator had followed the course of the debate in another place he would have known the reason why the Government accepted the amendment there. Fortunately for Australia, there was a large majority of members with more liberal ideas than have hitherto prevailed in the Upper Houses of Australia. I sincerely hope that the motion of the Postmaster-General will be carried, and I again express my thanks to Senator Dobson for having looked at this matter in a sensible light, although he had previously voted against the Government.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—I desire in two or three words to say that I protest against the remarks made by Senator O'Connor that the object some of us had in objecting to the course proposed by the Government was due to party motives. The whole course of the debate ought to have prevented Senator O'Connor from making a charge like that. It is that remark which has made me look with less regret on the fact that my esteemed free-trade colleague, Senator Charleston, is going to support the Government.

Senator DRAKE.—What has this to do with free-trade?

Senator PULSFORD.—Nothing at all, and, therefore, it should not be said that this debate has a party complexion. I will read to the committee a few remarks made by Senator Downer on the 10th October.

The CHAIRMAN.—I will ask the honorable senator not to read them.

Senator PULSFORD.—I believe I am quite in order in quoting from *Hansard* a remark made by Senator Downer during the debate upon this Bill?

Senator HARNEY.—I should like to know for my own future information whether an honorable senator is allowed to quote from the debates which take place in this Chamber?

The CHAIRMAN.—No; Standing Order 133 says—

No member shall read from a printed newspaper or book the report of any speech made in Parliament during the same session.

Senator Major GOULD.—That must mean upon any other subject. I think the Chairman will find that an honorable member

is perfectly in order in referring to a previous debate upon the same subject matter.

The CHAIRMAN.—Senator Gould is evidently confusing Standing Orders 132 and 133.

Senator Major GOULD.—Senator Pulsford was about to quote remarks dealing with the same subject matter.

The CHAIRMAN.—He may allude to Senator Downer's speech, but not read it.

Senator Major GOULD.—Take for the sake of argument a speech delivered on the second reading of a Bill. Surely in the course of the debate an honorable senator can refer to and read from a speech made by a previous speaker.

Senator DRAKE.—He may not read it, but he may allude to it.

Senator HIGGS.—I rise to a point of order. I understand that you have given a ruling, and that it has not been challenged in the proper way.

Senator Major GOULD.—I object to the Chairman's ruling that a member cannot read from a printed book the report of a speech made in Parliament during the same session upon the question then under consideration.

In House:

Senator BEST.—I beg to report that Senator Pulsford was proceeding to read from *Hansard* the report of a speech by another senator in connexion with the Bill immediately before the committee. I ruled in the terms of Standing Order 133, that he was not strictly in order in doing so. The rule is—

No member shall read from a printed newspaper or book the report of any speech made in Parliament during the same session.

Senator Gould has taken exception to my ruling.

The PRESIDENT.—I understand that it is admitted that the honorable senator was about to read an extract from a speech made by another senator on the same Bill during the present session. There are two standing orders dealing with the subject. Standing Order 132, says—

No member shall allude to any debate of the same session, upon a question or Bill not being then under discussion, except by the indulgence of the House for personal explanations.

According to the admission, as I understand it, this was more than an allusion, and was a proposal to read an extract from a speech upon the Bill now under discussion, and

Standing Order 132 therefore does not prevent the proposed reading as the Bill is "now under discussion." We come then to Standing Order 133—

No member shall read from a printed newspaper or book the report of any speech made in Parliament during the same session.

I do not think that refers to *Hansard*. One of the main objects of *Hansard* is that members of Parliament should have a proper record of the speeches delivered by other members during the session, and it has always been ruled, not only in the Imperial Parliament, but also in the Parliament from which these standing orders have been adopted, that all discussions upon a Bill are part of the same discussion. I am therefore of opinion that the senator who proposed to read an extract from *Hansard* was strictly in order, and that he ought to be permitted to do so.

In committee :

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—On the 10th October, speaking upon this very subject, I find that Senator Downer said—

In my opinion, we should adhere to our decision so far as the word "seditious" is concerned. Sedition is a term which is very well known, and there is no possibility of misunderstanding it. In this respect I think the alteration made by the House of Representatives is a distinct weakening of the protection we give to the community.

Further on, the same honorable senator said—

Sedition is a well-known term, and it means defiance of good order and Government, and is very much the same as conspiracy.

Those are the only extracts I desire to read. The definition of the word "sedition" is so aptly and clearly put by Senator Downer that I think honorable senators will forgive me for troubling them with it.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania). — I shall not interpose at any length, but I should like to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council what he proposes to do in order to secure consistency in this Bill? I should like the honorable and learned senator to say how he proposes to reconcile the decision come to this afternoon with the decision which may be come to now.

Senator O'CONNOR.—It will be done in the ordinary parliamentary way, and the honorable senator knows what that is as well as I do.

Senator CLEMONS.—The answer does not quite satisfy me. I think it is desirable

that we should be consistent, and the honorable and learned senator ought on behalf of the Senate to pledge himself to secure consistency in one way or in the other.

Senator DRAKE.—We shall try to do so.

Senator CLEMONS.—But the Government may try to do so only in one direction, in which they will fail. I am anxious that if they fail to secure consistency in the direction they desire, they shall have sufficient respect for the Senate and our powers of legislation to secure consistency even though they cannot have their own way. That is my concern. I am afraid that the Senate may now strike out this word, and may subsequently fail to undo what we did before dinner, and so leave the Bill in a mutilated condition.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The honorable senator need not be afraid of that.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am afraid of it, and I have risen to say so.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—Do I understand that the members of the Government in the Senate are now anxious that we should reverse the decision we arrived at an hour or two ago? If so they cannot reckon on any support from me. I speak very plainly, and I am pained to have to speak in this way, because I was quite prepared, and have been during the 30 years I have been in public life, to give every Government honest support. But when the Senate arrives at an honest decision, the Government should adhere to it, and I strongly object to any attempt to get an advantage over a vote deliberately and fairly taken, especially when the Government are themselves the fathers of the very clause and of the very language we are now seeking to maintain. Politically speaking it is most reprehensible that the Government should turn its back upon itself in that way.

Question—That the committee do not insist on the amendment—put. The committee divided—

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | .. | ... | ... | 13 |
| Noes | ... | ... | ... | 11 |
| Majority | ... | ... | ... | 2 |

AYES.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Dawson, A. | McGregor, G. |
| De Largie, H. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| Dobson, H. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| Drake, J. G. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Glassey, T. | Stewart, J. C. |
| Higge, W. G. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Keating, J. H. | |

NOES.

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Baker, Sir R. C. | Harney, E. A. |
| Barrett, J. G. | Neild, J. C. |
| Best, R. W. | Pulsford, E. |
| Ferguson, J. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Fraser, S. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Gould, A. J. | Clemons, J. S. |

PAIRS.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Playford, T. | Walker, J. T. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Macfarlane, J. |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Senator DRAKE.—The next amendment is practically the same as the last, and proposes the omission of the word "seditious" in a subsequent part of the clause. It is not necessary, I think, to say anything in regard to it, seeing that the reasons urged on the last amendment apply with equal force to this. I move—

That the committee do not insist on the amendment inserting the word "seditious" in sub-clause (4) of clause 27.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—I do not propose to create any debate that can be avoided upon this question. We have already had a division, and I have no reason to assume that there would be any chance through the absence of two or three senators or the presence of two or three others to again jump Jim Crow, and reverse the last decision arrived at. I think we may recognise the victory the Government have gained in the last division, and make them a present so far as debate upon this amendment is concerned. We may, however, have another division to show that there are eleven or twelve men who are consistent, and who stick to their principles.

Question—That the committee do not insist on the amendment—put. The committee divided—

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes ... | ... | ... | 12 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 11 |
| | | | — |
| Majority ... | ... | ... | 1 |

AYES.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Dawson, A. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| De Largie, H. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| Drake, J. G. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Glassey, T. | Stewart, J. C. |
| Higgs, W. G. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Keating, J. H. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| McGregor, G. | |

NOES.

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Baker, Sir R. C. | Harney, E. A. |
| Barrett, J. G. | Neild, J. C. |
| Best, R. W. | Pulsford, E. |
| Ferguson, J. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Fraser, S. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Gould, A. J. | Clemons, J. S. |

PAIRS.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Playford, T. | Walker, J. T. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Macfarlane, J. |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Senator HIGGS.—I should like, on a point of order, to ask whether Senator Harney is entitled to have his vote counted, when it appears that he has paired with another honorable senator.

The CHAIRMAN.—I cannot take any notice of pairs at all.

Senator HARNEY.—As a matter of personal explanation may I be allowed to say that I had agreed to pair with Senator Dobson, and had written my name in the pair book, but before the vote came off Senator Dobson entered the chamber and I considered the pair off. Honorable senators will recollect that Senator Dobson and myself voted in the last division.

Clause 3 (Interpretation of terms).

Senator DRAKE.—Amendment No. 6 is of a somewhat different character from the others. We disagreed with seven important amendments of the other House, but in this one case it will not give way. It was purely from sentimental reasons that I objected to the amendment. I did not like to see the clause in the Bill, but I can see perfectly clearly that it will not do any harm. I understand that the other House insists upon the provision, because it is considered advisable that in the case of those States which have legislated on the subject there should be no chance for any confusion as to the correct definition of the words "indecent or obscene matter." Whatever we may have said in regard to other amendments, no one can contend that there is anything vital in this amendment.

Senator HARNEY.—It is unnecessary.

Senator DRAKE.—If the other House thinks that in the interests of certain States it is desirable to have the clause in order to prevent confusion or ambiguity, we may yield to the argument without loss of honour. It is so exceedingly desirable that the Bill should become law at the earliest possible moment that I do not think its

progress should be hampered by a consideration of this character. I move—

That the committee do not further disagree to the amendment of the House of Representatives in clause 3, defining "indecent or obscene matter."

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—When this amendment came before the committee it was disagreed to on the voices and without debate, no doubt on the ground that honorable senators thought that the Bill had better not be disfigured by a provision of this character. I recognise that Senator Drake is assenting to the amendment on the ground that the other House considers it necessary, and in some of the other States I am told it has been held necessary to have an interpretation of what is indecent or obscene from the postal stand-point.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD.—That clause was passed in a special Act.

Senator Major GOULD.—Under these circumstances, and as I do not regard it as a matter of great principle, it is not intended to oppose the motion.

Motion agreed to.

Resolutions reported.

Motion (by Senator DRAKE) proposed—

That the report, as far as regards amendment No. 16, be referred back to the committee for reconsideration.

Senator PULSFORD.—I desire to ask you, sir, whether the report can be referred back without due notice being given?

The PRESIDENT.—The standing order is as follows:—

The resolutions reported from a committee may be agreed to or disagreed to by the House, or agreed to with amendments, recommitted to the committee, or the further consideration thereof postponed.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—It must be perfectly obvious why I raised the point of order. Under the circumstances of the division which took place to-day, it ought to be the desire of every honorable senator to get a decision about which no doubt can arise. It must be obvious that when snatch divisions have been taken to-night, doubt must arise as to whether the Senate was fairly represented or not. Certain honorable senators left the Chamber at the dinner hour without any knowledge of the matter which had once been voted upon being likely to come up again. If the Government desire to have any reputation for what is fair and straight

they will consent to take this reference to the committee to-morrow afternoon. I ask Senator O'Connor whether he will consent to that course?

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—We have spent a great deal of time in discussing this question. We have arrived at a stage at which, if this motion is carried, as I believe it will be, we shall have practically finished with the Bill. Why should we postpone this matter until to-morrow? It has been said by Senator Pulsford that there has been a snatch division. There have been three divisions to-night: which was the snatch division?

Senator PULSFORD.—The one in the afternoon.

Senator O'CONNOR.—No doubt the honorable senator would like to have a postponement in order to get a division to suit him.

Senator PULSFORD.—One in which everyone could take part.

Senator O'CONNOR.—We shall not consent to anything of the sort, and we hope that the Senate will lose no time in coming to a decision and thereby bring to a close the laborious and very useful work which has occupied its attention so long.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—It is all very well from the Government's point of view to say that they desire, for the purpose of expedition, to get rid of the matter to-night, but, if they do, it will be open to honorable senators to cast this reflection upon them—that finding twelve to eleven voters, with the exception of pairs, they think that if notice of this proceeding had been given the decision they desire to see reversed would not be altered. Perhaps from the stand-point of the Government these tactics may be perfectly legitimate, but I ask whether it is a fair position to take up in regard to honorable senators? When notice appears on the business paper that certain work is to be taken in hand the Government cannot be expected to postpone its consideration to suit the convenience of honorable senators whose business does not permit them to be present. But when it is proposed to take up practically new work, to re-open a question which has been decided, without honorable senators having had previous notice it is treating them very unfairly. It may act well one day from the Government's point of view, but on another day it may

act to their detriment because it will always be competent for any honorable senator, when the Government have obtained a victory, and their opponents find that certain of their supporters have gone away to quietly jump their claim and go back into committee, and by means of a snatch vote reverse a decision which had been given after due deliberation. I ask whether it would not be much more honest for the Government to say, "We do not want to carry our views by means of a snatch division. We wish to get the good sense of the committee on the question. A decision was given this afternoon which we want you to reverse, therefore we ask you to come here to-morrow and to give your voice on the question." It is fair and reasonable, even where the division was so close, for the Government not to snatch a vote, but to give honorable senators every opportunity to state what they think is best and to accept the decision of the majority. It is only fair and reasonable that we should not go on with the matter at the present time. The Senate is asked deliberately to go behind its decision, and to say that it made a mistake in the afternoon. The Government know that a majority of honorable senators are not in favour of the course which is being taken, but because the standing order gives them an opportunity of taking a snatch division, they are going to do so. If the Government will agree to take a formal division on the question to-morrow I am satisfied that honorable senators will be content. Will they promise not to take a division until honorable senators have had an opportunity to attend to-morrow?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Certainly not.

Senator Major GOULD.—The honorable and learned senator is determined, because he thinks he will succeed in getting this business completed, so that there may be no chance of getting a vote from a majority of the Senate. If he believed that he had the support of a majority of the Senate, he would agree to my suggestion. But the Government see that possibly to-morrow they will not only lose the opportunity of making the change they wish to make, but that the Senate may feel inclined to change what has been done to-night. That is not the way to get a deliberate expression of opinion. It is a double-edged sword which will be used against the Government. They may rest assured that when the opportunity serves it will be used against them.

It may be party warfare, but it is distinctly unfair to those honorable senators who are absent, because they did not think there was a possibility of this question coming up for reconsideration to-night. The Government are determined, if possible, to go back upon what the Senate has done. Of course they will say that the opinion of a smaller number is much better than the opinion of a larger number.

Senator DRAKE.—The numbers were equal in the division.

Senator Major GOULD.—Would it not be much better to get a few more instead of a few less to determine the question? It is a distinct attempt to catch, by means of a snatch vote, something which Ministers believe they cannot catch by means of a deliberate vote. It is distinctly unfair to honorable senators. It is, however, a two-edged sword that may strike back upon the Government; and while their policy may be successful now, it will neither redound to their credit, nor to the credit of honorable senators who are so far willing to surrender their principles as to give way on this matter.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I must express my extreme surprise that the Vice-President of the Executive Council should take advantage of what I regard as an unfortunate standing order amongst those under which we are temporarily working—a standing order which, I venture to say, will not be included amongst the permanent rules of the Senate. This afternoon the committee came to a conclusion, but now an attempt is being made to reverse the decision in the same sitting, and without the knowledge of those honorable senators who have given their votes, and have since been occupied with other matters which have caused their absence from the chamber. Senator Gould has correctly said that if this course is to be pursued, it will be a two-edged sword, which will undoubtedly be used at some time or other to the disadvantage of the Government.

Senator O'CONNOR.—The honorable senator's sword is always ready!

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—My honorable and learned friend is perfectly accurate, but this is no joking matter. Some time ago the committee arrived at a deliberate conclusion. At the instance of the other branch of the Legislature we were asked to reconsider our decision. We did so, and resolved that our

decision should stand. Now, without notice, the Postmaster-General asks us to reverse that decision which we have twice affirmed. If the Government succeed in obtaining a reversal of the decision under these circumstances, it will be a most unfortunate and undesirable interference with the ordinary course of business as transacted by British Legislatures. If the South Australian Parliament ever acted under such a provision as this I regard it as a most dangerous one, as most undesirable, and as absolutely at variance with the practice of the House of Commons, and of all other Houses of Legislature throughout the wide dominions of Great Britain.

Senator STEWART.—Still, we may improve upon the practice of the House of Commons.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Perhaps we are trying to improve backwards, but I do not think that reversing a decision previously arrived at in the same evening is an improvement. It is the reverse. It is a pernicious procedure, and I venture to promise the honorable and learned senator who is responsible for it that his chickens will come home to roost some day, and that he will then find that they are very much in the way.

Motion (by Senator CLEMONS) negatived—

That the Senate do now adjourn.

Motion (by Senator PULSFORD) proposed --

That the debate be now adjourned.

Question put. The Senate divided—

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes .. | ... | ... | 9 |
| Noes ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| Majority | ... | ... | 7 |

AYES.

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Baker, Sir R. C. | Harney, E. A. |
| Clemons, J. S. | Pulsford, E. |
| Ferguson, J. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Fraser, S. | Teller. |
| Gould, A. J. | Neild, J. C. |

NOES.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Barrett, J. G. | O'Connor, R. E. |
| Best, R. W. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Dawson, A. | Playford, T. |
| De Largie, H. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Drake, J. G. | Stewart, J. C. |
| Glasse, T. | Teller. |
| Higgs, W. G. | Keating, J. H. |
| McGregor, G. | |

Question resolved in the negative.

Original question agreed to.

In Committee :

Senator DRAKE.—I move—

That the committee do not insist on the amendment inserting the word "seditious" in sub-clause (1) of clause 27.

The motions that were agreed with regard to these three amendments in one clause were contradictory. It is not necessary to go into details, because we have already heard some honorable senators say that we ought to be bound by the first division that was taken. I am of the contrary opinion. That division was taken just before the dinner hour, and it is quite probable that some honorable senators came in and voted without having heard the discussion. We may claim that if the division had been taken after a fuller discussion, and when honorable senators knew clearly what issues were involved, the decision would have been different. As this is the only matter left between the two Chambers with regard to the Bill, I think that the Senate might very well give way upon the point.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—"Jump Jim Crow!"

Senator DRAKE.—I do not think it is right to use such an expression, for the reason that on both these matters each House has had its own opinion, and I have no doubt that honorable senators and members of the House of Representatives hold those opinions still. But we recognise that in politics there is such a thing as compromise. Seeing that the Bill cannot pass until both Houses have come to an agreement upon it, we must recognise that in a case like this, where two Houses take up strongly antagonistic positions one or the other must give way. As I pointed out earlier in the afternoon the House of Representatives in connexion with this Bill have met us with great fairness, and have given way in many matters upon which members of that House held strong convictions. They gave way, not because they surrendered their own views in regard to those matters, but because they recognised that there must be a compromise, and that one House or the other must give way. They had seen before a disposition on the part of the Senate to meet them fairly, and they showed a similar disposition to meet the Senate. I am glad that some members of the Senate were present in the House of Representatives when this Bill was before that House, and they will remember that

members of the House of Representatives were not asked "to swallow their convictions" or to "jump Jim Crow"—language of that kind was not used—but they were asked to remember that there was another branch of the legislature which was entitled to be considered. They did that fairly, and though amendment after amendment was brought forward upon which members of the House of Representatives had previously expressed strong opinions, they showed themselves willing to give way in order to meet the Senate. That being so it is right and proper that we should show an equal disposition to meet them.

Senator PULSFORD (New South Wales).—At this period of the evening, when every honorable senator has expressed his opinion by his voice or his vote, there appears to be no object in prolonging the discussion. For my part, while adhering to my opinion as to the propriety of the Government consenting to an adjournment until to-morrow, I intend now to say nothing further but to allow a division to be taken forthwith.

Senator HARNEY (Western Australia).—I wish to state very emphatically that we are now asked to do a most extraordinary thing. There are but 24 senators in the House at present, and they are being asked to reverse a decision that was come to by 28 senators, and they are asked to do so solely because the decision of the 28 senators was not satisfactory to the Government. I have not a great deal of experience of parliamentary work, but I hope I shall have no further experiences of this kind.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I cannot allow the occasion to pass without saying a few valedictory words, because probably this is the last opportunity we shall have of discussing this Bill. The Postmaster-General has made a few meek and mild-mannered remarks with regard to the desirability of compromise, of smoothing things over with the other House, and of soothing their feelings or soothing our own. That is not my attitude with regard to this, nor was it the attitude of prominent members of the Government on more than one occasion. I cannot help being reminded of what must be in the recollection of other honorable senators, that in connexion with this Bill we saw one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of the skilful acrobat, that we could ever have expected to see in connexion with any Bill? This is only consistent with what we have seen in connexion with this Bill from start

to finish. We have seen what I have no hesitation in saying is a most disgraceful exhibition on the part of the Government.

Senator O'CONNOR.—Is that in order? The honorable senator has directly charged the Government with a disgraceful exhibition in connexion with this Bill. I am not super-sensitive, I think about matters of this sort, but we should maintain something like a level of fairly decent conduct in the Senate, and no honorable senator ought to be allowed to use expressions of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think the expression was out of order.

Senator CLEMONS.—If the Vice-President of the Executive Council is not super-sensitive—

Senator O'CONNOR.—The Chairman having given a ruling I ask the honorable and learned senator to obey it.

Senator CLEMONS.—I presume that the ordinary method of obeying the ruling of the Chairman in such a case, is the method I am going to adopt of withdrawing the words. They would have been withdrawn earlier if the honorable and learned senator had allowed me to go on. I am surprised to hear the Vice-President of the Executive Council express himself as not being super-sensitive, because I do not think the Senate needed any such expression from the honorable and learned senator. He may not have been guilty of disgraceful conduct in connexion with this Bill, but he will not deny that he has given us throughout the conduct of this Bill through the Chamber a marvellous exhibition of somersaults. The honorable and learned senator is one of the most skilful acrobats I have seen.

The CHAIRMAN.—I ask the honorable senator to confine himself to the question.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have said all I desire to say with regard to the exhibitions. I wanted to say these few words as a parting shot as this is the last occasion upon which we can have an opportunity of discussing the Bill. I have risen to express my utter dissatisfaction that we should, after a few short hours, be upsetting what was decided in this Chamber by a larger meeting of members than we have had during any division that has since taken place. I wish to emphasize the fact that in a small House we are now proposing to reverse a decision which was come to by the largest House we have had for many weeks.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I would ask the Government to postpone this decision until to-morrow, when I think I can promise them that the majority against them will be greater than it was earlier this afternoon. Surely the Government are not anxious to have it said all over the Commonwealth that a decision is arrived at at half-past six in the afternoon in a very full House—

Senator DRAKE.—Who did not hear the debate.

Senator FRASER.—Honorable senators present heard sufficient of the debate, and if the decision is adjourned until to-morrow we shall have a full House, and there will be a larger majority against the Government proposals. Surely the Government is not going to start the Commonwealth with a reputation for getting the Senate to change its votes every two or three hours? After the division taken at half-past 6 o'clock I left the Senate with the deliberate intention of not returning, because I was engaged elsewhere. I had no conception that a vote taken at half-past 6 o'clock would be reversed again at half-past 10 o'clock by a smaller number of senators. That is unheard-of, and it is not commendable. The public will not like it. The public like honest votes to be taken, and decisions come to without any snatch victory. It will not redound to the credit of any party, whether Opposition or Government supporters, to maintain their position in that way. I hope that even now the Government will see it to be their high duty to postpone this question till to-morrow. If they can then secure a majority, I shall not ask them to reverse that vote, and I shall even support them in such a case if a snatch vote is attempted to be secured against them. As we have already arrived at an honest decision on the question, it is utterly unconstitutional and unusual to force this question to another division at this late hour.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I wish to know whether I have not understood Senator Clemons. When the Postmaster-General proposed the second deletion of the word "seditious," Senator Clemons invited an expression of opinion from the Vice-President of the Executive Council as to what the Government proposed to do in order to make the Bill consistent. I think the honorable and learned senator said that if the Government succeeded in getting a majority in connexion with the latter amendments, he

would assist them in making the Bill consistent. In that case, I should say that Senator Clemons now proposes to vote with the Government.

Senator CLEMONS.—By way of personal explanation, I wish to say that I shall certainly adhere to my expressed intention to obtain consistency. The largest division we have had during all the divisions that have taken place upon these amendments was that in which the side on which I sit was represented by fourteen. So far, in all these later divisions, the Government have not been supported by fourteen senators.

Question.—That the committee do not insist on the amendment—put. The committee divided—

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ayes | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 |
| Noes | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 |
| Majority | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |

AYES.

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Dawson, A. | O'Keefe, D. J. |
| De Largie, H. | Pearce, G. F. |
| Drake, J. G. | Smith, M. S. C. |
| Glassey, T. | Stewart, J. C. |
| Higgs, W. G. | |
| O'Connor, R. E. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| McGregor, G. | Keating, J. H. |

NOES.

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Baker, Sir R. C. | Harney, E. A. |
| Barrett, J. G. | Neild, J. C. |
| Best, R. W. | Pulsford, E. |
| Ferguson, J. | Sargood, Sir F. T. |
| Fraser, S. | <i>Teller.</i> |
| Gould, A. J. | Clemons, J. S. |

PAIRS.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Playford, T. | Walker, J. T. |
| Charleston, D. M. | Macfarlane, J. |

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Resolution reported ; report of committee adopted.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL. SECOND READING.

Senator O'CONNOR (New South Wales)
—Vice-President of the Executive Council.
I move—

That order of the day No. 2 be an order of the day for Wednesday next.

I fix that date for the consideration of the measure, and I hope that in the meantime good progress will be made with the Public Service Bill, which must be gone on with.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—It would be for the convenience of every honorable senator if the Vice-President of the Executive Council would give us an assurance that no matter what progress is made in the meantime with the Public Service Bill,

next Wednesday will be definitely fixed for beginning the consideration of the Immigration Restriction Bill.

Senator O'CONNOR.—I thought I had conveyed that clearly. I fixed the date for the consideration of the Bill, that we might definitely be able to go on with it then.

Senator Major GOULD (New South Wales).—With Senator Clemons, I was doubtful as to whether the taking of this Bill, as proposed by the Government on Wednesday next, would not be contingent upon certain progress being made with the Public Service Bill. I understand now that no matter what progress is made with the Public Service Bill, the Immigration Restriction Bill will be dealt with on Wednesday next. Honorable senators, seeing the position which the Immigration Restriction Bill has occupied on the business paper on several occasions, have thought it was the intention of the Government to go on with that Bill before the Public Service Bill, more especially in view of the fact that it had been represented that it was a measure of very great importance, which they were determined to push on with as speedily as possible. I think that most honorable senators would have been prepared to go on with the Bill to-morrow, if the Government had been ready to proceed. At any rate, I hope that the order of the day is being postponed till Wednesday next with the intention of proceeding with the second reading.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 10.41 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 6 November, 1901.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITIONS.

Mr. R. EDWARDS presented two petitions from the Queensland Sugar-growers and Manufacturers' Union, representing various sugar-growing districts in Queensland, in protest against the proposed kanaka legislation.

Petitions received.

TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILWAY.

Mr. POYNTON.—I wish to know from the Prime Minister if his attention has been called to the following resolution, which was passed by the South Australian Parliament last week :—

That, pending the construction of an Interstate railway to Western Australia, it is desirable that the first section of a line of 100 miles from Port Augusta should be constructed as soon as possible, providing the Federal Government agree to adopt the line as the first section of railway from Port Augusta to Western Australia, and approve of the route.

I wish to ask the Prime Minister if the Cabinet have considered this matter? If not, will they do so, and let the House know at an early date their decision in regard to it?

Mr. BARTON.—That resolution has not been brought under the notice of the Commonwealth Government, and has not been considered by the Cabinet.

Mr. POYNTON.—Was it considered at the Premiers' conference?

Mr. BARTON.—No. It was not brought before the conference. I can give the honorable member no further information in regard to the matter at the present time, but if he desires me to look into it more fully I shall esteem myself favored if he will ask a question upon notice.

NORFOLK ISLAND.

Mr. HUGHES.—I wish to know from the Minister for Trade and Customs if instructions have been given to the officers in charge of Custom-houses in various parts of Australia to regard imports from Norfolk Island as imports from a foreign country? I am informed that Mr. Baxter has replied to certain representations made by importing firms that Norfolk Island is not part of the Commonwealth.

Mr. KINGSTON.—No instructions have been given, but, as a matter of fact, Norfolk Island is not part of the Commonwealth, and therefore imports from Norfolk Island must be regarded as imports from a foreign country.

Mr. HUGHES.—Is not Norfolk Island part of New South Wales?

Mr. KINGSTON.—No.

Mr. BARTON.—Lord Howe Island has been made part of New South Wales, but Norfolk Island has not.

ERROR IN DIVISION LIST.

Mr. SPEAKER.—When recording the division which took place in the House on Friday afternoon last, upon the motion for a special adjournment, the tellers of the ayes inadvertently recorded the name of Mr. G. B. Edwards instead of that of Mr. R. Edwards, and I have therefore directed the Clerk to correct the list.

VICTORIAN GOLD JUBILEE EXHIBITION.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Can the Prime Minister see his way to make arrangements which will facilitate the visit of members of the Federal Parliament to Bendigo next Wednesday, upon the occasion of the opening of the Gold Jubilee Exhibition there? It might be too much to suggest that the House should adjourn for a whole day; but I have been requested to invite honorable members to visit Bendigo upon the occasion, and perhaps the Prime Minister might arrange for the House meeting on Wednesday at a later hour than usual. A special train will be sent to Bendigo to convey the Governor-General.

Mr. BARTON.—When could members get back?

Sir JOHN QUICK.—At about seven o'clock. A number of honorable members have expressed their desire to be present, and we hope that the Government may be represented, and I hope that the Prime Minister will endeavour to attend. A few hours I am sure would not be missed, especially upon an occasion of such interest and importance.

Mr. BARTON.—We missed a few hours yesterday in consideration of the possibility of not getting a quorum, and I am not prepared to say at this moment that we are prepared to lose any more time, in view of the position in which recent events have placed public business. Time is, I think, of the essence of the contract in regard to this Parliament, but I shall take what the honorable and learned member has advanced into consideration, and let him know my decision later on.

DRILL INSTRUCTORS—NEW SOUTH WALES CAVALRY FORCES.

Mr. POYNTON asked the Minister for Defence, *upon notice*—

1. Was an examination held in April last for drill instructors to the cavalry forces of New South Wales?

2. How many were examined, and how many passed?

3. Why have not the results of the examination been made known?

4. Have any appointments as drill instructors been made since the above examination?

5. If so, were the appointees subjected to an examination; if not, why not, and what are their qualifications?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. Yes, on 20th April, 1901.

2. Six were examined; they all failed to pass.

3. They were all informed that they had not obtained the standard required for instructors.

4. Yes, one; squadron Sergeant-Major McConnel.

5. This appointment was direct from the Imperial service, in which he served 22 years in the Royal Horse Artillery. He was discharged as a sergeant, with excellent recommendations.

LAUNCESTON RIFLE RANGE.

Sir EDWARD BRADDON asked the Minister for Defence, *upon notice*—

Whether he will immediately make provision for the completion and equipment of the Launceston Rifle Range, so that it may be made practicable to hold the rifle meeting arranged to be held there this year?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In answer to the right honorable and learned member, Sir Edward Braddon, I would say that the plans and specifications for this work are being prepared, and every endeavour will be made to have the range ready for the rifle meeting in December. The fact that the range has lately been under water has prevented the work being proceeded with as soon as it otherwise would have been.

PROMOTION—DEFENCE FORCES.

Mr. CROUCH asked the Minister for Defence, *upon notice*—

1. Whether he has decided to adopt the policy of giving preference to men who have served in the ranks of the defence forces in future appointments to commissions?

2. Whether he will cause the regulations of the State Defence Forces to be amended so as to provide for this reform, pending the passing of the Commonwealth Defence Bill?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The following are the answers to the honorable member's questions:—

1. Preference will be given where other conditions are equal.

2. The existing regulations admit of this being done.

PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS BILL.

Debate resumed (from 5th November, *vide* page 6838) on motion by Mr. R. EDWARDS—

That the Bill be referred to a select committee.

Mr. R. EDWARDS (Oxley).—I desire to express my thanks to the Prime Minister for having consented last night to allow me to continue my remarks this afternoon. I have already explained to honorable members why I find it necessary to occupy so much time. I am sure that no one can accuse me of having trespassed upon the patience of the House at any great length, and it cannot be said that I have wasted time during the session. Some very long speeches and lengthy quotations were made in the debate on the motion of want of confidence, and I abstained from speaking on that motion, because I knew that I should have to ask the attention of honorable members for a considerable time when this Bill came again before the House. Some honorable gentlemen have objected to my bringing before the House the opinions of outsiders; but the quotations which I am making contain the views of men who have practical knowledge of the sugar industry and of the kanaka labour question as it affects Queensland. I have, however, gone over the material from which I am addressing the House, and have cut down considerably the quotations which I intended to make, so that, although I may occupy a considerable amount of time this afternoon, I shall not occupy so much as I originally intended to do, and I hope honorable members will bear with me, as the importance of the question is the excuse I offer for my action. Before going further, I should like to read some telegrams which were put into my hands a few minutes ago. The first comes from Brisbane, and is signed by Mr. Angus Gibson. It is as follows:—

If Mauger says, as reported in this morning's *Courier*, that I told him that I could grow cane without kanakas, he states what is not a fact. You have my authority to deny it. Further, he only spent two hours in Bundaberg plantations.

Another telegram from Brisbane reads as follows:—

Sample of methods inquiry by Victorians. Mauger arrived Cairns midday. Left next morning 10 o'clock. Two hours on plantation. Distinctly promised support Government. Inquiry before end of sitting. Legislative action. Can get ample proof of foregoing.

I have received the following telegram from Townsville:—

Have read report of your speech yesterday with much interest. Would suggest that you elaborately emphasize fact that vote of Northern Queensland carried Federation this State, and thus cemented Commonwealth, for New South Wales distinctly acknowledged would not join without Queensland. Absolutely cruel that Barton should now bite the hand that really fed him, for North Queensland will be the part this State most affected by the Kanaka Bill. Kindly post copy *Hanard* containing your complete speech.

Mr. BARTON.—I said a little while ago that libels were plentiful. The people of the North voted for federation in the hope that the kanaka traffic would, under just terms, be extinguished.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The people of Northern Queensland expected reasonable consideration at the hands of the Commonwealth Government, and that they would be treated with justice, and not with the injustice with which they are meeting at the present time. Another Townsville telegram says—

Understand over 30 associations Bamford's electorate have requested him move amendment Kanaka Bill, advocating extension of time, or appoint commission. Suggest you get him admit this in House.

I have shown this telegram to the honorable member for Herbert, and he is at liberty to acknowledge the truth of this statement or otherwise. Last evening, when the House adjourned, I was about to place before honorable members a report of a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at Bundaberg. I propose to read the resolutions passed at that meeting, and also the remarks made by the Hon. Angus Gibson in support of the resolutions. That honorable gentleman's name has been frequently referred to in this House, and I think it is only fitting that I should place before honorable members what he has to say on the subject. The following resolutions were carried:—

That the Honorable the Federal Premier be wired to that in the opinion of this chamber, the proposed Pacific Island Labourers' Bill will have a paralyzing effect on the sugar industry of this State, also upon commerce and trade generally.

This chamber would most respectfully suggest to your honorable House that the Bill be altered as under:—

(1) That recruiting be permitted till 31st December, 1907.

(2) That the kanakas in Queensland at no time exceed 10,000, and that they shall be solely employed for tropical agriculture and field labour only, under Queensland laws and regulations.

The reasons advanced by this chamber for the proposed suggestions are as follows:—

- (a) That owing to the large amount of capital involved in the industry this chamber is of opinion that if the proposed Bill is passed much of the capital invested would be absolutely lost, thereby causing irreparable ruin to many worthy colonists.
- (b) Ten thousand kanakas cannot possibly be a menace to Australia from a racial or moral point of view, as this chamber can safely assert that it is not aware of a single half-caste kanaka in this district.
- (c) That the kanaka is preferable to any other class of alien labour, and the money earned by him never leaves the Commonwealth.
- (d) That the kanaka does not come into competition with white labour, rather does he create work for white Australians.
- (e) That the immigration of kanakas has done very much to civilize and Christianize the South Sea Islanders.
- (f) This chamber is of opinion that during the crushing season it would be impossible to get sufficient white labour to do the work, and if it could be got, it is not fit labour for white men.
- (g) An additional 1,000 hands would be required in this district. To maintain that staff a floating reserve of at least 6,000 white men, as past experience has shown, must be available.

This chamber would also suggest to your honorable House that the rebate of excise on sugar grown exclusively by white labour, be 6s. per ton of 10 per cent. cane, as from the 1st day of January next, as if sugar can be produced by white labour every inducement should be given at the earliest possible date to those farmers or planters who would endeavour to grow cane exclusively on those terms, and would prove conclusively whether it could be so grown or not.

The Hon. Angus Gibson seconded the resolution, and said—

He had lost all hope of their having any power to influence the Federal Premier. He had given his Bill, and refused to alter it. He thought they should forward the motion to Messrs. Macdonald, Paterson and Edwards, in the House of Representatives, and to Messrs. Drake and Ferguson in the Senate. Dr. Maxwell had informed the Premier that the question was how were they going to get the necessary labour to carry on the industry. He had a return placed in his hands showing that on a plantation employing 220 white men, their experience had been that during the month of September 20 of those men had thrown up the work. They gave no reason for their action, no did they care what inconvenience resulted from it to the mill. That plantation also had 400 kanakas and 60 Indians, and supposing they were replaced by white men, their position would simply be this, that in the same ratio there would be eighty of the employes leaving in each month. This was only one case, but there were many other similar cases in the district. How, in the name of common sense, could the planters carry on under these circumstances.

Speaking as a planter, he did not think he would trouble himself about the conditions the Federal Parliament might impose if he could see his way to obtain the necessary amount of labour to carry on his work. In connexion with the ten men who had left in the first week of this month, there were no others available to take their place, and the plantation had been compelled to put on Hindoos. Inquiries had been made even in Brisbane to fill the vacancies, but without avail. Yet they would see through the press that there were thousands of men going about looking for work in face of these facts. Those were the troubles that beset the planters; it was not because of any love for him that they wished to see the kanaka continued, but because he was a safe commodity to handle in times of difficulty, while other men were not. And when they were asked to increase the number of white men from 220 to over 600, goodness only knows where they were to get them. Hence he thought the motion proposed was a very fair one, not only in the interests of the planters, but in the interests of the white workers and everybody else. In Brisbane during the last few days much sympathy had been given utterance to towards the planters, and the query put to him often had been:—"What are you going to do in the face of such drastic legislation?" and his reply had been:—"Whatever are you going to do?" He was very pleased at the sympathy tendered, but he had also assured such people that the planters ought to sympathize with them, for if it was found that north of Mackay they would not be able to grow cane—and half of the output of the State came from that area now—it would mean that three-quarters of a million less money would be placed in circulation as the result of such stoppage. He was very pleased to notice that the people of Toowoomba—whom, Mr. Barton said, had justified his action in abolishing the kanaka, by returning Mr. L. E. Groom to replace his deceased father—had at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce there passed a resolution setting forth that if Mr. Barton carried through his present proposal, it would mean a great disaster to the country.

Mr. BARTON.—Nearly all the resolutions against the Bill are from Chambers of Commerce and agricultural societies, whilst nearly all the resolutions in favour of the Bill are from public meetings.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The Hon. Angus Gibson continued his remarks as follows:—

They did not dream when voting for Mr. Groom that the Federal Parliament purposed inflicting such great injury as was foreshadowed in the proposals mentioned; that in 1902, next year, they would only be able to import three-fourths of the number of islanders who left the State this year, in 1903 only one-half, and at the end of March, 1904, none at all. Speaking for Bingera he found that at the expiration of their agreements most of the boys did not go home after the three years, but went about amongst the small farmers accepting engagements from them. Thus they would see that the small growers took up their boys, and the large growers would not now have the opportunity of indenting fresh supplies. He was pleased with

the suggestion in the motion regarding the excise, as he had held the idea for a long time that if it was possible to encourage the small grower to produce cane with white labour all that could be done ought to be done to bring that end about. While it was pleasing to know that consideration on this head to the extent of 4s. per ton had been decided upon, he held that 6s. should be offered forthwith in order to offer greater inducement to the small men. The most difficult time would be in the opening years under the new order, and they should give these men as much as they possibly could to start straight away, to demonstrate whether it was possible to grow cane exclusively by white labour. He had no doubt at all that many men in this district would take up the work and carry it out satisfactorily; yes, and make money out of it. He thought there was every possibility of both millers and growers in this district doing very well under the conditions proposed, that was, if the Federal Parliament gave them 6s. per ton, and if they were honest that suggestion ought to go alongside the five years they were asking for as the term to run before recruiting was interfered with. It would be a great advantage to have it proved whether the work could be done successfully by white labour, and he had no doubt the manufacturers would supplement the 6s. named, by 1s. or 2s. more to encourage the production of sugar by white labour only. No one would be better pleased than he if the point could be successfully established, for they would all greatly prefer to see in their midst a number of white men settled with their families, and enjoying the benefits of a prosperous industry. On the other hand they must not close their eyes to the fact that it was possible to legislate to prevent that. He could assure them that he would to-morrow accept the whole responsibility of getting rid of his kanakas if he could be shown where he could get reliable men to take their place. He was quite convinced that if white men would only do it, they could do it, and if they offered 6s. more per ton for cane it would be a great inducement, and would lead to the matter being given a very fair trial, and he hoped the Commonwealth Parliament would approve of the suggestion in the motion. He was sure that every planter in the district would be delighted to forward any such object as would enable them to grow cane with white labor, and it was evident the people were prepared to make a sacrifice to achieve this end. He noticed by that day's *Courier* that Mr. E. B. Forrest, on being interviewed, made a statement that he (Mr. Gibson) had said in Melbourne that if £3 protection were given the Queensland planters they would be able to grow cane with white labour. He had never made any such statement, but on the contrary when he was in Melbourne he had fought for £5, but he did not say they would then be able to get rid of the kanaka. As he had said before, white men could do the work all right if they would only take it up earnestly. (Mr. Fullerton.—In this district?) Anywhere; but he did not say they should do it, in fact he did not think they should be called upon to do it. But he had said in Melbourne, and still maintained, that white men could do any work if they were well paid. He hoped good would come of the motion, though he could not see any such promise at the present time.

Mr. R. Edwards.

In my desire to supply honorable members with all possible information on this subject I have gone to a good deal of trouble, and amongst other things which I wish to lay before the House is the report of an interview with a man who has been accustomed to work on sugar plantations. The article is headed "A Worker's Opinion—the Hardships of Cane-cutting," and reads as follows:—

All classes of society have raised their voices against expelling the kanaka from the sugar plantations of Queensland. The mill-owner and the small farmer are quite agreed on this point, and now we give the opinion of a working man who has worked in a mill, and tried his hand in the field at cutting cane—and gave it up in three days.

Mr. G. Harmsen was working in the Burnett district on a plantation near Bingera, the property of Mr. Gibson. He was working inside the mill in the sugar and boiling rooms. It is looked on as easy work, and the wages run from 15s. to 23s. a week, while men who have had good experience at it get up to 35s. in higher positions. Some of the men desirous of making more money, and willing to try if it were possible to do the field work, asked to be put on to cane-cutting. They were put on to this work, and promised 5s. 6d. a ton, which is, of course, considerably more than the kanaka gets. It would also be impossible for this rate to be regularly paid, as the farmer only gets 10s. or 11s. a ton for his cane, and it is obvious he cannot pay half that away for cutting alone. But this was looked on as a trial, an experiment, and Bingera plantation, being a big one, was willing to see if a very high rate of wage would make the men stick to it.

On the first day twelve men started. Harmsen cut two tons that day, while a kanaka next him cut four, the average amount. At the end of that day five men out of the twelve went to the manager and asked to be put back in the mill. They had had enough of cane-cutting. During the second day Harmsen cut one and a-half tons. Two more men gave up that day. The third day five men put in an appearance, and Harmsen cut one and a-quarter tons. It may be said that all through he cut rather more than the others. The third day finished off the remaining men, and they all went back to work in the mill again. The heat is described as simply unbearable. The cane rose above their heads, and there was no wind to temper the burning rays of the sun, which seemed to beat down with almost physical force on the men working. To add to this the ground swarmed with ants and insects of all descriptions. In spite of stockings and rags bound round the legs to protect them, these pests climbed up the men's legs and bit most unmercifully. What with scratches and bites the workers' legs were soon covered with sores and little boils. For three or four days afterwards most of them suffered from the effects of the sun, with headaches and sore backs. In the morning a damp mist would lie all over the ground, which shows the moist unpleasant atmosphere the men had to work in.

The work has no ill-effects at all on the kanaka. The kanakas go shouting and laughing to their work in the morning, and in the evening one can hear them singing in their huts, or they go to their church. The white men and the kanakas are on the best of terms, as any one may see who goes into the plantation store and hears them chaffing each other. Up in the sugar district the white man realizes that he cannot possibly do the work of the kanaka, and if it were not for the kanaka doing it he (the white man) would lose his billet. It is not implied, as was said at the anti-kanaka meeting the other night, that the white man must confess himself the inferior of the kanaka, because he cannot do the work of the kanaka. The white man cannot do the work of a horse, but he does not look on himself as that noble animal's inferior in consequence.

And that was the end of the experiment on the plantation in question with white men cutting cane. They were strong, healthy men, eager to do the work if possible, so as to earn higher wages; but it was a physical impossibility, and they gave it up because they feared serious consequences to their health if they persisted at it. It may be possible for a man who is accustomed to tropical heat to do some cane-cutting in the early morning and late afternoon; but these men are quite sure that no man could do it regularly. It would take about 40 white men to do the work of 25 kanakas at this rate. And the main point is the absolute reliability necessary in sugar work. At a certain time the gates of the millare shut, and all the cane must be in the yard by then. How could this be done with white labour—an uncertain supply and constant sickness? On this plantation 300 kanakas are employed during the season, and 150 white men. During the rest of the year no kanakas are employed, but a good many of the white hands are permanent. Mr. Harmsen states that all these 150 men are quite prepared to say they could not do a week's work at cane-cutting. Every plantation gives work to a number of white men, ploughing, clearing, burning, &c., but the kanaka is only used for the one purpose.

This is the experience of a man who is young and strong and willing to work at anything he can make the best wages at. It is his emphatic opinion that no white man can possibly do the work, and he for one, would sooner take 10s. a week as odd man on a farm than try to cut cane, even at 5s. 6d. a ton.

That was the experience of men who have a thorough knowledge of sugar growing. They were strong, healthy young men, who were tempted with others to try what could be done in the way of cutting cane. It was an experiment, but although they received nearly double the price which the planter has any need to pay for kanakas, the latter in this instance did about double the work performed by the white men, simply because they were acclimatised, and the heat, which was unbearable to the white men, did not trouble them in the least. I refrain from reading a very great deal of information which is at my disposal,

because I realize that honorable members are growing somewhat tired of this unpleasant subject. That fact is made manifest by the very few honorable members upon either side of the House who have spoken upon this question. Their silence is, I think, an evidence of their good sense, because there are not two honorable members in this Chamber who understand even a little about kanaka labour and the sugar industry generally. I have here a letter which is headed—"Another Plea for Time," and in this connexion I may add that my desire is to see a committee appointed to inquire into the conditions surrounding the employment of kanaka labour, and of tropical agriculture generally. The writer of this letter says—

Sir,—While there may be divided opinions upon the necessity for the employment of kanakas in tropical Queensland, if the coast lands in the north are to be profitably worked, there can be no doubt in the mind of any true Queenslander that one of our principal industries must not be assailed without mature deliberation and the fullest inquiry, though the attack upon it be made by united Australia. Justice is an older and more sacred heritage than the rule of the majority. If by our contract with our neighbours we have entitled them to a pound of flesh, at least we have the right to demand that it shall be cut by the surgeon's knife, and not by the guillotine, that ample time shall be given to insure us all the skill that knowledge and science can produce to prevent even the surgeon's knife draining the life-blood of the State. The haste with which the Kanaka Bill has been brought before the Commonwealth Parliament (nothing has been done in any way to deal with—let alone to deport—the hordes of Chinese and other aliens in the Commonwealth) can only be interpreted as an attack on Queensland, and unless time is given within which the fullest information can be obtained to justify such legislation, it is surely the duty of Queenslanders to use all constitutional means to oppose such an attack, and to demand justice for Queensland.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What does the honorable member suggest that another committee would do?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I do not suggest the appointment of a committee composed of honorable members of this House. I should oppose any such proposal. But during my election campaign I advocated the appointment of a Royal commission, consisting of independent men to inquire into the whole question of the sugar industry. I notice that Mr. Philp, the Premier of Queensland, has suggested that three Supreme Court Judges should be appointed. I have been thinking over that suggestion, and am of opinion that a

committee should be appointed consisting of two Supreme Court Judges, with one practical sugar planter to assist them in their investigations. From such a body, I think we should receive the best possible advice as to what course should be pursued in connexion with the employment of kanaka labour and of the sugar industry generally.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is that the honorable member's intention now?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Later on I shall move that the Bill be referred to a select committee, with a view to obtaining such complete information as will enable honorable members to legislate more intelligently upon this matter, and to prevent the destruction of this immense industry, which is second to no other industry within the Commonwealth. Possibly honorable members are familiar with the names of Young Brothers. I do not know the gentlemen save by repute. For a very long period they have resided near Bundaberg. They belong to a very fine class of men, and I should like, therefore, to place before honorable members a letter which was written by them to Mr. Philp, the present Premier of Queensland. It is as follows—

Bundaberg, 9th October.

Dear Mr Philp,—We have to-day been discussing your very able protest against the proposed legislation of Federal Government, and wired you thanking you for it. You have, we all felt, stated our case admirably. If the proposals now before Parliament are carried out, sugar-growing in Bundaberg will rapidly cease; next season we shall not have labour to get in our crops. We unanimously thought more time necessary, and suggested six years' unrestricted recruiting as at present, without any limit as to total number in State, and that after agreements expired in nine years from now no deportation should be insisted on, until at any rate all Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, &c., were also deported. The deportation of kanakas is a peculiarly cruel and inhuman proposal, as many islanders who have been here fifteen to twenty years would, if they returned, be slaughtered by their savage friends. The Lochiel, just arrived, has two instances in point. They went as returns, and found that their tribe had been all slain, and, knowing the same fate would await them, recruited again and returned by same vessel! We have two others on place, married, with four children, the wife New Ireland, husband Solomon. For fifteen years they have been unable to go back, as they are afraid of losing their lives, whichever island they return to. These are only instances, but they show the danger to "boys." Other aliens in returning to their countries run no such danger, as they are a civilized people. With regard to the rebate on excise for cane grown with white labour, surely this is unconstitutional. It is similar to

central mill case, which home authorities objected to. But if a rebate is legal, why do they not offer the full rebate of 6s. at once to all those who grow entirely without black labour, instead of 4s. now, and 6s. after five years? The heaviest cost is incurred now, for fresh buildings, &c. In any case, no planter would willingly forfeit his island labour for 4s. or 6s. a ton cane; but small farmers might try it for 6s. per ton cane. It is a misnomer to call it a rebate, as the farmer has not paid the excise; it is really a bonus on cane grown with white labour only.

Your presence in Melbourne will be of untold value to Queensland, if you can spare time.

Apologizing for inflicting such a long letter, and again thanking you for your action in favour of industry.—Yours very truly,

A. H. and E. YOUNG."

In Queensland, these people are well known to have taken a very great deal of interest in the welfare of the kanakas in every sense of the word. They are highly respected. The manufacturers' letter to Mr. Philp is as follows:—

Dear Sir,—We beg to confirm our telegrams, as per enclosed. The meeting of the Bundaberg sugar manufacturers was most enthusiastic about the vigorous manner in which you had protested against the unfair legislation foreshadowed by the Federal Parliament. The members are strongly desirous that you should, if possible, visit Melbourne, feeling assured that there is no one else in the whole Commonwealth who can put the case so forcibly for the sugar industry.

1st. On behalf of the welfare of the State as a whole.

2nd. On behalf of the sugar-growers and manufacturers.

3rd. On behalf of the Government, which has advanced so much money to encourage the industry.

We also desire to point out that it is desirable that the Federal Parliament be asked to give the sugar industry the unrestricted operation of the present Queensland Polynesian Act as at present in force until December, 1907, and that the Federal Bill re kanakas should not make any alteration in this Act until that date. We also urge that the deportation of the kanaka shall only take place simultaneously with that of the Hindoo, Javanese, Japanese, Chinese, and other Asiatic aliens.

Trusting that you will be able to help us as in the past.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN JOSEPH EASTICK.

I want to show the effect on business generally in Queensland of the proposal to abolish kanakas. The proposal affects all business, not only in the sugar districts, but in the extreme south of the State; and I have no doubt that in New South Wales and Victoria similar effects, if they have not been felt already, will be felt in the near future. This is the experience of a Brisbane merchant:—

While engaged discussing the Tariff question with a *Courier* representative yesterday, the head

of a large business firm in Brisbane said he was not by any means pleased with the new proposals, as he considered they were not to the advantage of Queensland in any way, but seemed to be framed mainly in the interests of certain industries in the south. Still, with all its defects the Tariff Bill was completely overshadowed as an instrument of destruction by the Kanaka Bill. His firm did a considerable business with the north of Queensland, but since the provisions of the Kanaka Bill had become known amongst the people in the northern sugar districts, his representatives had furnished him with information of an exceedingly doleful character. His travellers informed him it was absolutely useless for them to go out amongst the sugar-growers on the northern rivers, because the people there had buttoned up their pockets and declined to enter into transactions other than what were absolutely necessary to keep them going until such time as they knew for certain what was to be the fate of the kanaka. In view of the increasing volume of business his firm had been working up, he was on the eve of launching out into more extensive operations in the north; but as a consequence of the information he had received, he felt compelled to stay his hand. Mr. Barton's proposals on the kanaka question had suddenly brought the north up with a round turn, and already his business in Brisbane was beginning to feel the effect of the depression that had already set in amongst the people who formed the mainstay of Northern Queensland. He was satisfied from what he had heard from others that his firm was not singular in regard to its experience, but that most of the Brisbane houses were already affected by the rash proposals of the Federal Premier.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—In what business is that merchant?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The communication says simply that he is a merchant, and the honorable member knows that merchants carry on business in a variety of ways. Mackay is one of the leading sugar districts in Queensland, and the people there took action in reference to this question previous to the introduction of the Federal Tariff. I hold in my hand the following protest, made by the Mackay Chamber of Commerce, of 5th October:—

The President explained the object of the meeting, and the following resolutions were unanimously carried:—

"That this chamber, having had long and intimate acquaintance with the facts and circumstances appertaining to the employment of Polynesian labour in connexion with the Queensland sugar industry, hereby affirms—

- "(a) That the continued introduction of Polynesian labour into the State of Queensland, and the employment of the same in connexion with the sugar industry, subject to the restrictions contained in the existing Queensland laws and regulations relative thereto, do not involve any social, moral, or other danger to the said State, or to the Commonwealth of Australia.

"(b) That until a reliable substitute is available to perform the classes of work in connexion with the industry at present carried out by means of Polynesian labour, the withdrawal of such labour is calculated to ruin the industry and the many thousands of white citizens of the Commonwealth engaged upon it.

"(c) That the withdrawal of such labour from the tropical portions of Queensland cannot be successfully counteracted by the imposition of any reasonable protective duty, especially seeing that there can be no security that Parliament will not at any moment substitute lesser duties for those proposed or to be imposed.

"(d) That the proposed legislation inflicts immediate injury upon the industry by reason of its disturbance of the relations with financial institutions, and the fact that while next year it is expected that the sugar production will show a large increase, the labour supply will be considerably diminished.

"(e) That further, even assuming that a high protective duty would enable the employment of European labour, such labour is not available in Australia in sufficient quantity without depriving other industries of their employees, while the Immigration Act, as recently amended, will effectually prevent the sugar-growers importing European or any other labour under contract to take the place of the Polynesians.

"(f) That the abolition of the class of labour required for the sugar industry in the tropics, practically prohibits the development of any other tropical industries in the northern portion of the Commonwealth, thus destroying the agricultural resources of a very large proportion of the Commonwealth."

"That this chamber therefore vigorously protests against the passing of the Pacific Island Labourers Bill now before the Federal Parliament, and respectively submits that the said Bill if carried into law, will inflict a cruel and unjust blow on the industry and will result in immense and irreparable damage thereto. This chamber further contends, as a matter of simple justice, that the whole of the conditions of the industry should be inquired into by a Royal commission before any legislation is enacted restricting the employment of Polynesian labour in connexion therewith."

The following resolution, moved by Mr. Holyoake, and seconded by Mr. Marsh, was also carried unanimously—

"That the Mackay Chamber of Commerce heartily congratulates and thanks the Hon. Robert Philp for his able and emphatic indictment of Mr. Barton's drastic and destructive Kanaka Bill, and assures him of its unanimous sympathy and support."

That Chamber of Commerce met again after the Tariff was introduced into this

House, and passed the following resolutions :—

That this chamber, having carefully considered the Federal Tariff proposals as affecting the sugar industry, hereby places on record its conviction that, having regard to the terms of the Pacific Island Labour Bill now before the Federal Parliament, the said proposals cannot save the industry in Northern Queensland from great and irreparable damage, if not total extinction.

That this chamber urgently requests the Federal Parliament to postpone the passing of the Pacific Islanders Labour Bill for the term of five years at least, and that at the expiration of four years a Royal commission be held to ascertain to what extent, if any, the present Tariff proposals had resulted in the substitution of white labour for coloured in connexion with the industry.

That in the opinion of this chamber the effect of the proposed bonus to cane-growers employing only white labour will be to induce farmers in the north to emigrate to districts connected with the big centres of population by rail, and with a temperate climate, and thus diminish the settlement in the tropical districts, and entirely defeat the alleged object of the Tariff.

I notice that the municipal council of Mackay are taking action, and that only last Monday week, 28th October, they held a meeting, at which all members were present, and passed the following resolution :—

(1) That the municipal council of Mackay protests against the Kanaka Bill, because, if passed in its present form, the injury it must inflict upon the sugar industry, upon which the prosperity of this town depends, must cause such a depreciation in the value of all property within the municipality that the ratepayers will be absolutely unable to discharge their loan liabilities to the State.

(2) That a copy of the above be sent to the Hon. E. Barton and all members of the Senate and House of Representatives, accompanied by the following memorandum :—

In support of our contention that the Kanaka Bill, in its present form, will injure, if not destroy, the sugar industry in North Queensland, we, the members of the Mackay Municipal Council, beg to submit the following arguments to your fullest consideration :—

(a) That we, having a thorough personal knowledge of all aspects of the sugar industry in this State (which it is admitted that the majority of the Federal Parliament does not possess), maintain that the bonus proposed on white-grown sugars gives no such guarantee of proving successful in its avowed object as to justify the Federal Parliament in forcing its adoption upon tropical agriculturists until a fair test of its efficacy has been afforded.

(b) That we (and we are assured that the majority of tropical agriculturists agree with us) would hail with gratification the substitution of white for coloured labour throughout the Commonwealth as soon as it can be demonstrated that such a change can be

effected without injustice and injury to many thousands of our fellow colonists, and we therefore urge that the Bill be so modified as to permit of the Federal Government's experiment with the bonus system being practically tried for four or five years, without in the meantime any interference with the existing system of kanaka labour.

(c) We, as reasonable men, contend that if the Federal Parliament refuses to institute exhaustive inquiries into the sugar industry, by Royal commission or otherwise, prior to legislating for that industry, we have the right to expect that the Federal Parliament should adopt such a course as may enable it to point to the proved success of its proposed bonus system before it endeavours to force upon those engaged in tropical agriculture conditions which the experience of years leads us to fear will prove most injurious.

(d) We therefore urge that a fair trial be afforded to the bonus system, and that after that trial such legislation as may be thought desirable be undertaken, as that legislation could be based upon ascertained facts.

Very much has been said by a number of honorable members as to the moral aspect of the kanaka question—of the danger of contamination, and the great desire we have to preserve the purity of our race. Since the previous debate on this question, I have endeavoured to get as much information as possible with regard to the moral aspect of this question. I noticed that throughout that debate honorable members never seemed to think of any coloured men except the kanakas. Honorable members omitted to think, or at any rate, to speak of the Chinese, Japanese, Syrians, Hindoos, and men of several other nationalities who, I am very sorry to say, are numerous within the Commonwealth.

Mr. BAMFORD.—They are provided for already.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—But they are here in such numbers as to be a great danger so far as the working classes are concerned. It is those aliens who are competing with our working classes. I venture to say that no honorable member can honestly contend that kanakas have ever gone into business—have ever become storekeepers or tradesmen—whereas the men of the other nationalities I have mentioned, compete very successfully and keenly with the white workers.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—How many other aliens besides kanakas are engaged cutting cane?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—There are 2,000 or 3,000, I think. There are supposed to be 1,000 in the northern part of New South Wales, and, though I am not quite sure, I believe there are between 1,000 and 2,000 in Queensland. There are, however, very large numbers of aliens or coloured men throughout the Commonwealth, numbering no fewer, I believe, than 70,000. What has the Premier done with a view to deporting these latter aliens? Nothing whatever. If we get rid of the kanakas, their places will be taken by Japanese, Javanese, and other men of colour, who are more undesirable in every sense of the word than are the kanakas. I have here telegrams received from the Government medical officers in several places, the object being to ascertain whether there are really these piebald youngsters of which we have heard in the House. I never thought there was any truth in the statements made. I have been far north in Queensland and inland to some extent, and I never saw any children of the kind, though possibly I may not be clear-sighted enough to note the difference between a white and a piebald person. The medical officer at Townsville wired as follows:—

I know of no half-caste kanakas in this district.—E. HUMPHREY.

I think that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports said that Townsville was the first place where he ran across two or three piebald youngsters. This telegram comes from Mackay—

In past four years seen only one half-caste kanaka.—Arthur P. Henson, Government Medical Officer.

Some credit should be placed upon the word of men employed by the Government, because they have records at their disposal which private individuals have not.

Mr. FISHER.—Mr. Henson speaks only of those he has seen.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Yes; but the telegram implies that he has not known more. From Cairns comes this telegram—

No half-caste kanakas here, and have heard of none.—Wm. Cumming, Government Medical Officer.

Mr. WILKINSON.—They are all paid by Philp and Co.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think that that is a very ungenerous remark. Like the lawyer who has no case, honorable gentlemen abuse the other side. There is no justification for such a statement, and I

feel sure that it is not correct. Another telegram from Bowen says—

Only three half-caste kanakas in this district.—J. B. Brown, Health Officer.

I think that the gentlemen whose telegrams I have read are in a better position to speak on this subject than is the honorable member for Moreton. Personally, I am of opinion that there is no such thing as a piebald race in Queensland; but as I have not considered myself a sufficient authority, I have secured the evidence of gentlemen who are in a position to know. I wish to refer now to another phase of the subject, and it is not a very pleasant one. I shall quote a letter which is headed "Kanakas and other aliens compared"—

Sir,—One exasperating excuse given by Mr. Barton for his now famous Kanaka Bill was his desire to preserve the purity of the race. The following return, showing the number of half-castes in Queensland, not only completely upsets this, but at the same time goes a long way to prove that the white-skinned brother is by far the inferior animal in some respects. Just fancy, the dreaded kanaka, who has been living within our borders for the past thirty years, has left his stain upon the community to the extent of 181 half-castes, of which I would wager something the great bulk come of white fathers. But for the return:—Total half-castes in Queensland; kanaka, 181; Chinese, 726; aboriginals, 1,533; other aliens, 41. Here, then, we see that the white man has contributed no less than 1,533 half-castes to the State. The bulk of aboriginal half-castes are to be found round station centres, where the white population is made up wholly of the labour class, or else on pearling stations, where the same conditions hold.

That the kanaka is not a danger in the respect Mr. Barton declares is by this return alone amply proved; while it shows that the very men who clamour for a white Australia are bringing into the world hundreds of persons who are even more to be pitied than the full-blooded alien. The Chinese also, against whom Queensland has fought so hard, have left a lasting stain, and it must not be forgotten that Chinese women are practically unknown in Queensland; therefore, these 726 half-Chinese must be the offspring of Chinese fathers and white Australians, clearly pointing out the real danger of allowing the Chinese to flood our Northern Territory.

But when we come to the number of half-castes by white Australians and aboriginal women, the subject is indeed painful, as the whole burden of blame rests with the free and enlightened white man, who is so much superior to every one else that he clamours for the total exclusion of the "blasted nigger," and Mr. Barton says, "for the preservation of the race." But what of the Chinaman, the Hindoo, and others—aliens who are a very real danger to the race, and who, moreover, while competing successfully with the white Australian, and taking away from the country the fruits of their labour

to spend in their native homes, give no compensating labour for the white man to live on as does the kanaka?

It has been ably pointed out by you more than once how the kanaka makes work for thousands of whites, and then when he goes home he does not take a cent with him; all his earnings (and they are considerable) go to the storekeeper or shopman for goods to take home. Here, then, we see a limited number of kanakas kept well in hand making work for thousands, and going away at the end of their term as empty as they come, so far as money is concerned.

I should like to ask those who cry about the "danger to our women," &c., &c., if the annals of kanaka crime can show anything to equal the Gatton tragedy or the atrocities of the Kelly gang, or even the frequent cases that come before our courts, of fathers who are so inhuman as to violate their own children? There is abundant proof, then, that the morals of a "white Australia" can be little harmed from contact with the kanaka—rather the reverse, for the kanaka as a savage and as a civilized being do not compare favorably—the balance is mostly in favour of the savage.

But quite apart from the moral aspect comes the oft-repeated and not unproven statement that the white man cannot do the kanaka's work; and failing a proper enquiry, then let Mr. Barton have his way by all means. Let the kanaka go, ruin the northern trade, and all those—both capitalist and labourer—dependant thereon, and what shall we see? Desolation in some parts, and in others an heroic struggle to grow cane by white labour. In this struggle will come the day when the white man will own up to the fact that "It's too 'Australian' hot to do this 'Australian' work," and will want a rise—and when the owner has been thoroughly bled, and driven at last to the wall, and the inevitable "strike" comes on, the summer sky will glow with the burning cane field or the costly mill; for men who did not hesitate so to arbitrate with the pastoralist will not shrink from so treating the planter. Who then will be the great sufferer? Will it not be the unhappy wives and children of the very men who are now so blindly led by those who are possessed of sufficient knowledge to see the gate, but not sufficient to know how to open it, and they begin to destroy it to enable them to pass? No, sir! the best thing Queensland can do now is to let Mr. Barton make his own soup. He will live, I hope, to be heartily anxious for a change of diet, and then the old days will come again. Reason will reign, and labour may chalk up another failure alongside the Co-operative Community fad, or the new Australia bubble, and similar children of ignorance who have only turned on their blind and discontented parents. Above all we should not commit ourselves by asking for an extension of time—for then we must admit, when the time expires, that we were wrong—unless such extension of time be used to prove absolutely that our contention is wrong. The lesson will be a bitter one, and Mr. Barton will need no other memorial, as Australia's first Premier, than the memory of the labourers' great trial when the sugar industry was killed at their behest.

Mr. WILKINSON.—Who is the author of that?

Mr. R. Edwards.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The writer signs himself "Anglo-Saxon." The Rev. J. Thompson has been labouring amongst the kanakas in Queensland for the past fifteen years. I have never met him, though I heard of him the other day when I was in Adelaide, and I have heard of him in Victoria. The following is a report of a lecture which he delivered at Horsham, Victoria, which appeared in the *Age* :—

The Rev. J. Thompson, who conducts the Christian mission to the kanakas in the Isis district of North Queensland, in which State he has worked for the past fifteen years, lectured here last night. He expressed strong opposition to the Pacific Islanders Labour Bill, and said that it would simply mean the ruin of the sugar industry. The white man could not work in the fields, and the continuance of the coloured labour was an advantage from the working man's point of view. The Pacific labourers were well treated, and the mortality last year, amongst a population of 1,060 kanakas, was only fourteen. There was not one half-caste kanaka child in the district, nor had he seen one during his fifteen years' residence amongst them.

It was stated during the debate that the mortality amongst kanakas is something like 40 per 1,000.

Mr. McDONALD.—32 per 1,000.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Well, this gentleman says that, in the Isis district, of 1,060 kanakas only fourteen died. The opinions of several clergymen have been made use of during the debate, as being in favour of the exclusion of kanakas from Queensland; and I wish therefore to place before honorable members letters which have been written by clergymen on the other side. The Rev. Alexander Hutchison, who is President of the Queensland Methodist Conference, writing from Mosman, North Queensland, on 10th September—his letter appeared in the *Argus* of the 16th October, and was headed "Queenslanders and Kanakas"—says :—

It is to be feared that there are some politicians, even in the Federal Parliament, who are not desirous of learning the truth respecting kanaka labour. And upon these it is, no doubt, useless to bestow any labour with a view to their enlightenment. Yet, all the same, every open-minded Australian in our Commonwealth must deprecate the frantic efforts which some others are putting forth to bring about a cessation of kanaka labour, on the pretext, first, that they are in competition with the white man, and, secondly, that they are little better than slaves—and are badly treated at that. It has fallen to my lot to travel thousands of miles in this State on official duties, and many opportunities have presented themselves which enable me to write with accurate knowledge on this theme. At the present moment, I am in the Mosman district, which is

further removed from the busy centres of population than any other place where kanakas are employed. And I am bound to say that no man could look happier than do the "boys" who are living in this district. It may be as a fairy tale, or even as a "northern snake yarn" to many of your readers, when I say that for breakfast they have good curried meat, with boiled potatoes and bread (the same as we all eat), and tea. For dinner they have, alternately, fresh and salt meat, with vegetables, including peas and haricot beans, pumpkins, and, usually, pudding. For tea they have good stew and vegetables, whilst for afternoon lunch they have tea and cake at 4 o'clock. On Saturday last I attended the half-yearly pay of the "boys," which is conducted by the Government agent; and it was interesting to notice that about two-thirds of the money due was left in the hands of the agent for future use.

The Government agents look very carefully after the kanakas, and see that they are not abused, ill-treated, or badly fed. On pay-day a Government agent is always present to see that the kanakas get every penny that is due to them.

At the present moment there is some £3,000 in his hands, most of which will be drawn when the kanakas leave for their home, and will be spent in calico, print, and portmanteaux, whilst the balance will be kept to trade for some kind of firearm, which can only be purchased on the high seas, and from some Continental trader, as the Government will not allow any of our merchants here to sell them firearms. No legislation could be more careful than that in operation respecting coloured labour, and the kanakas are fully aware of what they are entitled to. Indeed, sometimes it happens that the boys get wrong impressions about some things, and act very promptly in their own defence. For instance, some time since one of the planters here was giving his boys some excellent spiced beef. This being a new thing in the north, the men would not eat it, and presently one of their number went in 10 miles to Port Douglas, with a sample of the offensive (?) food, for the inspection of the Government agent. "What you call this fellar?" "Well," said the agent "that very good meat—I wish I could have some for my own use." It was hard to convince the boy that good spiced beef was a fit article of food for men of colour, but they understand it better now. It was probably some of this kind of beef which was referred to the other day by one of our Federal legislators as "rotten beef."

As to the kanaka competing with the white man, let it rather be considered as to what the white man will do if this labour is abolished. I do not suppose that with £7,000,000 of money invested in the sugar industry, our planters are going to allow the Federal Premier to wipe out the whole business. Labour they must have, even if the low-class labour of Belgium, Italy, and other countries, is imported. But it is an ill-advised policy which proposes to prevent these coloured men from earning an honest living, and the substitution of European labour for this will be no gain to the working man, but rather the reverse. It might be well for our politicians to read Joseph Cook's lectures on labour and capital, and

especially those on co-operation, the hope of the working man. The employment of hundreds of kanakas in Queensland insures work for thousands of whites, and I am bound to say that, though I have lived in this State for nearly twelve years, I have never once seen any ill done to any coloured man. Again, let it be said that there is not an employer of kanakas who will not readily court the fullest inquiry under the most searching light, and from any and every point of view. The kanaka is essentially a class which does not fuse. This may be objectionable. But if there is anything at all in the catch-cry, "A White Australia," then the Indian, the Chinese, and the Japanese are all a much greater menace than any number of kanakas.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member take his seat? I have been very unwilling to call attention to the length of time occupied by the honorable member, as I recognise that he is expressing the views of what appears to be a minority, and I should be very sorry to limit the expression of the views of any minority. At the same time, I wish to direct the honorable member's attention to the fact that the question before the House is not whether or not the Bill should be passed into law, because its second reading has already been agreed to. The matter we are now considering is whether or not the Bill should be referred to a select committee instead of a committee of the whole House. I think, therefore, that the honorable member should confine himself to the point whether or not it is necessary to so refer the Bill, and if he can adduce any reasons to support his view he will be perfectly in order in doing so. I would direct the honorable member's attention to Standing Order 276, which under certain conditions enables the Speaker or the Chairman of Committees to call upon an honorable member to discontinue his speech if he considers that he is proceeding to an unwarrantable length. I would ask the honorable member not to compel me to take any action of that sort, but to confine his remarks to the necessity of referring the Bill to a select committee.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I have no desire to transgress the rules of the House; but, under the present circumstances, I think it would be very unfortunate if the House declined to hear any one of the representatives of Queensland. The Bill before us is one which interests Queensland more than any other State, and, if any honorable member were to be prevented from placing information before the House, I would almost say that it would be adding insult

to injury. I therefore most respectfully ask leave from the House to place before it the information which I have been at considerable trouble to collect, with the sole object of enlightening honorable members.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would point out to the honorable member that the second-reading debate afforded an opportunity to the honorable member to bring forward all the information which he desired to place before the House. The question now before us is whether or not the Bill should be referred to a select committee, and I would ask the honorable member—I will give him every latitude—to confine his remarks to reasons why the Bill should be so referred, and not deal with the broad question, whether or not the Bill should be passed. The honorable member will be able to discuss that point in committee, and on the third reading, as fully as he pleases; but on this occasion I hope he will confine his remarks to the question I have indicated.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I shall confine my remarks as much as I possibly can. I should like to refer to what the Attorney-General said when he was on a visit to Queensland some time ago, because the Queensland people maintain that faith has not been kept with that State by more than one of the Federal Ministers. I have here an article headed "The Interests at Stake," which reads as follows:—

The New Zealand Premier, when approached on the subject of federation, is said to have replied—"Do you think it is likely that we will go into federation when you don't know anything about us?"

Mr. Seddon was pretty wide awake, but Queensland unfortunately was not, and is sorry for it. The article continues—

For better or for worse Queensland has become a partner in the Commonwealth, and a sharer in its destinies, but there still appears to be good reason for the fear that southern ignorance of the problems of the tropical north has not been dissipated by the fraternal enthusiasm of federation, and may result in disaster to many of the most deserving pioneers, who have done battle with Nature under difficulties unknown to settlers in other parts of Australia. Many of the problems of Queensland are peculiar to the State, and when a newly-formed Federal Government threatens to interfere with the accepted policy of the State Government, which is directly responsible to the people, such interference can only be justified after fullest inquiry, and with the clearest knowledge of all the facts of the case. This sound principle was recognised by the Federal Attorney-General (Honorable A. Deakin), who, in an address to the people of Queensland, said—"We must

be one in knowledge—knowledge of each other. This trite remark impresses itself upon me particularly in regard to Queensland. Your vast territory, probably but imperfectly known to the bulk of your own people, possesses products and problems peculiar to itself, still less mastered by your southern neighbours. My ignorance is shared by many others. Our southern conditions, though doubtless in many respects novel to you, are more likely to be comprehended by you than your situation is to be grasped by us. One of the first tasks of the Commonwealth must be to make us better known to each other, and one of the many duties that still appeal to all true federalists will be to remove misunderstandings, overcome local prejudices, and listen to the views of those who geographically remote from us have separate interests and aims. We must listen to the men who are carrying on the work of settlement in the far north and the far west."

This is what the Attorney-General said, and it was this speech and others of a similar nature that induced Queensland to join the Federal Union. I maintain that faith has not been kept with Queensland, because it was promised that no industry would be interfered with until proper inquiries had been made. The article proceeds—

The population of Queensland is distributed over such a wide area that, even amongst those who are engaged in different pursuits in the Southern districts and in the interior, there is much ignorance respecting the conditions of the sugar industry, and its relative value as a factor in the prosperity of the State. It is only natural that this ignorance should prevail to a still greater degree amongst the people of the other States, who have still vague notions respecting the industry, gained probably from reminiscences of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and stories of American slavery rather than from the reading of plain statements of actual facts. To combat prejudice is a more difficult task than to dispel ignorance, but the endeavour must now be made to accomplish both results. It is alike in the interests of Queensland and of all Australia that the serious reflections thrown on those who are responsible for the present conditions of the sugar industry should be removed. Dealing first of all with the value of the industry, it was estimated by the Royal commission of 1889 that there were then 51,815 acres of land under sugar-cane. The capital then invested in the industry was about £5,000,000; machinery alone representing a value of £1,000,000. In the year 1900, the area under cultivation had increased to 110,657 acres, distributed over the large coastal districts represented by such towns as Childers, Bundaberg, Rockhampton, Bowen, Mackay, Cairns, and Port Douglas. Various estimates as to the amount of capital now invested in the industry have been given. The estimate of Mr. Barton is £6,000,000; others have given the amount as high as £9,000,000 or £10,000,000. Apart from private capital, the Queensland Government, under the Sugar Works Guarantee Act, have made advances to twelve sugar-mills to the amount of £497,245 3s. 5d., and the total indebtedness, including interest up to the end of 1900, amounted to £542,742 4s. 7d. A clearer

idea, however, is given both of the aggregate and relative importance of the industry by the annual amount of sugar produced, and its value. Taking in both cases the figures of the Registrar-General, it appears that the total output for 1898 was 163,734 tons, for 1899 123,289 tons, and for 1900 only 92,554 tons. The prolonged drought is mainly responsible for the decrease of the last two years. Taking, however, the whole three years, the average annual value of the crop is £1,328,449. As the population of Queensland is only about half-a-million, the average annual value of the sugar industry is £2 6s. per head.

I want to impress upon honorable members the importance of the sugar industry as compared with that of other industries. The writer proceeds—

The importance of these figures will best be understood by comparing the relative value of the sugar industry to Queensland with the relative value of other great industries to the States in which they are the most essential to the general prosperity. New South Wales is justly proud of her mining industries. Her coal-fields alone give her an immense advantage over the other States. Being in proximity to the sea they have given the greater facilities for the shipping trade, and have given an impetus to manufactures of all kinds. Prosperous towns have sprung up in the neighbourhood of the coal mines, and make other industries possible by the new wealth which has been created and distributed. One can imagine the fiery indignation aroused if it were proposed to make coal mining impossible, and to allow such a district as that of Newcastle to relapse into its primitive wilderness. The indignation would be intensified if it were further proposed to abandon every gold mine throughout the State, or to impose such restrictions as to render gold mining impossible. Yet the aggregate value of the whole of the coal industry of New South Wales is less than that of the sugar industry of Queensland. For the year 1899 it is estimated by *Coghlan* at £1,325,799, as against £1,328,449, the average aggregate value of the sugar produced in Queensland during each of the last three years, and about £3,000 more than the coal industry in New South Wales. But the population of New South Wales is nearly three times as great as that of Queensland, so that, taking again the exact figures as given by *Coghlan*, the average value per head of the coal industry to New South Wales is only £0-97, as compared with the average value of £2-6 per head, which represents the wealth of the sugar industry distributed in the same way amongst the population of Queensland. In other words, the value of the sugar industry to Queensland is nearly three times as great as the value of the coal industry to New South Wales. If to the coal industry of the latter State we add the gold mining, with its returns of £1,751,815 for the year 1899, the equivalent value is still far from being reached, and, roughly speaking, it may be said that to Queensland the value of the industry which is now threatened is as great as that of the total mining industry, with the exception of the silver mines in the far West, to New South Wales.

The same method of comparison brings out some interesting results in the case of the other States. During recent years nothing has done

more to enhance the agricultural prosperity of Victoria than the development of dairy farming, which has thus contributed very largely to the development of all other industries. It is in this way that primary production is more important to national progress than any manufacture which simply gives added value to a product which has been received from another country. For the year 1899 the total value of milk and its products, and of the return obtained from swine, together with the total value of dairy produce, in Victoria, is estimated by *Coghlan* at £2,491,000. On a population basis, this gives an average value of £2-14, which is considerably under the average value of sugar to the Queensland population. If again we take the total value of the Victorian wheat crop for the year 1899-1900, as given at £2,031,800, we are brought to the same result that the loss of wheat-growing would cost less to Victoria than the loss of the sugar industry would cost to Queensland. In the same way the comparison when applied to the case of South Australia shows that the equivalent loss of wheat-growing to that State is only about equal to what Queensland will suffer if the sugar industry of Queensland should be ruined by hasty legislation. Objection may of course be raised as to details in the application of such comparisons to respective States, but the general result will in no way be affected, even where further comparison would be still further advantageous to Queensland.

Can it for a moment be imagined that either Mr. Barton or the people of New South Wales would tolerate legislative interference with the whole mining industry of New South Wales, because a few thousand kanakas were employed to do a certain class of necessary work under Government regulations which made it impossible either that injury should be done to the kanakas, or that they should engage in any class of labour acceptable to a white man? It is necessary to drive the question home. Would New South Wales be content to lose all her mining industries, with the prospect of ruined towns and thousands of unemployed, merely to vindicate the principle that no black man of any race should be allowed to work under any conditions within the boundaries of the Commonwealth? Would Victorian statesmen who are now supporting Mr. Barton in making Queensland the vicarious sufferer in the endeavour to conciliate a small section of their Parliamentary supporters, be willing for the same purpose to make a similar sacrifice of the whole dairying or wheat-growing industry of Victoria?

It will, of course, be urged that Queensland is not asked to make any sacrifice; but on a matter of this kind the unanimous verdict of the sugar-growers themselves, and of the responsible State Government, is surely more valuable than that of outside politicians, who know nothing of the real condition of the industry. It is surely in itself an injustice that the sugar-growers should find that whereas their own State Government was practical and conciliatory, that of the Commonwealth has become academic and intolerant. Further endeavour will be made to put the case of Queensland in the clearest possible light.

Doubtless honorable members generally have received the same information bearing

upon this question as has been forwarded to me. But, inasmuch as the papers addressed to them have not been made use of, I am in duty bound to place the facts which they contain before the House. I should like honorable members to understand what this industry has done for Queensland. Many thriving towns have grown up in northern Queensland which owe their existence chiefly to the sugar industry. Such towns, for example, as Childers, Isis, Bundaberg, Mackay, Geraldton, and others owe their existence entirely to that industry. If the sugar industry were destroyed those towns would die, and, as a result, all the other industries which have been established in them would suffer to such an extent that they would inevitably succumb. The article continues—

Before dealing in detail with the question as to whether kanaka labour is or is not necessary for the carrying on of the sugar industry, it is important that we should have a clear conception of the value of that industry to Queensland and of all that makes for its stability. The Federal Premier has asserted that the employment of kanaka labour is in itself a wrong, and that in providing for its abolition he is only carrying out the declared policy of Queensland for the last twenty years. We shall fully discuss these and similar contentions in other articles; but even from Mr. Barton's own stand-point, it is easy to show that his present action has been hasty and inconsiderate, and in his determined energy to rectify what he assumes to be a wrong, he is likely to perpetrate another wrong of still greater proportions. To begin with, it is a self-evident fact that the Federal Government is acting without the slightest heed being given to the protests of the Government of Queensland or of the sugar-growers themselves, to whom, as Dr. Maxwell says, the questions debated in Parliament are questions of life and death. It is inopportune and impolitic—to make the appeal on the lowest grounds—that a serious blow should be struck at a great industry at the very time when Queensland is suffering from a series of reverses, which have retarded her progress and diminished her public revenue. The effects of the recent prolonged drought are still strongly felt in many districts. The Government railways have been running at a heavy loss. The flocks and herds of the West have been decimated, and in the course of one year there has been a loss of over 5,000,000 sheep and 1,000,000 cattle. In ten years the number of sheep in the State has been reduced from 20,289,633 to 10,339,185, and the number of cattle from 6,192,759 to 4,078,191. It is a dangerous policy at any time to tamper with the pioneering industries of a young country, and when one great industry is suffering from natural causes, disaster may be the result of hasty interference with the conditions which regulate the prosperity of other industries. It has already been shown that the relative value of the sugar industry to Queensland is three times as great as the value of the coal-mining

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industry to New South Wales. That, however, does not state the whole position. The whole industry is attended with conditions peculiar to itself. In the other States, and in Southern Queensland, where mixed farming is possible, the settler has means of recovery where there is a failure in one crop. He has numerous resources in the disposal of his wool, sheep, cattle, maize, wheat, fruit, or dairy produce. Cane-growing on the other hand, is almost the sole resource of 2,610 Queensland settlers, who have 110,637 acres under that crop. The area of the holdings, as well as climatic reasons, make it impossible that at a short notice these settlers should adapt themselves to new conditions or avail themselves of other pursuits. Their success or failure depends on the success or failure of the sugar industry itself. Mr. Barton has raised the old suggestion that the extension of smaller areas for sugarcane would lead to greater production, and assist in the eradication of black labour without destroying the industry. That is quite true, and the reduction of holdings, with a consequent diminution of black labour, are demonstrable facts. The other fact remains, however, that even now, when the area of holdings under the sugarcane crop has been reduced to an average of a little over 42 acres, the cane-growers insist that at present a minimum of kanaka labour is still indispensable for the trashing and cutting of the cane. As will be shown, this is not merely the opinion of those who are engaged in the industry on a large scale, but of the small settlers whose interest it is to dispense with all hired labour of whatever class. The special commissioner of the *Courier*, after a prolonged visit to the whole of the sugar districts of Queensland, gave it as an irrefutable conclusion that it was the almost unanimous opinion of sugar-growers, both in a large and small way, that to interfere precipitately with the present labour condition would mean the destruction of the sugar industry in this State. In no other industry in any part of Australia has the problem of closer settlement been so successfully solved, and solved under the most difficult conditions, as in the case of sugar-growing in Queensland. The men engaged in cane-growing are not the representatives of a few large companies gaining wealth from the soil to be expended elsewhere, but the sturdiest and most enterprising of small settlers, who have won success from the very teeth of difficulties which would have daunted less resolute men. In the case of the great majority of the 2,610 settlers engaged in cane-growing, it may be said that their very livelihood, apart from their future success, is involved in the stability of the sugar industry. How readily that stability may be shaken is shown by Dr. Maxwell in his explanation that sugar-growing is very different to growing potatoes or maize. In the latter case, if labour is short and the farmer cannot produce 2,000 bushels of maize, then he can grow 1,000 bushels and find a market for it. But sugar is a manufactured article, and must be made where the cane is grown. If the mill requires 30,000 tons of cane to make it possible to open up and pay running expenses, and only 5,000 tons of cane are grown, then the mill is stopped just as effectively as though not one stick of cane is grown. To say that £6,000,000 or £10,000,000 have been invested in the sugar

industry does not convey the full apprehension of would be involved in the ruin of that industry. There are now large and prosperous towns, scattered along the Queensland coast, whose very existence depends on the maintenance of the industry which has reclaimed some of the most fertile lands from the tropical wilderness, and made other industries possible. To give concrete examples. The town of Mackay may be regarded as the centre of the sugar industry, both by reason of its situation and relative importance. Within the municipality there is a population of 4,600 people, that of the district being about 13,200. Government buildings are represented by a post and telegraph office, court-house, Custom-house, two State schools, police barracks, and immigration barracks. There are in addition a railway and tramways. Four Australian banks have established important branches in the town, which has also numerous churches, and eighteen hotels. All this represents investment as a result of the belief in the stability of settlement in the district and the determination to make provision for future requirements, as well as for present needs. Consider, therefore, how the ruin of the sugar industry would affect Mackay. During the last ten years, the exports from the town amounted in value to the sum of £2,788,231. Of this amount sugar alone represented no less than £2,524,479, all the other exports put together only being of the value of £263,752, inclusive of £9,196 by products of sugar—molasses £56, and rum £9,140. Take the sugar industry away from Mackay, and not only will the money invested in cane-growing and sugar-mills be absolutely lost, but all the money invested in other industries, and spent in building the town, and providing for its future will be rendered as profitless as if thrown into the sea. There is good reason for the consternation created at Bundaberg by the Kanaka Bill. Here is the case of another important town which depends almost entirely on the sugar industry. The population of the town and district is about 17,000 whites, and 2,500 blacks. The Millaquin and Fairymead refineries have been built in the district at considerable expense. A steel bridge across to South Bundaberg was opened last year, and cost £75,000. The Harbour Board, in addition to past improvements, is now spending £100,000 in carrying out a scheme providing for a minimum depth of water in the river from the bar of 12 ft. at low tide, necessitating nearly four miles of training walls. The importance of the sugar industry to Bundaberg is illustrated by the fact that in 1898—which as will be seen from figures already given, was an exceptionally good year—the value of the product shipped from the port was no less than £402,394. In addition to this there was a large quantity of sugar sent away by rail. The only other exports for the same year were gold, valued at £28,563, and tallow, hides, and sheepskins, to the value of £4,349. It should hardly be necessary to repeat the comparison in the case of other towns, such as Childers, Maryborough, Ingham, Ayr, Geraldton, Cairns, and Port Douglas, all of which are mainly dependent upon the success of the sugar industry. Their aggregate population is 34,153, and in addition to them there are smaller centres which would be affected in the same way by

the loss of the staple trade in which the prosperity of every coastal town in Northern Queensland is involved. Every item of this kind must be taken into consideration when reckoning the cost of legislation which interferes with sugar-growing in Queensland. The Government have made advances of over £500,000 to twelve sugar-mills, but they have also expended many millions sterling in improving the various ports along the coast, dredging and deepening the harbors and rivers, constructing breakwaters and railways, building schools, post-offices, and all other public buildings, which were rendered necessary by the expansion which was chiefly due to the development of tropical agriculture. In speaking of the relative value of the sugar industry of Queensland, we must have regard not only to the facts just considered, but also to the loss of trade and the loss of profitable employment throughout the whole of the State as the result of the loss of the primary industry. It is estimated by Mr. Macnish, who speaks officially for the sugar-growers of the North, that the industry gives direct employment to 22,000 white men, of whom 13,500 are permanently employed, the additional 9,000 being employed during the crushing season. This, however, is far from being the only consideration. Take the case of the shipping trade. There is now a splendid steam-ship service along the coast, which makes possible not only the development of the sugar industry, but of the mining industry, and other industries both along the coast and in the interior, which is tapped at various ports. The A. U. S. N. Company, Howard Smith Company, the Adelaide Company, and the Collins line are all running steamers between Brisbane and Northern ports. It is safe to say, as Mr. John Arthur has said in his address to the Chamber of Commerce, that the very life-blood of the shipping trade of these companies with Northern Queensland is given by the sugar industry.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Do 9,000 kanakas accomplish that?

MR. R. EDWARDS.—I am not speaking of the kanakas. I am endeavouring to show honorable members the extent of the sugar industry. The kanakas help to provide the white people with employment. If all the kanakas were deported to-morrow, a great many white people would have to leave Queensland because they would be deprived of their means of employment. The article continues—

The communication thus insured gathers tributary streams from other sources, and in turn gives back what has been received. For example, what shipping trade would be possible from the mining industry alone of such a centre as Charters Towers? It is true that the miners need supplies, but the return trade could be put in a steam launch. What again would be the value of the pastoral industry alone to the shipping trade of Northern Queensland? A few trips each season would meet all requirements, and not even the addition of the meat trade would make a decent shipping trade profitable or possible. The establishment of large industrial

centres in the sugar districts has, however, created an important trade which both gives and receives to the advantage of the whole of Queensland. One firm of ironworkers at Maryborough, an establishment which now does work for every portion of the State, has during the last five years received work from the sugar industry to the value of £300,000. This foundry gives constant employment to between 600 and 700 men. The existence of the northern towns has also given markets for the products of Southern Queensland, and here again the shipping trade and the farming interests of the State have derived benefit. Mr. Reid (Messrs. Hutton and Co.) has made the statement that the trade in dairy produce alone with the north is worth £300,000 per annum. Sugar thus means to Queensland the prosperity of the shipping trade, markets for farmers, avenues of employment for workers of all kinds, and business of every description. It is not an accretion which may easily be removed, but an essential part of the commercial life of the State. Even if it be only assumed that the industry is in danger, its importance is such as to call for deliberation, and the most honest investigation, before legislation is passed which may cause ruin which can never be undone.

I have no doubt honorable members are familiar with the position of affairs in Queensland in 1890. It has been pointed out more than once that in 1885 Sir Samuel Griffith, who was then Premier, passed a Bill through the Queensland Parliament limiting the employment of kanaka labour to five years, and providing that none should be indentured after December, 1890. The condition of things in 1890 and in 1891 was very dreadful.

Mr. FISHER.—What was the cause of it?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—White men to the number of many thousands were thrown out of work.

Mr. FISHER.—Will the honorable member give the sugar industry statistics?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Many of the plantations, as is well known, were abandoned, although they were fitted with valuable machinery; and I have it on the best authority that a number of these plantations have not since been taken up. Once abandoned it is seldom plantations are resumed; at any rate, such has been the case in the neighbourhood of Maryborough. I intend to conclude my remarks by making brief reference to the change of policy introduced by Sir Samuel Griffith at the beginning of 1892. Honorable members from Queensland are familiar with the fact that Parliament was specially called at an early period of the year, to legislate with a view to relieving the sugar industry.

Mr. FISHER.—We are painfully familiar with the fact.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—As a rule, the Queensland Parliament meets in June or July, but in 1892 it met on the 29th March, and Sir Samuel Griffith then placed before the House his manifesto, which was a change from the policy he had introduced a few years before. Sir Samuel Griffith did that in consequence of the necessities of the sugar industry, which had, in fact, almost collapsed. He recognised that something must be done if the industry was to be saved to Queensland, and under the circumstances he subordinated his own opinion. I maintain that Sir Samuel Griffith has not changed his opinion, but that he is still strongly in favour of a white Australia. He found, however, that the time had not arrived when the kanakas could be done away with, and the result was that Parliament, without a division, or, at any rate, by a large majority, accepted the manifesto put before the country by the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. FISHER.—When?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—In March, 1892.

Mr. FISHER.—There was no election then.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—But Sir Samuel Griffith had published his manifesto proposing to re-introduce kanakas.

Mr. FISHER.—He was a "rat."

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I cannot accept that statement; Sir Samuel Griffith saw he had made a mistake, and was willing to rectify it. I know it went very much against him to go back on what he had already decided, and on what he still believed in; but such a step was necessary to save not only the sugar industry, but Queensland. Sir Samuel Griffith on that occasion said—

Parliament has been summoned so early because, as stated in the Governor's speech, it is thought desirable that we should deal at once with matters of urgent public importance. I intend to refer now especially to the question of the introduction of coloured labour, on which so much has been said of late. It is just six weeks ago, I think, since, with the consent of my colleagues, I addressed, through the press, a manifesto to the people of Queensland. I am glad to know it reached not only the people of all Australia, but also a great many people in Great Britain and in some continental countries. The matter has attracted, if I may say so, world-wide attention. The Government considered it to be a matter of most serious consequence, and of such importance that they were bound to

take Parliament into their confidence, and ask their opinion upon it, at the earliest possible moment. I shall ask honorable members to hear with me while I read what I said on that occasion through the press, and it will shorten the rest of what I have to say. I may confess also that I should like to see it embodied in the pages of *Hansard*. I know the course adopted was somewhat unusual. This is the manifesto I addressed to the people of Queensland, and all others who would read it.

I do not propose to read the manifesto, because I think honorable members are familiar with the contents of it to a considerable extent. As I said before, the object was to re-introduce kanaka labour, with the view of saving not only the sugar industry, but Queensland itself.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—Did Sir Samuel Griffith say that he had been mistaken in his previous attitude?

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—He said so.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I do not know that Sir Samuel Griffith used those words, but the fact of his consenting to re-introduce kanakas showed that he realized that a mistake had been made. Sir Samuel Griffith concluded as follows:—

I believe that the adoption of this course at the present time will tend to that end, and for the reasons I have given, I am satisfied that the social and political welfare of the people will not now be imperilled by it. I should add, that while my colleagues concur in the conclusion, I am alone responsible for the political retrospect, and for the arguments. I have read that manifesto, because it is upon that matter I have to speak. That manifesto, I believe, has produced already considerable effect. I believe it has given a tone of encouragement and hopefulness to the people in many parts of the colony, where before there was a feeling almost of despair. That is something to have done. On the other hand, as has been said by the honorable member for Maryborough, Mr. Annear, it has been met by the most extreme vilification. No attempt has been made to meet argument by argument; no attempt has been made to combat the arguments I have put forward; but they have been met by the wholesale vilification of those who do not consider themselves so wise that they cannot be taught. I do not think that sort of argument will have much effect, however. As has been pointed out by Mr. Howell, vilification is the special weapon of a particular class of people who have lately made a great noise—condemnation of all those who will not do what they are told by them. I am very sorry that a matter of such serious consequence should be so dealt with. I hope that during the debates that will take place on the subject during this session, it will be dealt with as a matter of serious importance to the welfare of the colony, and not by the vilification of one man or another. I certainly shall not be deterred by any amount of abuse from pressing forward anything that I consider to be for the benefit of the country, and

I do not think any useful purpose is to be served by adopting the arguments of abuse. Only to-day I received a resolution on this subject, which contained the most remarkable combination of abusive epithets which I have ever seen in any resolution respecting myself. But that sort of thing does not carry any weight. This is a matter that must be carefully considered and earnestly thought out. I ask honorable members to consider the present state of the country. There is no doubt the country is in a state of very serious depression. How is that depression to be remedied? I will put the arguments very briefly. How can you remedy the depression? To establish confidence is a good thing to begin with, but confidence alone will not produce bread and butter. Food must be got from somewhere. Where is the food to come from? The only possible way is to increase the producing powers of the earth. Let us begin with the case of the unemployed persons at present in Brisbane—the people who disgraced themselves to-day by insulting one of the noblest gentlemen who ever set foot in Australia. Take the case of those men. They want money to buy food. How are they to get it? By work, I suppose. I hope so, at least. That is the way they ought to get it. How are they to get work? Are they mechanics or general labourers? No one wants houses built in Brisbane just now. Very few people want repairs, and, therefore, that sort of work is not required. Why? Because the population of Brisbane have not so much to live upon themselves as to have any superfluity to expend for such purposes. But it is necessary that these people should find work. There must be some kind of employment found for them unless the population of the city is to decrease instead of increase. The proportion of the population of these cities who earn their living by direct production is a very small proportion of the population. The greater number really are distributing media. They receive goods from abroad; they distribute them to the people in the interior who produce, and in the same way they deal with goods for exportation. They are middlemen and media of transit. There is no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the people in the towns are to a great extent consumers, and the beneficial work they do is for the most part the work of middlemen; that is to say, they transmit productions from one part of the earth to another. But that work cannot be increased unless there is more work found for them by men who are actually engaged in raising produce. The pastoral industry finds employment for a great many people, and the mining industry keeps a great many in the city going, but beyond those what have we? The only thing we have to look to to raise the country out of its depression and to find employment for the people who are here, and for more people whom we hope to see here—because I suppose most of us desire to see the population vastly increase during the next few years—I say the only thing we have to look to is an increase in the agricultural production of the country. That is the only thing to which we can look for a permanent alleviation of the depression existing at the present time. There is nothing else. If honorable members do not believe it, let them controvert the argument. Will honorable members

hear that in mind, and also persons outside the House who denounce every proposition made by the Government, as if the Government were a set of malignant demons who go about seeking whom they may devour; as if the Government were not charged more especially than any one else with the duty of seeking the welfare of the country, and as if it were not a sufficiently difficult task for them to see how best they can do it. Can we not have credit for trying to do our best, and to reach to the root of things, and base our proposals upon the only sound foundation? It may be said, "Why not borrow more money?" That is the advice given by some persons, which, if followed, might produce a temporary and fictitious, but only apparent prosperity. That is to say, it would give higher wages for a time to a number of people. But that comes to an end, and then you have to pay the interest. The honorable gentleman says it is only lately we have found that out. Are there any of us who can afford to throw stones at one another? I certainly do not claim to have been wiser than my generation for the last twenty years. We are all of us to blame more or less, and I think it is our business at the present time not to engage in recrimination with one another, but to help one another, and to help the country as best we can out of its difficulties. I have pointed out the absolute necessity of looking to the increased productiveness of the land, and getting more people to settle upon it, as the only certain means we can look to for getting over the present depression. What agricultural industries have we in the colony at the present time? We have the growing of wheat and maize. Maize is certainly not a very profitable crop at present, I understand; but wheat is profitable everywhere, and no doubt the cultivation of it will be largely increased in the future. But there are large areas of rich agricultural land in the colony that are not fit for growing wheat, and are fit for growing sugar. We have had for some years a large sugar industry going on in the colony. At present it is certainly not increasing; indeed it is suffering under a very great depression—so great indeed that only three or four months ago it was the avowed intention of the owners of certain mills and land to withdraw from the industry—to save as much out of the wreck as they could, and then withdraw. It is of no use denying that. But if the sugar industry is doomed to disappear, what have we to take its place? Nothing. Some of us—I for one—have been struggling for years to induce white people to engage in that industry—taking the place of the kanakas whom they desired to displace. I have done my best, and what do we find? How many amongst the unemployed persons in the community who are clamouring to go upon the land have been found willing to go to work upon the cane-fields at reasonable wages? Not one of them. In one instance some men did go; they were said to have been sent by the unions. But there is very strong reason to believe that before these men went on to that plantation it was arranged that they should make the experiment a failure. That was the only experiment that was tried. It is a fact that those men who are clamouring for access to the land, and to keep out the kanaka, have absolutely refused to do his work.

Mr. R. Edwards.

I should like now to put before the House the views of the late Sir Thomas McIlwraith, whom I look upon as one of the ablest statesmen that Australia has ever seen, and who at this time was a member of the coalition Ministry of which Sir Samuel Griffith was the head.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member think that the speech he is about to read bears on the question of referring the Bill to a select committee?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think so; but I am quite willing to submit to your ruling, sir, and abstain from further quotation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must comply with the standing orders, and confine himself to the question before the Chair. If the quotation he is about to make bears upon the question of referring the Bill to a select committee, I shall be very pleased to hear the honorable member read it, but, if it does not, I cannot hear it.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I think it is closely related to my motion, and to read it will not occupy very long.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable member thinks that, he is entitled to proceed.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Sir Thomas McIlwraith said—

Mr. Speaker,—I think it is due to the honorable member who has just sat down to compliment him to this extent: that while he has been a member of this House, and representing a black labour constituency all the time he has been here, still he has got the debate out of the black labour rut into which it had fallen, and referred to other subjects which are equally as important as that which has been the subject of the debate up to the present time. Too much attention has been given to the black labour question. In fact, up to the time the honorable member for Mackay spoke, we heard very little more than that from any honorable member. But we must take a wider view of the subject to understand the remarks that have been made, especially those of the honorable member for Enoggera. I have risen principally on account of the remarks made by that honorable member. I want to direct attention to the wider view that I take of the subject. Early in the year it was apparent to the Ministry and to the whole colony that we were in a very miserable position. Business was bad; employment could not be got by men; the smaller financial institutions were shaky; and there was a want of confidence all round, not only of ourselves among ourselves, but of people at home whose opinions we are bound to value. The Government were not in a nice position, and I know that if we had simply studied our own comfort we should have been very glad to have been out of it. We were bound to recognise the position, and to face the causes of our condition with remedies, and that is what we have

attempted to do. We saw plainly that there was one very prominent point in which we had failed in past legislation, and that we had by our legislation hurt an industry that might have been prosperous now. That was the sugar industry in the north. We saw that plainly. It was plain to any man who went north. He had only to go to the towns to see the effect, not because there were starving blackfellows there, but because he would find starving white men in all the towns, although he would see evident vestiges of the towns having been much larger in past years. That can be seen from Brisbane right up to Cooktown. Then if he went into the interior a little, and visited the plantations, he would find that what were formerly the scenes of industry now show a decaying industry, and an industry that is bound to go unless some means are adopted to keep it in existence. We had to face that position, and we did face it, and we came to the conclusion that the first thing to be done, the best remedy at the present time, was under proper restrictions to give them black labour again. We also faced the question that is such a stumbling-block to the honorable member for Enoggera and other honorable members, of "What will the constituencies say?" It would have been an easy matter for a weak Ministry to say that they would throw the responsibility upon the constituencies by going to the country. But I ask honorable members to consider the state of affairs here for the last three months, and say whether we would not have put ourselves down as a lot of cowards if we had dissolved Parliament, and left the responsibility upon the country of finding a remedy for the wretchedness of the colony. We determined to face the position, and we are doing that now with the full responsibility that we are quite prepared to go to the country when we see a manifestation that the country desires it. We believe that the country is with us in the policy enunciated by the Chief Secretary. When the Chief Secretary boldly enunciated that policy, the country at once sprang to it. Every important centre in the colony rose and said that that was the proper policy to pursue. Take, for instance, the city of Brisbane. At the last general election, when I took up the position that in order to let political matters go on we must let the black labour question be dead for the time, there were three daily papers in Brisbane, all of them opposed to black labour, whilst a fourth paper, edited by the honorable member for Enoggera himself, was also dead against it. Now, if we take those four papers as exponents of public opinion in the South—and I think we may safely do that—everyone of them, and more particularly that formerly edited by the honorable gentleman, is now in favour of black labour. Is not that an indication of the change that has taken place in public opinion in the colony? What better indication could we have than that? I will take the honorable member to his own milk-and-water meetings. The honorable member has conscientiously attended to his duties to his constituency—because I will give the honorable member the credit of being one of the most conscientious members in the House, sparing no pains in attending to the wants of his constituency, and performing whatever they may legitimately call upon him to do—and they would be a very bad lot

to please if they quarrelled with him on account of his not working for their interests. That is why they actually stood him at his meetings at all. If he had been another member they would have quietly shunted him, and said, "We have had quite enough of you"; but they would not. They want a member like the honorable member, who will perform the duties of a member well and conscientiously, and work hard for them. At the same time they want a member to be of their opinion. They did not want to tell the honorable member so in plain words, but they did it in fact; and the honorable member knows as well as I do that he will have to change exactly as the *Boomerang*, the *Courier*, the *Observer*, and the *Telegraph* have changed before he has the slightest chance of getting back for Enoggera again. I have said that the position of a Minister at the present time is not a bed of roses. I admit that what we propose is against the opinion expressed at the last general election; but having come to the conclusion that public opinion had changed, and knowing that we ourselves had changed, the first thing to do was to let the country know what we proposed to do. The Chief Secretary did that as soon as arrangements could be made, and we then made arrangements for the meeting of Parliament. That was a much bolder course than drivelling on, getting deeper in debt till the month of June, and then coming helplessly forward and saying, "We did not get you into this fix. The only thing is to have a dissolution." We are prepared to fight it out, and do the best for the country, and that is the whole object of the policy indicated in the speech. The first thing we want to remedy is the depression in the sugar industry. I am not going into the kanaka question, but I will simply state as a fact that the introduction of kanaka labour, or the mere promise of it, will give a great impulse to the colony at the present time. If the honorable member for Enoggera studied public opinion he would see that the labouring classes, who are so much out of employment, are the men who have been converted. I admit that the labour leaders have not been converted. It will take a great deal to convert them, because they are not out of employment. If the honorable gentleman takes the most legitimate means to find out what the labouring people think on the question, he will come to the conclusion to which I have come—namely, that the more black men are employed on the sugar plantations the better it will be for all the industries in the towns, and in the country too. I speak for the towns from my own knowledge; and with regard to the country, I refer to the meetings held there. Look at Mr. Atkinson's speech at Gin Gin. He is one of the most sensible men I know, and his speech was most eloquent. He said to the farmers, "Look how well we lived while the sugar plantations were going on! They were good customers. And look what a lot of poverty-stricken devils we are now!" That was the gist of his sermon, and its truth is abundantly proved. If the honorable member will ascertain the opinions of such people, he will find a better indication of public opinion than he can get from the Barcoo election. Public opinion must not be gauged by the Barcoo election on a question of this sort; and if he thinks we were deceived by the Barcoo election he is quite wrong. I had openly expressed my opinion that the Barcoo

election would be lost, simply because the workers had complete control of the rolls. The policy they advocated was to insist on a continual rise in wages without the slightest consideration as to the ability of the employers to pay higher wages; and we can scarcely fancy any candidate opposed to that policy, so successful for the time, being returned at present. A remedy will come in time, however; and the remedy will come, not by employers bringing down wages, but by employes being glad to be employed at wages which the employer can afford to pay. Until then it is likely that the Barcoo will return members pledged entirely to the doctrines supported by Mr. Ryan, whom I am glad to welcome here to-night.

There is a good deal more here, but I will not trespass any further on the time of the House. I only wish honorable members had read all the papers which have come to them regularly from Queensland, and to which I am inclined to think, they have not given much attention. I regret that the Prime Minister is not present, as I had intended to make an appeal to him to reconsider the request for a committee to inquire into the kanaka question. I think the right honorable gentleman can afford to be generous.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—And just.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—And also to be just. I think that the present action of the Commonwealth Government is unjust, not only to the planters but to Queensland as a whole. I am not here to advocate the interests of any special class—not even of the planters or of the working man—but I am speaking in the interest of the community as a whole. I have had many friends among the working classes for many years, and there are none of whom I think more than some working men with whom I am even now on the most friendly terms. I would appeal to the labour members from Queensland and the other States to look with some consideration upon the sugar industry. They can afford to be generous. They are an influential party in this House, and they have it within their power to force the Government to do anything they like. I should like them to make use of that great power to influence the Prime Minister to postpone this Bill until next session. No harm could be done, but I believe it would be in the best interests of the Commonwealth.

Mr. FISHER.—It would be a cruel thing for the planter.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—It would not be a cruel thing for the planter. The Bill would be delayed for only a few months,

and no evil consequences need be feared. I have explained the position of the kanaka in Queensland, and have pointed out that there is no moral danger connected with him, but by delay for the purposes of inquiry we might be able to save the sugar industry, and allow it to continue and prosper as it has done in the past. I appeal to the labour members to be generous, and to make use of their great power, because I recognise that the Government are utterly unable to take any other course than that they now propose except with the consent of the labour party. Personally, I have nothing to say against that party, because during the time I have been in the House I have received the utmost courtesy, consideration and assistance from them. I now ask them to think seriously before they allow this Bill to pass in its present form. A committee of enquiry ought to be appointed, and if the Government have a good cause they have nothing to fear from delay. I strongly urge the House to consent to the appointment of a select committee. I move—

That the Pacific Island Labourers Bill be referred to a select committee.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—I think it is fitting that a Queensland representative should reply to the remarks made by the honorable member for Oxley. This question of the retention of kanakas on the Queensland plantations has killed many public men, and, from present appearances, I think it is likely to prove disastrous to many more. At the outset, I desire to say that I think it is due to the late Mr. W. H. Groom to characterize the statement that he, in his later years, was in favour of kanaka labour on the Queensland plantations, as an unmitigated falsehood.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—That has not been stated here.

Mr. FISHER.—It has been published by journals that consider themselves reputable, and statements of this kind which have been made by those who are leading the movement in favour of retaining the kanaka are dastardly and most detestable.

Sir MALCOLM MCEACHARN.—That statement has not been made in this House.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—It was contained in the petition that was presented to-day.

Mr. FISHER.—It is painful to observe the callous way in which some men make statements that are entirely false. A great deal

has been said about the history of the kanaka question in Queensland, and if it were not that the House is already wearied with statistics, I should be inclined to put in the whole of the figures showing the production of sugar in Queensland from the beginning right up to the present day. Perhaps, however, it would be unwise to do that. I shall take the liberty of replying to the remarks of the honorable member for Oxley with regard to those who violated the pledges they made to the people in 1888. Sir Samuel Griffith and Sir Thomas Mellwraith coalesced, and behind the backs of the people and without their authority, and against petitions and the resolutions of public meetings, demoralized the Queensland Parliament, and passed a law abolishing what had previously been done according to the express wishes of the electors. How did this coalition take place? Sir Thomas Mellwraith said, in the statement just now read, that he was never in favour of doing away with the kanakas, and he was too strong and bold a man to surrender his principles. In 1888, however, the year of the general election in Queensland, he found the position so strong against him, and the electors so determined that there should be no further recruiting of kanaka labour, that he was compelled to issue a manifesto in which he said that although he could not abandon his principles, he would promise that he would not countenance the introduction of any further kanaka labour. What happened? He returned to power under this sacred pledge; he quarrelled with his colleagues, and coalesced with Sir Samuel Griffith, who had also pledged himself to the electors to oppose the introduction of coloured labour. I had the pleasure of hearing Sir Samuel Griffith in 1888 deliver a speech to the electors of Queensland, and I well remember that, when speaking on the black labour question, he warned the electors of Queensland that the question was not settled. He stated that the matter was not at an end, notwithstanding that he was then in favour of putting it aside, and of not introducing any more kanaka labour. He knew what the position was, and he told the people so; but in later years, after again becoming Premier in coalition with Sir Thomas Mellwraith, through circumstances over which he hardly had control, he was almost compelled to repeal the Act he had passed in 1885.

What can be said of a Government that acted contrary to its pledges to the people, and reversed the distinct verdict of the electors? What would the people of Australia say if this Government did anything of the kind, and what would they be entitled to say of honorable members who took action that was capable of that construction? They would regard them with scorn. We labour members asked the Government of Queensland to conduct themselves as honorable men, and to go to the electors upon the question, but they did not do so. I would ask honorable members who have read the history of this movement, what were the causes of that great depression that has been so much spoken of? What were the causes of the small financial institutions being in trouble at that time? Many of the larger financial institutions were also in trouble, but the labour party could not be blamed for that. Is there an honorable member who would argue that, because the financial institutions were in difficulties—as they were throughout Australia, as in other parts of the world, we should submit to having undesirable labour thrust upon us in opposition to the verdict of the electors. That was the position when the coalition Government in 1892 reversed the policy of Queensland. It was during that session of that Parliament, which was the last to be elected for a term of five years, that the Queensland Government reversed everything that had been done, presumably from a democratic point of view. They passed an electoral law which destroyed a third of the workingmen's votes. At the general elections in 1893, the electors of Queensland returned fifteen brand-new labour members to the Queensland Parliament, although one-third of the workingmen's votes had been destroyed in order to secure the return of a Conservative majority. Speaking from memory, the votes that were cast for the labour party numbered 27,000, as against 29,000 cast for the whole of the Ministerialists. In spite of the fact that we as a party polled nearly as large a number of votes as all the Ministerialists put together, some people told us that the electors of Queensland had been converted; but the electors had never been converted into believing in black labour of any kind. Nor do a majority of the electors of Queensland believe in the employment of kanaka labour. Without dwelling too long upon

this point, I should like to say that if the agitation which has been raised against the proposals of the Commonwealth Government is a popular one, the electors have an easy way of showing it. But what is the use of a society with 100 sub-societies tacked on to it, and governed practically by it, drafting a code of resolutions and saying that they must all be passed uniformly? Does that declare the public opinion of a State? Yet that is what has been done in this case. How many public meetings have been held at which resolutions have been passed against the policy of the Barton Government? In the *Port Denison Times* is to be found an interesting report of a meeting which was held recently at Bowen. The mayor of that town called the meeting openly and read the telegram which he had received from the managers of the meeting which had previously been held in Brisbane. Strange to say, it was proposed that the identical resolution submitted in Brisbane should be submitted to the meeting in Bowen. The result would then be wired down as evidence of how uniformly the people were opposed to the policy of the Barton Government. Fortunately the mayor of Bowen was more open than were some others who had presided over similar gatherings. He told the people the authority upon which he had called the meeting, and read out the resolution which was to be submitted. The result was that an amendment was moved in favour of the policy of the Barton Government. This was carried by such an overwhelming majority that the original question was never put. At Gympie a public meeting was held at which a resolution in support of the policy of the Federal Government was unanimously carried. The same thing occurred at Maryborough. So far no meeting has been held at Bundaberg, which is the centre of the sugar industry, and a division of the Wide Bay electorate, which I represent. This is one of the towns which, it is urged, will be destroyed if kanaka labour be abolished. It is a very important town. I may here remind honorable members of the support which I received in Bundaberg when contesting the recent election against Mr. Annear, who was entirely in favour of the appointment of a Royal commission to inquire into this matter, for the purpose of delaying its settlement. The polling in this town resulted in Mr. Annear obtaining 387 votes, as against 768 which were

Mr. Fisher.

cast in my favour. Why has not a public meeting been held in Bundaberg if the policy of the present Government is calculated to ruin it? After Mr. Philp, the Premier of Queensland, had forwarded to the Prime Minister his remonstrating letter, which breathed out threats of a certain kind, and alleged that the electors of Queensland were up in arms against the Government proposals, the following challenge appeared in the *Brisbane Courier*. It is dated 21st October last—

Sir,—Will you kindly grant space in the columns of your journal for the insertion of the following:—In case there should be one person who would be likely to be influenced by the statements in your journal, “that the people of this State are entirely with the Premier in his able protests to Mr. Barton against the passage of the kanaka Bill,” and also to refute the statement that the people of Bundaberg are anxious that Dr. Maxwell should be sent to Melbourne at this juncture, we, the undersigned citizens of this important centre, strong in our faith that Bundaberg stands firmer than ever on the kanaka question, her people having already, on two separate occasions during the present year—namely, in March and July—given their emphatic and unmistakable verdict for a “White Australia,” and following the line of the leader of the Opposition—we hereby invite and challenge Mr. Philp, the *Courier*, and all or any of their champions, to come to Bundaberg, and at an advertised public meeting, called for the purpose, to carry resolutions that will revoke or affect the oft-given verdict of the people of Bundaberg. We are, sir, etc., Mat. Neill, O. W. Hayles, J.P.; John Guthrie; J. A. Sinclair, J.P.

Mr. PAGE.—Did they take up that challenge?

Mr. FISHER.—We have heard nothing of any meeting in Bundaberg; but I have received very respectful wires and resolutions from public bodies there in opposition to the Ministerial proposals. At the same time it will be a bad day for Queensland, and indeed for any State in the Commonwealth, when it is governed entirely by the resolutions which may be passed by pettifogging public bodies. That, however, is by-the-way. But, as against the resolutions which have been transmitted in opposition to the Bill under discussion, I have received numerous resolutions from other public bodies and associations, which are entirely in favour of the Government policy. I have already told honorable members that in 1893 a majority of the votes polled in Queensland were recorded in favour of the abolition of kanaka labour. The same thing occurred in 1896, although the election at that time was complicated with many issues, and for the first time in the

history of the world a Government issued a manifesto which was directed solely against the labour party. That party was attacked and denounced in strong terms. I think that the present President of the Legislative Council of Queensland, when he issued his manifesto, called upon every law-abiding citizen of that State to protect those rights which had been won by the blood of their forefathers.

Mr. PAGE.—And “down” to the labour party.

Mr. FISHER.—I am merely indicating what was the position at the time of which I speak. The vote given upon that occasion was one of which any party might reasonably be proud. Although great attempts have been made to show that the “constitutional” party—as some choose to call it—secured a majority of the votes cast, any fair analysis of the figures will show that the verdict registered upon that occasion, as at previous election, was against the employment of kanaka labour. A similar verdict was recorded at the election held in 1899, although that election was complicated with other issues. But our opponents ask “Why do you not get a majority of representatives returned to the State Parliament?” That is a very reasonable question. Our reply is that we have the worst and most iniquitous electoral laws prevailing throughout the Commonwealth.

Mr. PAGE.—One man may have 67 votes, and a special polling booth is opened for him so that he may record them.

Mr. FISHER.—He cannot very well have 67 votes, but he can have 61. I have in my hand a document relating to Queensland, called the “Preliminary Statement of Census for the year 1901.” This census was taken on March 31st last, and was laid before both Houses of the Queensland Parliament. In this document the Registrar-General of that State says:—

Table No. 6 shows the total population in each district in a condensed form, and also the coloured population, similarly divided into minors and adults of each sex. The number of adult males in Queensland, exclusive of those on board vessels, was 156,972, and the number stated by the principal electoral registrar to be on the electoral rolls of this State at the same date was 99,982, which would indicate that 56,990 adult males were not registered on the rolls as being entitled to vote. This number would be still further increased by deducting from the 99,982 the number of persons whose names appear on more than one electoral roll, but to what extent it would be thus affected

I am unable to learn. A large number of these adult males, being aliens or aborigines, would not be entitled to vote, except under a property qualification. Some of those included amongst the coloured population are on the roll, as Chinese, for instance, but the number is uncertain. As there are thus two factors of uncertain quantities, exact results are impossible; but it will be seen that the total number of adult males who are aliens, aborigines, lunatics, prisoners, &c., was 24,075, to which may be added about 1,000 for police magistrates, clerks of petty sessions, and members of the police force, or a total of 25,075, which would leave the number of other adult white males in this State not on the electoral rolls at approximately 32,000 persons.

If there are 99,982 names on the plural voting roll, it is absolutely certain that there are 32,000 male persons who cannot get their names upon the roll. How is it possible to ascertain the verdict of the people of Queensland under such circumstances? What sort of a Government is it which retains an electoral law of this character? Yet, when the representatives of Queensland come down here amongst people who enjoy a proper system of parliamentary representation, they are met with the statement that the Queensland Government is disappointed at the representation of that State. I am quite sure that when we came to Melbourne as labour members a very large number of the representatives of other States thought we were wild and incompetent, and totally unfit to be the representatives of the great State of Queensland.

Mr. EWING.—Did the honorable member not think that the Federal Parliament was worse than it is?

Mr. FISHER.—I did not, but when I entered the State Parliament in 1893 I found that it was a great deal worse than I had anticipated it would be. Generally speaking, I have found that all Parliaments are a little worse than they might be. But the question which we are now discussing is one of national importance, and it is of little moment in my opinion—although I come from the State of Queensland and love it quite as much as does any man—whether the non-settlement of this matter is injurious to the interests of that State or not, if it is injurious to the whole of Australia? For that reason it has a national aspect, and it is from that stand-point that I propose to deal with it. Why, I ask, is it that those who are so anxious that this labour shall be retained have not submitted some alternative scheme?

Why was it that when the federal elections were announced the Brisbane newspapers, which have been so highly spoken of, should have been so confident of success, in consequence of the result of the State elections, that they issued a challenge to the labour party, pointing out that the question before Queensland was, "Are we to have the coloured labour necessary to develop our northern land?" If there be any blame for this throwing down of the gauntlet to the labour party that blame must be attached to the *Brisbane Courier*. The challenge was not left a day unanswered. The immediate and everlasting reply of the labour party to questions of that kind has been, and, I hope, always will be, that so far as we are concerned we do not think kanakas are profitable in Queensland or necessary for any industry, and that, even if they were necessary, there are evils inseparable from their being recruited and their remaining in the country, which more than counter-balance any benefit gained from their presence. For that reason the labour party are entirely against the traffic; and we take up the position at our own risk. We are told that two-thirds of the electors are against us. If that be so, what a stupid lot of politicians we must have been when, seeking our own aggrandizement, as we have been told by the press, we asked the electors to give us power to exclude kanakas whenever we thought fit as members of the Federal Parliament. Not a labour candidate, either for the House of Representatives or for the Senate, asked for any terms at all. I always said that we were prepared to be generous and liberal, and we have been generous and liberal. Had we been revengeful or had we felt any feelings of resentment against those who fought us so hardly, we should have agreed to the proposal of the honorable member for Parramatta for the immediate abolition of the traffic; but we did not do so. We intimated that we did not wish to deal with this question in any other but a fair way. I will say for the Government that, taking this Bill in conjunction with their fiscal proposals, they have dealt with the question in a statesmanlike way. One of the points which was made during the elections by the distinguished and enlightened press we have heard so much about, was put forward in graphic language by a defeated candidate for the Senate, namely, the Hon. A. J.

Mr. Fisher.

Thynne, a very able man. That gentleman, after the labour candidates for the Senate had been announced, said that when he saw the character of the men who were being nominated to represent Queensland, he thought it his bounden duty to come forward and give the electors an opportunity of sending a fit man to the Federal Parliament. The defeat of that gentleman has not to me so much significance as his words. They are a proof of what I have seen indicated in Queensland for a long time. There is growing up in that State, as in every State and country where servile labour is employed, a feeling that the well-to-do and the professional people are a superior class removed from every-day workers who make a country worth living in. If that feeling continues to grow together with the interests which control kanaka or semi-civilized labour, sooner or later one part of this continent will be the scene of racial strife, which will be dangerous to the welfare of the Commonwealth. What happened when this great man, Mr. Thynne, made the announcement to which I have referred? According to the other side, men like Mr. Thynne were plunging in to save the reputation of the State; but Mr. Thynne was handsomely defeated. Is that not a warning that the hearts and minds of the people of Queensland are in the right direction? The report of no Royal commission can be equal to the verdict just recently given by the people, when there was simply the one question to be decided. The fiscal issue, in my opinion, did not turn twenty votes in Queensland. There was not one word of the fiscal issue, except, perhaps in the district represented by the honorable member for Capricornia, where they have no kanakas, and where the people are strongly free-trade.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—And where there is a strong labour party.

Mr. FISHER.—That is a district in which, I am sure, the honorable member would have found it difficult to succeed had he been in favour of kanaka labour. This is not a matter for amusement. If the electors, who know the condition of affairs, are dead against the traffic, surely that is a good reason for its abolition. There are times, I admit, when a whole electorate, or a whole State, may go mad on a particular question; but when we find that for twenty years the liberals and radicals of Queensland have been fighting with the one object of

ridding that State of coloured races, and especially with the object of stopping the traffic in kanakas, we must admit that it was not a spasmodic effort to be moral when they sent a number of representatives to this House and to the Senate, pledged against the further recruiting of kanaka labour. I have said that this kanaka question has ruined the reputations of many public men. Immediately a public man, however eminent, has felt himself compelled to interfere with this question, or to depart in any way from the straight path, he has lost his position, and all this was an indication of what was coming to pass. I care nothing for the past history of the traffic as a convincing factor in a debate like this. I should like here to quote from the Queensland *Hansard*, and in every instance, or nearly so, the quotation shall be from the speeches of my opponents. On 17th July, Mr. A. Gibson, speaking in the Legislative Council of Queensland, said—

On a former occasion in this Council I pointed out what I believed would be the advantages of federation, not only to this State, but to the whole of Australia. I do not know whether I have changed my mind much since I made those statements. I know that the sugar industry of Queensland commands a considerable amount of sympathy from people outside, as well as inside, Queensland. I know also that a good deal has been unnecessarily said concerning the position we occupy. I am also aware that the Prime Minister of the federated States of Australia made a very unfortunate statement when he declared that one of the planks of his policy would be the removal of the kanaka at a very early date. Whether he meant that or not I am sure I cannot say, but it is certain that he has taken some time to consider the determination that he expressed when making his first declaration. I have still a very strong opinion that both he and the House of Representatives, and the Senate, will make haste slowly in doing anything likely to injure such an important industry as the sugar industry is to Queensland and to Australia generally.

Here is an important remark—

But while we have reason to fear the result of federation in that direction, we also know that there was very grave danger in our own State prior to any federation of Australia.

Is that in accordance with the statements of those who urge us to leave this matter to the State Parliament?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Does Mr. Gibson say what the danger is from?

Mr. FISHER.—From our being dispossessed of the kanaka. He continues—

And I think we have ourselves very much to blame, possibly, that we occupy the position

we do occupy in the Federal Parliament. I think it is a fair question to ask ourselves whether we did our duty to our own State, when we allowed so many persons known to be diametrically opposed to one of the greatest industries in the State to get seats in that Parliament.

Further down he says, speaking of the battle for the retention of the kanaka—

For twenty years we have been fighting this battle and endeavouring to prove, in season and out of season, that the kanaka was doing no harm to anybody, but was indeed a great advantage to that particular industry.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. FISHER.—“To that particular industry.” The speech continues—

Some of our best men who have been in Parliament for years have been turned out of their seats because they stood up for the planter and the industry, and others have been left outside Parliament altogether, because they were standing in the best interests of the State in reference to that industry. And the time has very nearly arrived when it will be hardly worth while fighting under these conditions. But we feel that if the industry is to go it would be better that it should be strangled by united Australia, rather than by the particular State in which we carried out our operations. I was once sent to Melbourne to advocate such a duty as would justify planters in believing that it would be possible for them to carry on without so much alien labour. That is the position I took up, by instruction, on one occasion, and I have been blamed for it all the way through.

There is a great deal more I might read, but it would be unwise to make lengthy extracts.

Mr. EWING.—Is Mr. Gibson a Bundaberg man?

Mr. FISHER.—He is the principal sugar planter in the Bundaberg district.

Mr. McDONALD.—And it ought to be said that he is one of the best employers.

Mr. FISHER.—Mr. Gibson is one of the best employers. I should now like to make a short quotation from a speech made during the same session by the Hon. George Thorn, who is a native of Australia and an ex-Premier of Queensland. In the same number of *Hansard* as that from which I have already quoted, Mr. Thorn, who is a Government supporter, is reported to have said—

With regard to the black labour, I knew very well what the result would be, when it was decided to join in federation. I knew when one daily metropolitan paper raised a question, and made it a shibboleth, black labour would be wiped out in Queensland. The labour party knew what they were about, and knew that many others who were not supporters of their party would vote with them on this question.

Mr. BARTON.—To what newspaper is he referring?

Mr. FISHER.—To the *Brisbane Courier*. I prefer newspapers which are owned and controlled by people in the State, because then the proprietors are likely to know what they are talking about. It is all very fine for people who live elsewhere to declare that kanakas are good enough for Queensland. A great deal has been said against the climate of Queensland, but, in my opinion, over two-thirds of that State the climate is perfect, and, so far from working havoc upon the constitution of the population, I may mention that we are sending from Queensland athletes who can compete successfully with any in the world, and our students are taking the chief prizes at the Sydney University. Maryborough girls have three times won the Fairfax prize, and at the last examination two girls from that town came first and second in the competition for it, although they had to meet the scholars of New South Wales.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—When we spoke of the climate we spoke of places further north.

Mr. FISHER.—One of our athletes came from Rockhampton, and the climate of that town is said to be the worst in Queensland. I deplore nothing so much as the ignorance which prevails on this subject. It is to Queensland that the surplus population of the States will migrate in time to come. I know of families who have come from the north of Queensland to southern States, and who desire nothing so much as to get back again. Of course, people who have made their money easily in Queensland, like all those who belong to the wealthy classes, desire a society in which they can spend their idle time amidst the comforts and luxuries which can be obtained by the expenditure of money; but the climate of Queensland is excellent, and in no way injures the health of the white people living there. I do not say that in the coastal districts of the far north the climate is perfect.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—And what about the effects of the climate upon women living in the interior?

Mr. FISHER.—I am not going to accept statements of whose truth I have no evidence.

Mr. PAGE.—I know that my wife is anxious to get back to Queensland from Melbourne.

Mr. FISHER.—Mr. Thorn continues—

I noticed with amazement that in the district north of Mackay, the people returned an anti-black labour candidate, who beat an old resident like Mr. Brown. Cairns also returned an anti-black labour politician, although there is a good deal of coloured labour employed in that district. The industries there all depend very largely upon getting reliable labour—I do not say cheap labour—because I always look upon kanakas as not being cheap labour. I believe that a white man can do quite as much work in sugar growing as the kanaka. From Mackay southwards to Brisbane cane can be grown by white labour just as well as by kanaka or any other coloured labour. It is no worse for whites in the portion of the colony comprised in that area than it is in Brisbane. I got that from a sugar planter at Mackay, who informed me that he only employed white people, and that he made more money out of sugar growing than other people who employed kanakas. When an inhabitant of Mackay talks in that way, I think that it is time we gave the matter a little further consideration, and agreed with the Labour party on this question.

Mr. EWING.—What is Mr. Thorn's electorate?

Mr. FISHER.—Fassifern.

Mr. EWING.—Somewhere near Brisbane?

Mr. FISHER.—I was going to quote what the honorable member for Mackay said. Mr. Paget, who is down here on a special mission, has supplied us with a lot of tabulated information on this question, which I might also quote, but it is unnecessary. I think, however, that I may be permitted to make a quotation from a speech delivered by Dr. Taylor, a member of the Queensland Legislative Council. He said—

I firmly believe the Federal Parliament have made up their minds on that point, and, unfortunately, most of the representatives from Queensland are of the opinion that this class of labour must cease. And the most curious fact is, that at the very centre of this industry—the town of Bundaberg—the people are the most callous as to its abolition. A more shortsighted policy cannot possibly be imagined. If this industry is to be handed over to those people—and, unfortunately, I am afraid it will be so—then, I say, the sugar industry will be a thing of the past, and one of the greatest and most progressive industries will be ruined simply from sentiment, nonsense, and claptrap—nothing more or less. While all this is going on the colony is suffering, necessary works are not being carried out, money is not being circulated, and there are numbers of people going about our streets who can find nothing to do. Not a day passes—not even excepting Sundays—but somebody comes to my door to beg a ticket for a night's lodging. This state of affairs should not exist in a country like this—a country teeming with natural wealth and with its small population. Surely there must

be something radically wrong for that condition of affairs to exist. We know that in every community there will be individuals who are impoverished by their own acts, but that is not the case here. Those people say that they have been all over the country—to Maryborough, Bundaberg, and elsewhere—and they cannot get work; they are starving. They are sleeping out these cold nights, with very little to eat—a lamentable state of affairs which should be thoroughly inquired into. Instead of appointing Royal commissions to inquire into this, that, and the other thing, it is time we had a Royal commission to inquire into the causes which induce this condition of poverty.

It appears from that statement that, although Queensland has had all the assistance it could have from kanaka labour, and is being now governed and guided by a Ministry which denounces the Federal Prime Minister, men travel from Bundaberg, Maryborough, and other places to Brisbane looking for work. Surely if the policy of employing kanakas is a good one, this state of things would not exist? The facts are, however, that the men cannot get work because the kanakas are employed in their place. One of our greatest difficulties in dealing with this question is to deal with it in a rational way, because of the taunts and jeers we have to submit to. In Queensland the white man is never free from the taunt, "Why don't you compete with the kanaka? You say you don't believe in him." The whip of the Philp Ministry made a challenge to any white man to go to a Northern Queensland plantation and compete there with a kanaka picked out by the manager.

Mr. McDONALD.—But he would not put up the money when the time came.

Mr. FISHER.—That is so; though I am not concerned about it just now. I ask honorable members if the fact that a white person is physically incapable of greater effort than a coloured person is a proof of his inferiority. We have advanced a stage since it was believed that ability to club one's neighbour was a sign of superiority. Imagine the excruciating pain that a sensitive, delicate white man must feel when he is told that he is not to be compared with the kanaka. The challenge I speak of was delivered in a speech made on the 30th July, and appears on page 203 of the Queensland *Hansard* report. To show to what lengths people will go in denouncing those who take the side of the white labourer, I should like to make a short quotation from Mr. Hamilton's address—

The other day we saw in a southern newspaper—I think the *Herald*—a letter written by Major

Reay, in which he said he had been to the north, and was perfectly satisfied white men could do the work. Major Reay's experience was to go in the dead of winter for about an hour in a cane-field. But I recollect hearing something about Mr. Reay from a Melbourne man who was here the other day. This gentleman and some others sent a wire to Lord Kitchener to the following effect—"Our cup of joy is full, owing to the manner in which our colonists have distinguished themselves. If you will only put Reay where he will get shot, our cup will flow over."

That is the utterance of a distinguished gentleman, who received his information from a Melbourne man. Is there any honorable member in this House who believes that there is another man in Melbourne who would make any such statement? These are the kind of men we have to meet as opponents on this kanaka question; and is it to be supposed that they will scruple to tell little stories to their own advantage? These are not matters of ancient history, but they are the utterances of our opponents, who are in the Queensland Parliament.

Mr. ISAACS.—Who said that?

Mr. FISHER.—Mr. J. Hamilton, the Government "whip" in Queensland. We hear a great deal about the distressing character of the work that has to be performed in the cane-fields, and we are told that white men cannot do this or that, or the other kind of work. It has been long contended that white men cannot work in the cane-fields; but it is now being argued that white men cannot work in the mills. If the political pressure were not so great they would not be able to work at any occupation in any part of Queensland. Here is a rather lengthy question and answer, which will show that we are not safe against the introduction of coloured labour into the mills—

Mr. Givens (Cairns) asked the Secretary of Agriculture—

1. Is it true that at the present time a gang of coloured labourers is being employed in the Mulgrave Central Sugar Mills, tending the cane carrier?

2. Is not the employment of coloured labourers in Central Mills contrary to the spirit and intention of the Sugar Works Guarantee Acts?

3. Will he make representations to the directors of the Mulgrave Central Mill Company, to try and induce them to discontinue the employment of coloured labourers in their mills?

The Secretary for Agriculture, Hon. D. H. Dalrymple (Mackay), replied—

1. No; but a gang of Hindoos, presumably from New South Wales, is employed in delivering cane to the carrier. The secretary of the company wires that the mill started work this season with contract, white men at carrier at 3d. per ton of cane; that the contractor finding that

white labour was unobtainable, threw up his contract after nine days. The work was then carried on for a further period of nine days with Japanese and Hindoos, when a contract was arranged with Italians. This contract had to be cancelled after five days, as the Italians were unable to perform the work. The company then advertised in the Southern States for Europeans, and in the meantime are carrying on work with Hindoos. Although only 95 Europeans are required in the mill, the books show that during the past five weeks 194 Europeans have been employed. The rate of wages paid is 25s. per week, with board and lodgings.

2. I am advised by the Crown Solicitor, that the spirit and intention of the Act, as disclosed by its provisions, is simply one to give authority to the honorable the Treasurer, to advance money to owners of freehold in the State, for the establishment of sugar works, and to secure the repayment of such advances and interest thereon.

3. I have already recommended the directors of the Mulgrave Central Mill Company to employ white labour only in connexion with their mill, and so far as the Government are concerned, I am advised by the Crown Solicitor "that the Treasurer is only mortgagee, and until default is made in payment of instalments due, he cannot legally interfere with the directors in the management of the business, or the employment of coloured labour under any of the provisions of the Act referred to."

I cite this case to show how far it is possible to depart from the spirit and intention of Parliament. I was in the Queensland Parliament in 1893, when the Sugar Works Guarantee Bill was introduced. There was an ambiguous clause in that Bill, and as we had found from previous experience that we must use exact language in dealing with those who were desirous of employing coloured labour, we introduced an amendment to exclude all coloured people from the mills that were being erected with State money. We "stone-walled" all night, with the result that early on the morning of the following day Sir Thomas McIlwraith stated that whilst he was not prepared to make a special exception of mills erected with State money, he was entirely against the employment of coloured labour in these mills, and that if he found later on that coloured labour was employed in mills he would pass a measure dealing with the question and putting all mills on the same footing. No such measure has, however, been passed, and coloured labour is creeping into the mills. I have a communication from my electorate, stating that one mill is now using coloured labour, and that as a consequence other mills are being unfairly competed with. Surely this is a question that is worthy of being mentioned, although it is not one of the matters that the Federal Government

Mr. Fisher.

have touched. I entirely agree with the proposals of the Federal Government that the laws shall be administered by the States as far as possible. It is best for us to touch this question as lightly as we can—to say what shall be done, and allow the State authorities to carry out the law in the light of their own experience. They are mostly sympathetic with the planters, and will no doubt render them every possible help under the circumstances. We all of us desire to assist the planters, but we cannot depart from our principles. If we were to try and help everybody by giving up our principles, we should land ourselves in a state of chaos, and destroy all industry. The *kanaka* is not essential to the success of the sugar industry, and I contend that he should be displaced by white labour at the earliest possible moment. I take exception to the statement made by the Premier of Queensland regarding the position of the representatives of that State in this Parliament. We do not need that gentleman's help, and we know that we should not get his vote or any other vote that he could control. The labour members in this House were returned by very substantial majorities, and that fact in itself affords a sufficient answer to the statements made by the Premier of Queensland. Regarding my own position, which was challenged by the honorable and learned member for Brisbane, I should like to tell him that neither Brisbane nor Oxley is the most important electorate in Queensland, because I have a larger number of electors in my own district. The number of votes polled in the Wide Bay electorate will speak for themselves. The details were given by the returning officer in a statement published in the *Maryborough Chronicle* of 10th April. The number of votes polled were as follow:—At Bundaberg—Annear, 387; Fisher, 768. Burnett—Annear, 465; Fisher, 584. Burrum—Annear, 442; Fisher, 532. Gympie—Annear, 1,009; Fisher, 1,246. Maryborough—Mr. Annear's own district—Annear, 804; Fisher, 967. Musgrave—Annear, 370; Fisher, 282. Wide Bay—Annear, 390; Fisher, 460. In six of the seven electorates which comprise that federal division I had substantial majorities, and in one district only did my opponent secure a majority. Yet the honorable and learned member for Brisbane had the temerity to say that

I represented only the diggers. The election was a straight-out test, and at Maryborough, where Walker's foundry—a magnificent foundry, one of the best in Australia—was situated, I had a substantial majority. I also headed the poll at Bundaberg, at Gympie, and at Burrum. These figures are only an indication of what occurred in other districts, but in order to have the whole of the details placed on record, I shall give the figures, which showed how the votes recorded for labour candidates compared with those polled in favour of all other candidates. In Brisbane, the votes recorded for labour numbered 2,201; and those against labour, 4,003. In Capricornia, the labour votes numbered 3,523, against 3,650. In Herbert, the labour votes were 3,350, against 3,133. In Kennedy, the labour candidate polled 3,936 votes, against 2,325. In Maranoa, the labour votes numbered 2,926, against 2,609. I am quoting in each case the labour votes as against the votes recorded for all other candidates. I am putting matters in this way so that there can be no doubt as to the position of the labour candidates. In the Moreton district, 3,892 labour votes were polled, as against 2,682; in Oxley, 3,299 labour votes were polled, against 3,753; and in Wide Bay, 4,844 labour votes, against 3,955. These figures give a total labour vote of 27,971, as against 26,110 anti-labour votes. I have left Darling Downs out of consideration, because no labour candidate stood for that electorate. At the same time, we can claim that the late honoured representative of that electorate was against kanaka labour; and if we add the senatorial proportion of votes given to Senator Higgs in that district, it will be found that the labour candidates polled 31,215 votes, whilst anti-labour candidates polled 28,834; or a majority in favour of labour of 2,381. That was the majority against all the other candidates. But we also have here the honorable member for Capricornia, who is entirely in favour of the position which we take up. The return to this Parliament of such a large number of labour members from Queensland is a proof of the position which we hold in the esteem of the electors of that State. I come now to the larger question, with which I shall deal very briefly. As I have already pointed out, there is in Queensland a class of people which is in touch with a band of speculators resident outside of Australia.

For years past these people have been contending that the white race should not attempt to cultivate the soil of, or, indeed, to live in, a large part of Australia except as governors, and directors of semi-servile races. That aspect of the question has been forcibly put in London again and again. In Queensland the leading newspaper openly urges the same point. But whilst this journal is pleading for delay by advocating the appointment of a Royal commission to inquire into the sugar industry, it has maintained that it will never be possible for the white race to develop the tropical portion of Australia. When a newspaper of such standing adopts an attitude of that kind with the object of leading the average elector to suppose that it is opposed to the employment of kanaka labour, we should be treading on very dangerous ground if we listened to it. We are not afraid of the facts. At the same time, I fear the result of delay in the settlement of this question. The speculators of whom I have spoken are a sleepless body, who are gaining wealth by the employment of this class of labour. Many of them are living comfortably in other countries. I ventured the prediction a short time ago that if the industry and the interests involved were three times as large as they are, civil war would result. A prominent politician in the northern State, in reply, said—"If the interests were three times as large as they are, you would not be able to deal with the industry." Yet we are asked in circumstances of this sort to delay action. This question admits of no delay. It can be best dealt with now. We have told the world, by means of the Immigration Restriction Bill, that we do not desire the presence of coloured aliens here. I hope that we shall tell the world just as emphatically, by means of this Bill, not only that do we not need coloured labour to develop our States, but that we deem it inadvisable to have it in our midst. I desire that we shall be able to proclaim to the world that the whole of Australia, and not a part of it, has been reserved for the use of the white man. If the northern tropical lands are not developed so speedily by the white race as they would be by Asiatics—and I admit that they will not be—we shall at least have as a set-off against that disadvantage one race and one people who are equal in voting power, and who are ready and able in time of emergency

to defend our shores. I do not admire those advocates of coloured labour who urge that Australians are equal to any men in the world when they go forth to fight the battles of the Empire, but who, when they are sent to earn a pittance of 4s. or 5s. a day in Queensland, say that they are inferior. Every other page of the *Brisbane Courier* reports contains an insult to the white man. It is urged that he will work for two or three days and then get drunk; that he cannot be relied upon. In my early days it was said that the white man could not be relied upon because a gold-field might break out, and he would leave his employment to tempt fortune upon the diggings. The truth is that the white man can never be relied upon if he is to receive only poor habitation conditions and 25s. a week. How can we expect men to forsake all the attractions of a city life for a wage of 25s. a week?

Mr. McDONALD.—They were offered only 12s. 6d. a week in Bundaberg at one time.

Mr. FISHER.—This is an economic question which has to be faced. I am of opinion that the proposals of the Government will be better for the whole of the planters than if no proposals had been made at all. Is there an honorable member in this House who would give protection to the sugar industry if it had to be carried on by coloured labour? I do not believe that any Government would be strong enough to force a protective Tariff through Parliament, if the employment of kanakas in the sugar industry were to be continued. The policy of the Government is in the interests of the planters themselves. The other day sugar was £7 10s. a ton in London. Surely, if we are to go to the outside world for the cheapest labour, we cannot logically object to competing with every kind of labour. The taunt is sometimes used that so far it has not been proved that white labour can be successfully employed in the trashing of cane. My reply is that nearly 20 per cent. of the sugar growers grow their cane solely by white labour. The kanaka labourer, our opponents declare, can do more work in the cane-field than can the white man, and for less than half the wages. I have the greatest admiration for the man who will compete against the kanaka. At the earliest opportunity we should pass this measure into law, so that the white workers who are prepared to cultivate cane by means

of white labour will be entitled to the rebate provided in the fiscal proposals of the Government. If I am taking a wrong step upon this question, I am taking it cheerfully. I have received no indication from my constituency, which practically produces half the sugar of Queensland, that this measure is an unpopular one, or will be injurious to that particular district. I have in my mind quotations which would be a complete set-off to those submitted by the honorable member for Oxley, but I shall not detain the House at this juncture by using them. Immediately the Tariff proposals were submitted, Mr. Harrington, of Maryborough, an astute business man, stated that if they were carried every portion of the land in the Wide Bay district which is capable of growing cane should be put under cultivation immediately. Surely that will be a benefit to that district. I ask honorable members where we shall find an inferior class of labour upon inferior land? I have never read or heard of it. It is upon the best lands of Queensland that we find the kanaka, as it is on the best lands in other countries that we find servile labour. Such a class of labour cannot exist anywhere else. After the first fertility of the soil has departed, and the land has become impoverished, the white man has to go in and till it. Whether it be at Bundaberg, Mackay, Cairns, or further north, the same rule prevails. Only on the most fertile spots do we find the kanakas employed, and is it the aim of the Government that the best lands shall be utilized by inferior labour? I think that the action of the Government will be beneficial to Queensland. It will certainly be beneficial to Australia, and I am proud to have the honor of assisting in the passing of this measure. If the electors of Wide Bay think that I have made a mistake they will have an opportunity of saying so when the next election comes round. I am sure that if this Parliament discovers that an injustice has been done it will take steps to remedy it. I feel strongly that no interference on the part of Great Britain will be tolerated on this great question. I am ashamed of those in the State of Queensland who talk about appealing to the Colonial-office. If they are going to appeal to the Colonial-office to frustrate the wish of this Parliament I shall oppose them very strongly. If there is to be an attempt to work up an agitation to show that Australians are an inferior class of people, who are to be

governed and guided by Downing-street, the sooner they are told that they are on the wrong track the better. Australians will then take a course which will not be at all palatable either to Downing-street or to any other street. I would not tolerate for one moment the interference of British statesmen in a matter in regard to which we are sure of our facts.

Mr. BARTON.—I have not the slightest fear of any interference.

Mr. FISHER.—I have no fear either. I would not for one moment remain in a Parliament which tolerated any such interference. I would rather be hounded out of Parliament twenty times over. I shall always resist any encroachment upon the right of Australia to govern itself in its own way.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—As one coming from another State, I think I can approach this question in a dispassionate spirit—with a mind undisturbed by any of the details which very properly agitate the minds of the inhabitants of Queensland. Now it seems to me that the people who advocate the continuance of this traffic must be strangely oblivious of the teachings of history. Never yet has a servile race existed alongside a superior race without sooner or later resulting in the downfall of the civilization and institutions of that country. As a representative of a Western Australian constituency, it is right that I should give the reasons why I intend supporting this Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would remind the honorable member that the Bill is not before the House. The question is as to the appointment of a select committee.

Mr. MAHON.—I was about to refer to the motion submitted by the honorable member for Oxley. I do not consider that the demand for a Royal commission or for any further inquiry into this question to be a legitimate or an honest demand. This traffic has gone on for very many years, and so long as I have been in Australia I have heard it objected to. For over twenty years I have known of an agitation against the continuance of the importation of labourers from the Pacific Islands. In view of the fact that the Parliament of Queensland has legislated against the traffic, and at one time had actually resolved to stop it, and that the evils of this system have been generally recognised in the State in which the kanakas are employed, nothing is likely to be gained by delaying our decision on the

question. I have carefully read most of the literature on this subject, and I have not been able to ascertain that we are likely to ascertain any further facts by delay. Neither do I find that the advocates of Pacific Islands labour agree as to the remedy. I find that Mr. Philp, the Premier of Queensland, says one thing, and that the Chamber of Commerce of Mackay says another. Mr. Philp, in a letter to the Prime Minister, says—

The Government of Queensland are convinced, from their intimate knowledge of the whole circumstances and conditions of the industry, that, as stated in my telegram, a period of at least seven years of absolute non-interference with present conditions would be necessary to allow of such preparation as might avert disaster by giving a fair opportunity for progressive change with regard to the sources of labour supply.

The Mackay Chamber of Commerce, a body representing the planters of that important centre, do not ask for seven years, but absolutely insist that coloured labour is necessary, and that without such labour the industry will be destroyed. Here is what the Chamber of Commerce says—

That the continued introduction of Polynesian labour into the State of Queensland, and the employment of the same in connexion with the sugar industry, subject to the restrictions contained in the existing Queensland laws and regulations relative thereto, do not involve any social, moral, or other danger to the said State or to the Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. McDONALD.—There were only six members at that meeting.

Mr. MAHON.—I take it that what I have read is an assertion that this labour, not being dangerous to the moral condition of the Commonwealth, must be continued, and my view is borne out by the additional resolutions which this Chamber of Commerce adopted. I find also that the Premier of Queensland has taken up a most extraordinary position in regard to the action of the Commonwealth Parliament. Mr. Philp seems to lay down the principle that before any legislation is taken in hand by this Parliament the Government of Queensland should be consulted. I shall read the extract in which Mr. Philp asserts that principle. He says—

In a matter so vitally affecting the interests of this State, and regarding which the local legislation has been the result of long and careful consideration by a succession of Governments, it appears to me to be a most extraordinary course of procedure that the Government of the Commonwealth should introduce fresh legislation, superseding entirely all our Acts on the subject with

which it deals, without consulting this Government, or in any way recognising its right to have an opportunity of expressing itself on the nature of any proposals which the Federal Government might have it in contemplation to make. Apart from the consideration of the courtesy due in such case to the Government of a State, this Government claims, as a right, that, previous to any parliamentary action, it be consulted on any proposed innovation on its economic system, especially where, as in the present case, such innovation is directed specially against this State.

Now, I consider that the Tariff proposals of the Government are of a character that will affect Western Australia much more seriously than the legislation under discussion will affect the sugar industry of Queensland. But I would never dream of expecting this Parliament to consult the Government of Western Australia before undertaking such legislation. An argument of that kind is very ill-considered; and, coming from a gentleman of the standing of the Premier of Queensland, it shows that he must have a very weak case. But his weakness is further exemplified in the position he has taken up in regard to the representation of Queensland in this House. I was amazed when I read the telegraphic summary of his letter to the Prime Minister, and I took care to get the full text. I find that the Premier of Queensland contends that because some of the representatives of that State hold extreme views in regard to socializing the means of production, therefore their opinions in reference to coloured labour should not be received with any consideration in this House. That seems a most extraordinary contention, but, in order that I may not do the Premier of Queensland an injustice, I shall read his exact words. They are as follows :—

It will no doubt be urged, and has, indeed, already been urged, that the voice of Queensland has been heard in the matter in the election of her representatives in the Federal Parliament, the large majority of whom are pledged to the abolition of coloured labour, and perhaps this may have been regarded as rendering unnecessary any further expression of opinion from this State. In reply to this contention, I beg to observe that the gentlemen constituting the majority referred to, though legitimately elected, do not represent the various interests of their State.

But if the honorable members represent the majority of the people, that should be sufficient for all practical purposes.

Mr. McDONALD.—We do not represent the “boodle” crowd; that is it.

Mr. Mahon.

Mr. MAHON.—Mr Philp continues—

It must be perfectly well-known to the Federal Government that the success of most of these gentlemen at the late federal elections was the result of the solid vote of one particular class, whose attitude in regard to Pacific Island labour represents only one aspect of their opposition to present social conditions.

Here is a most extraordinary statement :—

If the Federal Government are prepared to accept these gentlemen as being from the fact of their election the exponents of public opinion in Queensland, they must also be prepared to regard it as the opinion of Queensland that capital should be abolished, and that the State should assume the entire property in, and control of, the means of production. It is much to be regretted that the various classes and interests of this State are, so far as numbers are concerned, so inadequately represented in the Commonwealth Parliament, but it will be still more lamentable if men to whom the prospect of the disorganization of an industry can hardly appear to be an unmixed evil, affording as it might do an opportunity of forwarding their own special economic views, should be regarded as representing the experience of the classes of citizens most entitled, from intimate practical knowledge, to be heard on all subjects relating to the maintenance and development of the industries of the State.

In other words, the Premier of Queensland wants this House to delay legislation, on the ground that the majority of the members representing that State hold extreme opinions in regard to subjects other than those on which they were returned to this Chamber. But every one of the honorable members for Queensland placed their views on this black-labour question before the electors, and told the people that they would do exactly what they are doing, if they were returned. I can see no force whatever in the contention that because these honorable members hold extreme views on some other points, this House should therefore disregard the opinions which they have expressed respecting this industry, and which the people of Queensland have indorsed. At any rate, it is sufficient for me that the people of Queensland have sent these gentlemen into this House prepared to abolish the system of kanaka labour, and I am content to accept the verdict of the people of that State, given in a legitimate way. If the Premier of Queensland thinks that the honorable members representing that State do not fully reflect public opinion there, why does he not do what is within his power, seeing that his Parliament is now in session, and take a referendum of the people on the question ?

Mr. FISHER.—The Opposition in Queensland have challenged the Government to go to the country.

Mr. MAHON.—Here is a simple and inexpensive way of ascertaining public opinion. Instead of demanding that legislation on this subject shall be delayed, the proper course would be to put the simple question to the people of Queensland—"Are you or are you not in favour of the continuance of Pacific Island labour?" As Mr. Philp has not done this; as, so far as I know, he does not propose to do it, I shall resist any attempt to delay the action of this Parliament. If the people of Australia have ever declared with complete unanimity for anything it has been for the extinction of this system of semi-slavery; and I, for one, am here to loyally carry out the mandate of the people on this question.

Mr. BAMFORD (Herbert).—I feel it incumbent upon me to make a reply to a telegram read by the honorable member for Oxley, in which I am challenged to say whether I have been asked by a number of associations in my district to move for an extension of time in regard to the abolition of kanaka labour, or for the appointment of a Royal commission. I admit that I have been asked by some 30 associations to take action of that kind, but those who made the request represent very few of my electors. Every one who has had experience of Chambers of Commerce, or of other organizations of that kind, knows how limited their influence is. They are not representative, the members paying a subscription and then being permitted to join, while a committee of perhaps half-a-dozen members is usually responsible for any recommendation that the body itself may make. Those who sent the request to me, opposed my election tooth and nail, and I was returned, not by their influence, but despite it. During my candidature I made no secret, on the hustings and elsewhere, of my intention to oppose to the best of my ability any motion for the appointment of a Royal commission, and it was a piece of temerity, to say the least of it, for these associations to ask me to politically stultify myself by acting in direct opposition to my pledges to my electors. Another matter of which I should like to speak is a statement which has been made by Mr. Cowley, an ex-Speaker of the Queensland Legislative Assembly. He represents the State electorate of Herbert, and he said, in the Assembly a short time

ago, that I had not a majority in any of the sugar-growing districts, and, therefore, did not represent the cane-growers. The facts, however, are these: The federal electorate of Herbert comprises seven State electorates—one of which is the State electorate of the same name—returning nine members to the State Assembly. Five of those electorates may be termed sugar-growing districts, and the returns show that I had an absolute majority in three of them, and a substantial majority in the other two. I commenced my electoral campaign on the 4th March, and as polling-day was on the 30th March, I had less than four weeks in which to travel over my large electorate. Consequently I could hold only three meetings in the Mackay district. In Mackay itself, I was beaten at the poll by a majority of twelve votes, whereas at a place outside Mackay, which my supporters told me was the stronghold of the black labour party, I obtained a majority. Possibly, if I had had time to go through the electorate, as I should have liked to do, I would have beaten my opponents still more badly. The honorable member for Oxley has read a number of telegrams and letters; and I have also a large pile of similar communications, of which I will read one or two, to show the tenor of the others. These are not fictitious telegrams, and they do not come from places like Billy-can Gully, Cow Flat, or Howling Dog; they are genuine telegrams from political organizations within my electorate. This telegram comes from Herberton—

Central Council, Woothakata Political and Labour Organization, send congratulations to Hon. E. Barton, Federal Premier, on prompt and reasonable terms of Pacific Island Labourers' Bill, and trust the Bill will speedily find a place in the statutes of the Commonwealth.

Another telegram comes from Coolgana—

Members of Coolgana Workers' Political Organization are thankful for your own and labour party's support of Kanaka Bill, trusting that with your influence it shall become law.

Then from Mackay—the place where it has been made to appear there is a great outcry against the Bill—comes this telegram—

Mackay constituents cordially indorse Prime Minister's action regarding kanaka legislation.

Another telegram comes from Coen—

Resolution unanimously passed, meeting workers' association, upholding Federal Premier's action re Kanaka Bill.

I have other telegrams here to the same effect, but I shall not weary the House

by reading them. They distinctly disprove the allegation of the honorable member for Oxley, that the opinions held in Queensland in regard to the kanaka traffic are all of the same character. I say that they are not. The majority of those whom I represent are people who will be directly affected by the proposed legislation. The telegrams come, not from associations comprising two men and a boy, but from large organizations of workers representing the people who, it is said, will be prejudicially affected if the Bill passes. A number of local authorities have also sent messages, but they were not empowered to do so by those whom they represent, and had the people been consulted, the messages would not have been sent. At Townsville, indeed, a large public meeting was called, at which the Municipal Council was censured for the action they had taken in sending a message. During the election I was opposed by two Ministers of the Crown, the Premier of Queensland, the representatives of Townsville, and the State representative of Herbert; but notwithstanding all the influence—political, commercial, and financial, which was brought to bear against me, the people in that part of Queensland were so impressed with the necessity of doing away with coloured labour at the earliest opportunity, that they sent me here to do what I could to bring about its abolition. I am sure that the defeat of the motion is a foregone conclusion, and therefore it would be a waste of time to discuss it longer.

Mr. A. PATERSON (Capricornia).—I have listened with prolonged and breathless astonishment to the arguments of the honorable member for Oxley. I do not think they have any reference to the Bill. The title of the Bill is "An Act to Provide for the Prohibition of the Introduction of Labourers from the Pacific Islands and for other Purposes," and I do not think that the member for Oxley gave any reason why it should not be passed. All his arguments, if they were arguments, were in support of the retention of the kanaka for the benefit of the sugar planter. But what has the nation to do with the sugar planter more than with any other section of the community? The objection to the kanaka is on account of his colour. Australia has pronounced with clarion voice that colour shall not be introduced into our race, and I do not see how we can oppose that pronouncement. Even if the Bill were

referred to a Select Committee or to a Royal commission, that difficulty could not be got over, and the mass of evidence presented by the honorable member for Oxley could not be exceeded by the work of a body of that kind, even if it sat for six months. I feel certain that upon the evidence submitted we cannot do otherwise than insist upon the prohibition of the kanaka. I have every sympathy with the sugar-planter, because he has invested a great deal of money in his industry, though the amount has been very much exaggerated. For the past 20 years he has dined each day with the sword of this threatened legislation suspended over his head by a hair, and he is now finding his position uncomfortable, because it looks as though the sword will cut the hair, and he will be extinguished. But we have to consider the interests, not of the few but of the people at large. I do not think that it is necessary for us to prove that sugar-cane growing could be carried on without kanakas. I take the position of the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, who said that even if the sugar industry had to be sacrificed, it would be better to lose it in order to insure the purity of the race. There has been a great deal of talk about public opinion in Queensland, but I assure honorable members that Queensland is almost unanimous upon this point. She has returned seven out of her nine representatives in this assembly pledged to the abolition of the kanaka traffic. The desire to exclude coloured aliens generally was due to the fear that their introduction would have the effect of lowering wages, but in reference to kanakas the feeling is different, and the motives are thoroughly unselfish. We desire to see the kanaka excluded, not because we think he will compete with the white man, but because we desire to secure the purity of the race for ourselves and our children. We have three reports before us from Dr. Maxwell, who is an expert in this business, and I will read briefly what he says about the cane-growers—

It is found that most of the large sugar-growing estates, which were originally in the hands of large planters, have been cut up into farms, and rented or sold to numerous cane-growers. Particularly in the case of the areas that are furnishing cane for the Government Central Mills, the growing is done by farmers, who have taken up and own or occupy those lands. These facts place before us a situation that is almost unique

and peculiar to Queensland. In other cane sugar-growing countries the estates are in the hands of extensive owners or controlled by large corporations, which state carries with it the consequence that a minimum number of white men are located on the land. In this colony the ownership or occupancy embraces a vast number of strong, responsible, and progressive white men, who are planted over all the sugar-growing areas. These men furnish the material which puts the mills into operation, and, as the mills depend wholly upon the field, it appears that the future of the sugar industry of the colony is very much in the hands of those numerous and small cane-growers.

The principle of small ownership and occupancy is right and sound, and leading, as it does, to the dividing of the matters at stake amongst a maximum number of responsible men, it furnishes a broad and safe basis for the industry, and promotes development along lines that are agreeable and of value to the State.

This statement occurs in a report furnished by Dr. Maxwell to the Queensland Government on the 13th January, 1900. Dr. Maxwell gives some very good advice in connexion with sugar-growing and the manufacture of sugar. As to the cultivation of the sugar cane, he says that the solution of the difficulty lies in deep ploughing, and more of it, in manuring and in irrigation. At the only sugar plantation in my electorate I made an arrangement with the manager to try bone-dust as a manure, and in order to show my sincerity, I gave him the bone-dust at something less than cost price. This manure was tried with very extraordinary results, which showed that with the same amount of labour, a larger amount of sugar could be produced than under ordinary circumstances, and no doubt if irrigation were added to the judicious use of manures, permanent and certain success would be assured even in the worst seasons. Dr. Maxwell says—

The further equipments of the mills generally are such as to allow of moderately good work being done. The engine power of the mills is unusually ample and good. Some of the newer central mills are in a very good state of equipment. The more recent introductions into modern sugarhouses, however—such as superheating and the latest mode of crystallization in movement—were not seen in the mills in Queensland. Superheating is at once strongly advised by us, and especially because of what is believed will be its particular value in handling highly diluted or gummed juices.

Then he closes his report by saying—

More urgent than all alterations along mechanical lines is the introduction into the central and some other mills of a more thoroughly trained and scientific system of management. The men in charge have executive ability, and they appear able to get relatively good results from the

labour they command; but they require training and aid in those specific parts of manufacture which demand a thorough knowledge of the chemistry of sugar juices, and of the nature of the agents which aid in clarification.

These statements are taken from the first report of Dr. Maxwell furnished to the Government of Queensland in 1900. Now I shall refer to Dr. Maxwell's report of this year to the Prime Minister of the Federal Government. In the letter which was sent from the Prime Minister to Dr. Maxwell on, the 24th May of this year, it was stated—

Mr. Barton will be glad, with regard to the statistical information asked for, if returns can be so divided as to show the difference in the three separate sugar districts of Queensland mentioned in your report; and also whether your information enables you to afford similar details with regard to New South Wales.

I have looked carefully through this report, and I do not find any reply upon this most important point. We have separate returns for each district with regard to the mean temperatures, separate returns as to wages of the white labourers and of the mill hands, and as to the cost of the islanders, and we also have one return as to the acreage of cane. There is not, however, any return furnished as to the acreage of cane or the yield of sugar in the different districts, so that it is very difficult to arrive at a proper estimate of what would be abandoned if it became necessary to give up any part of the sugar-growing industry. In the *Herald* report, however, there is a short paragraph that may give us some explanation. It relates to the number of kanakas working in the northern and southern plantations. At page 44 of the report, I find it stated that the kanaka labourers south of Mackay number 5,268, whilst north of Mackay there are 3,596 employed, so that very nearly two-thirds would be preserved, supposing that the value of the labour were equal in both north and south. Other particulars are supplied in this report by Dr. Maxwell as to the cost of food and clothing, but all these are of no practical value without returns showing the quantity of sugar produced in each district. If we had these we should be able to come to some conclusion. Dr. Maxwell closes his report by saying—

The increment of white settlers upon the sugar-growing lands during the past decade, and the concurrent increase in the volume of sugar produced, with the reduction in the number of islanders employed, demonstrate the present tendency, and indicate that, under the current

operation of given natural laws, and particularly in certain latitudes, the Pacific Islander is a relatively declining factor in sugar production in Australia.

If the kanaka is a declining factor why should we make all this fuss about him? Our legislation will exclude the Japanese and Javanese and other coloured races, and it will be impossible to get any other coloured labour to supply the place of the kanaka. Therefore the question of substituting labour for that of the kanaka will have to be faced sooner or later, and I think that Australia demands that it should be solved at once. Nothing can be gained by delay, and the appointment of Royal commissions has proved to be exceedingly unsatisfactory in the past. In his third report, furnished to the present Premier of Queensland, Dr. Maxwell says—

I had to reply to Mr. Chataway that my experience in other countries, with my observation in this country, and the history of the labour experimentation in the State, forced me to conclude that if the industry should be made wholly dependent upon white labour, then sugar-growing north of Mackay must die out. It will not be instant, but I consider it certain.

Again he says—

I consider it certain that cane will not be grown solely by white labour north of Mackay to keep the mills in existence.

Then he closes his report by saying—

I trust, Mr. Premier, that this brief statement of the policy of the Sugar department of the Government will inform you more effectively than a verbal opinion on the matters upon which you request my views. I shall, however, have to urge the most careful consideration of the Government, in the interest of the cane-farmers, if legislation should render cane-growing impracticable. We have 2,610 of these men, the backbone of their districts, and they must not be lost; yet the subjects which are matters of opinion and of divisions in Parliaments are questions of life and death to those men in the fields.

There is nothing said here about the life or death of the nation, and yet that is the most important question of all. I do not believe in these highly coloured reports in reference to the difficulty of getting white men to work in these northern cane fields. I have met cane-growers who have worked as far north as Cairns, and immediately before my election I met an old Scotchman who had five sons, and who had carried on cane-growing in the neighbourhood of Cairns. He told me that it was the worst day's work he ever did in his life when he sold out, because his sons were not satisfied to remain in the country, and if he had the money to buy

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his farm back again that would be the first thing he would do. I do not say that there will not be hardship inflicted upon the planters by the passing of this Bill, but they have carried on their business under the threat of legislation to abolish kanaka labour for many years past, and I do not think we should now consider them too much. The Government have gone far enough in giving them five years within which to make all their plans. Honorable members are inclined to pooh-pooh the idea that there is any feeling of excitement in Queensland over this question, but I had the utmost difficulty in pacifying the electors of my constituency when I stood out for a five years' term. They wanted the kanakas abolished at once, and the most I could get them to consent to was an extension of three years. It was very difficult to get them to keep within bounds, even though I explained to them the magnitude and wide extent of the interests involved in the industry, and that the matter was not one to be decided off-hand, but only after serious consideration. There is only one remarkable thing I have noticed in connexion with the reports, and that is the shifting of the line beyond which sugar could not be grown except by the employment of black labour. The Queensland commission in 1889 dealt with this subject. One of the points was that sugar could be grown anywhere south of Townsville without the aid of black labour. They were very firm upon that point. There was no division of opinion between them. In 1900 we find Dr. Maxwell stating in his report that sugar cannot be grown without the aid of black labour north of Mackay. Then we have the evidence of another expert, Mr. C. Van de Velde. He says—

In the semi-tropical zone of Queensland, that is to say, from Bundaberg to the south, the climate is totally different. The mean temperature is lower and there is less moisture in the atmosphere, rendering it less oppressive and enervating. It is abundantly proved that in that region white men can and will do the work on the plantations. There are there at the present time about 5,000 coloured men that can be replaced by white labourers. The whole situation can thus be summarised as follows:—In the tropical zone of Queensland the industry must disappear with the blacks. In the semi-tropical zone coloured labour can be replaced by white at the Australian rate of wages provided that the Federal Customs Tariff shall sufficiently protect the industry. In New South Wales the industry under a system of protection, is entirely carried on by white labour. And if the beet-sugar

industry is to be introduced, for which there is urgent necessity, as I will endeavour to show, it will have to be done by white labour earning Australian wages.

Further on he says—

If Australia desires the planters to replace gradually their coloured by white labourers, they should be given an interest in doing so, and the best inducement is to make, by a tax on the employment of coloured men, their labour slightly more expensive than that of white labour. We may be assured that under such conditions the evolution will be completed within the shortest period, and the *kanaka* traffic will die a natural death.

That is just what the Government propose to do. The imposition of this countervailing duty will afford sufficient protection to the sugar industry to enable it to be carried on under natural conditions, and by the employment of our own race. It will be observed that the line beyond which it was stated that a white man could not work, was originally fixed at Townsville. Then it was shifted to Mackay, and later on to Bundaberg. If a select committee is appointed to investigate this matter, I very much fear that the line may get down to the Tweed River. If the select committee is followed by a Royal commission, it will probably get into the middle of New South Wales. To my mind, the sooner this question is settled the better. One of the strong reasons which induced Queensland to enter the Federation was that the great bulk of her people thought that this black labour question would be quickly and finally settled. It is shown by these reports that not much more than a third of the sugar lands—and very rich lands they are—would have to be abandoned, even on the assumption that the planters were right in their contention. But surely if we give the sugar growers an extension of time for five years, they will be able to raise sufficient money within that period to discover men of science who will provide them with machinery with which to overcome the difficulty of trashing. The trashing of the cane is the only real difficulty to be surmounted. But even if that difficulty does not disappear the sugar lands of Queensland will not run away. That State will not be any poorer because she does not grow sugar upon these particular lands. Queensland already grows the best maize—she needs it, too, because last year she did not grow enough for her own consumption. If it is found that sugar cannot be grown in these northern latitudes, why should not the mills, plant, &c., be removed to the

southern latitudes where it can be grown? Then we should have no necessity to import any sugar. In England it is quite a common thing for manufactories—and indeed, for whole towns like that of Saltaire—to be removed to the locality which is best adapted for their operations. I do not see that it would be difficult to adopt the same plan in connexion with the sugar mills. I shall vote for the Bill, because it gives me all that I ask for. At the commencement of my campaign I stated that I would support any Government which gave reasonable consideration to the sugar grower with the certain extinction of the *kanaka*. I said that a five years' final extension, with legislation on the question immediately, was, I thought, a fair thing.

Mr. HIGGINS. — Would the honorable member extend the time for recruiting, or the time for keeping the *kanakas* in Queensland.

Mr. A. PATERSON.—I would not extend the time at all. A good deal of mention has been made of the feelings of religious men upon this question. I am not going to despise or ridicule those feelings. They have to be taken into account. Amongst the sugar planters themselves there are men of the highest education and culture and Christian principles. There are benevolent and philanthropic individuals who are really good men, but they have been so accustomed to the employment of this servile labour, that they have come to believe there is no harm in it. The same remark applied to the owners of slaves in America. Some 60 years ago an uncle of mine nearly lost his life in the State of Carolina simply because he tried to teach the slaves to read. Yet these planters were men of education, who thought that there was no wrong in oppressing the poor despised black man. It is undesirable that this servile labour should be allowed in any civilized country, not only on account of the bad effect which it produces upon the men, but because of its bad effect upon the masters. If we have a race of men who are servile, we shall inevitably produce a race of arrogant tyrants, whose presence will be far more disgraceful to us than is that of the blacks themselves. Several missionaries have spoken strongly in favour of the retention of *kanakas*, because of the good influence that our teaching will have upon them. I want honorable members to note that, when their sons and

daughters are quite little children, the missionaries invariably send them either to England, or to Sydney or Melbourne, to be educated. Do they do that for the sake of their health? No. They do it to keep them from the black taint. It is quite right that they should do so, and the Government merely propose to do the same thing. During my election campaign I was repeatedly confronted with an argument which I found somewhat difficult to answer. A distinguished Plymouth brother urged that it was most unchristianlike to talk of excluding the kanaka; and in support of his contention he quoted the Biblical verse that God—

Hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.

I replied that we did not object to the kanaka's blood, but to the colour of his skin. I also reminded my friend that he had not quoted the whole of the verse, the remainder being—

And hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.

We have taken the kanaka out of his habitation. We have kidnapped him. His case is quite different from that of the Chinese or Japanese, who come to Australia voluntarily. We force the kanakas to come here, and we enslave them, so that the whole of the argument urged by my friend falls to the ground. The honorable member for Wide Bay has asked my opinion of the climate of Queensland. To my mind it is first-class for men, but it is not altogether good for English women. There have been a good many exaggerations indulged in during this debate which ought not to be allowed to pass unnoticed. One has reference to the rate of wages. It is accepted by many honorable members as Gospel truth that the kanaka gets 14s. 3d. per week. Nothing of the kind! It is a deliberate deception to make such a statement. The real truth is, taking the varying accounts of the different districts, that the kanaka's wages are not more than £10 annually upon the average. His food costs £10 a year, and his clothes and medicine £3. That represents a total of £23 annually, or 9s. per week. But all that the kanaka gets in cash is 2s. 4d. per week. Can any one say that such a paltry allowance represents a fair wage? It is a downright swindle. The wages paid to these islanders constitute an infamous protection

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to the sugar-planter. Coming to the question of the plant employed, I am very glad to be able to quote the other side, because my figures have been previously questioned. With regard to the plant employed, the Mackay Association in their pamphlet say—

We cannot conclude this communication without reminding you of the vast interests at stake in connexion with the industry, and we feel assured that your delegate will not fail to impress this phase of the question most strongly upon the conference. After making a very careful calculation founded on the last official statistics, we believe that we are well under the mark when we place the present value of the various factories and plant employed in the industry, inclusive of the plant employed in the field, at £3,500,000.

That is the first time for many a day we have heard of so moderate a figure as £3,500,000. I have heard the estimate placed at £5,000,000 or £6,000,000, and even up to £10,000,000; whereas the official statistics, taken from the *Queensland Gazette*, for the year 1899, show that the total value of machinery, plant, land, and premises is £2,750,000. It must be remembered that that is the value of the premises, and includes all money lent by the Government.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—Does that refer to the whole of Queensland?

Mr. A. PATERSON.—To the whole of Queensland. And the figures can be seen in the *Queensland Government Gazette* for 1899, page 415.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—We have had figures from the Premier, from which it would appear that the figures now quoted are wrong.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Do the figures quoted include the value of the crop?

Mr. A. PATERSON.—The figures do not include the value of the growing crop, but they include the value of the land. With regard to the number of white workers employed, the most ridiculous and exaggerated statements have been made. I have heard it stated that some 50,000 white workers are directly affected by this trade; but when one begins to think of the total number of operatives in Queensland, it is seen how absurd this estimate is. The statement of the sugar planters themselves is—

That the total number of kanakas employed in the colony, inclusive of those engaged in the pearl industry at Thursday Island, is only 8,795, or less than two per cent. of the white population of the colony, while the industry gives direct employment to no less than 22,500 white men, of whom 13,500 are permanently employed, the

additional 9,000 being employed during the crushing season. Thousands more white men are directly dependent upon the industry, and many more thousands are more or less dependent directly upon it in the various ways indicated below.

That is the statement of the Mackay Sugar Association, and we see that 13,500 white workers are employed permanently, and 9,000 casually. I shall strongly support the Bill, which I hope will be carried. I have received telegrams from political opponents, as well as from friends, unanimously in favour of the Bill as submitted to the House. To these telegrams I replied that I did not think there would be the slightest difficulty so far as Queensland representatives were concerned, because I thought there would be seven solid for the Bill, but that all I was afraid of was that the Government might be shaken on the question, and take amendments into consideration. I think I represent Queensland feeling when I say that we are decidedly in favour of the Bill as it stands.

Mr. PIESSE (Tasmania).—I feel that we are in the position which the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne expressed last evening, when he said that we who represent other States than Queensland occupy a judicial position, and have to listen to both sides of the case. There is something to be said even for the delay which has been caused in debating the motion for referring the Bill to a select committee, in that it does give some answer to the complaints which may have been made that the House is prepared to assent to a measure without hearing what is to be said on both sides. Even if every member had already made up his mind, I would rather see the House spend more time on this question, so that we may not be open to the charge of acting with undue haste. When I come to look at the question, there appears to me one point on which I have not heard sufficient in order to enable me to know whether I should be right in assenting to the proposal to discontinue the importation of kanakas in five years. I would draw the attention of honorable members to Dr. Maxwell's report, in which he spoke of an instance taken from the extreme north, in the Cairns district, where there were 409 white labourers passed through the books in order to provide and maintain 88 hands required daily to keep the mill in operation for a season of 30 weeks. The honorable member who has just addressed the House has told us that in

the northern districts there are 3,696 kanakas employed; and if the instance I have quoted is to be taken as showing the proper proportion of white labourers that will have to be available—I believe white labour will be found more efficient than black, but I pass that point for the moment—it will be necessary to have 15,000 or 16,000 white men employed for the 3,696 kanakas.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member can only make that inference properly when he knows all the circumstances.

Mr. PIESSE.—I take it that the wages paid would be the wages white men will work for; but I do not think wages come into this question. Another difficulty arises, as Dr. Maxwell shows in a preceding portion of the same report, when he says—

Consequently it is apparent that much of the instability which is attributed to the loose unstable habits of the white transient labourers, should be put down to the sheer inability to do given kinds of continuous work in those natural conditions.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable member think it will take five whites to do the work of one black?

Mr. PIESSE.—That is not the point. But in the district to which I am referring, there must be a supply of white labour in the proportion of four to one of what will be the continuous number of workmen. That has been shown over and over again, and it was admitted by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports in his speech last night.

Mr. PAGE.—Give white men a fair wage and they will stick to this work.

Mr. PIESSE.—Unfortunately, according to the official returns, white men are not able to stick to the work.

Mr. PAGE.—What rot!

Mr. PIESSE.—If the 409 men were of the physical capacity of the honorable member for Maranoa, there would be no doubt on the point; but what we have to consider is whether ordinary labour is likely to be available for the work. Seeing that 16,000 labourers would be required in the northern portion of the country, and possibly 7,000 men in the southern portion, or 24,000 to make up the supply for the whole year, is it likely that that labour can be obtained within the time provided by this Bill?

Mr. MAUGER.—Yes; because the white labourers will not be retained all the year, or anything like that time.

Mr. PIESSE.—That does not affect the argument at all. If it be a fact that in order to get 88 men, there have to be 409 men available, it makes no difference whether they have to work all the year round or not. Dr. Maxwell, in another part of his report, says —

A second example is taken from a location in the extreme south. In this case the mill records of last year show that 133 men were employed in and around the mill. Of this number 43 left before the close of the season.

In that case there were three men for every two men kept employed. I have kept that in view in making an estimate for the southern districts, in which 5,628 labourers are employed.

Mr. McCAY.—Would a rise of wages affect the flow?

Mr. PIESSE.—I do not know that any fault is found with the wages actually paid to the white men.

Mr. McDONALD.—They were paid 12s. 6d. in Bundaberg at one time.

Mr. PIESSE.—But there are circumstances which will always tend to make men shift about if better work can be obtained. This point has not been sufficiently dealt with in the arguments adduced to the House, and I think we ought to listen still further to what has been urged by the Queensland Government, and by those engaged in the industry. I need hardly say that I have no personal interest whatever in it. I come from a State where the conditions which have been alluded to do not prevail; but I am in full sympathy with all honorable members who urge the desirability of ceasing this traffic, and we in Tasmania are prepared to pay our share of what will be the considerable cost attaching to the abolition of the kanakas. When the proposals of the Government come into full force we shall be giving up about £1,000,000 a year, or £6 per ton on 170,000 tons of sugar for a great many years. I am prepared, on behalf of Tasmania, to pay my share of taxation which is going to support an industry under the special condition that white labour shall be employed. But it is very desirable that we should give full consideration to all the circumstances, and not agree too hastily to any terms which may prove insufficient to enable the industry to continue. We are, I believe, enacting this measure with the desire to give an opportunity to Queensland.

We do not desire to shut up any mills or destroy any enterprise in that State, and the question is whether we are giving sufficient time. I hope further attention will be given to the question I have raised as to whether the necessary labour can be obtained to overtake the necessities of the case. If that be so, I am prepared to yield any scruples I may have; but until these scruples are removed, I shall be prepared to vote either for further inquiry, or for an extension of the time proposed.

Mr. KNOX (Kooyong).—The honorable member for Capricornia said that he attached a very great deal of importance and weight to the concluding words of the text, the first portion of which had been previously quoted to the House. He said the concluding words were to the effect that God had determined the bounds of man's habitation, and that it appeared to him as being distinctly unconvincing that the tropics were the place for the black man. I think, on the contrary, that the concluding words distinctly show the strength and force of the quotation which has been made, because, undoubtedly, the bounds of the employment of the black worker to-day are the low-lying areas within the tropics, where, as I have contended before and still contend, the white man cannot work without detriment to himself and to his race. I am sure that honorable members will agree that Australia as a whole has given its verdict that black alien labour must go, but the verdict has been given so emphatically that it should make this Assembly cautious in its action, so that vested interests may not be injuriously interfered with. Honorable members must admit that the honorable member for Oxley has brought evidence of the existence throughout Queensland of a strong feeling against the proposed Bill, and the representations which he has made deserve our careful and thoughtful consideration, since, although he quoted a large number of individual opinions, he also quoted opinions expressed by large representative bodies in all parts of Queensland. I admit that there has been a strong declaration in Queensland in favour of the Bill upon the introduction of which the Prime Minister delivered so effective and convincing a speech, but I am persuaded that no one desires that our first steps in legislation should create a feeling of bitterness in any part of the Commonwealth. We should, therefore, pay respectful

attention to the expression of opinion which has been voiced by the honorable member for Oxley, because, unless we do so, an embittered feeling will exist, which will be regrettable. Those whom the honorable member represents asks that this subject may receive judicial consideration. It is all very well to say that we have before us the array of testimony which was presented to the Parliament of Queensland, but, so far as the Commonwealth Parliament is concerned, we have only the report prepared by a gentleman eminent in his profession, the general tenor of which is that, for the prosecution of the sugar industry in the low-lying tropical districts of the continent, the black man is essential. Surely this House in its strength should give consideration to that report, and to the public opinion which has been voiced by the honorable member for Oxley. If there would be any serious delay in making the inquiry which the honorable member asks for, I should object to it; but that could be avoided by requiring the select committee or commission to report within a certain time. I think that the chairman of the commission should be a Judge of the Supreme Court, and that its members should comprise representatives of the labour party and of the other parties in the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Oxley asks for a select committee.

Mr. KNOX.—Yes; but I hope that he will see his way to alter his motion to a request for the appointment of a commission. I see no reason why such a commission should not consist of honorable members of this House, with a Judge of the Supreme Court as chairman. There are members on each side of the Chamber who would be absolutely impartial, and anxious to see that all the evidence which would aid us in coming to a decision is brought before us. There need be no unnecessary delay, because the commission can be asked to report within a specified period, and its appointment would take away all grounds for the bitterness and soreness which now unquestionably exist. It is for that reason that I support the motion, and add my voice to the appeal to the House to look at the matter from a judicial standpoint, and not to be carried away by the eager demand to have the matter settled immediately. The accomplishment of this reform is a thing which we

all desire, but let us see that it is accomplished without the creation of ill-feeling, so that at the very beginning of our national life the large and important State of Queensland, or a large number of its electors, may not feel embittered and regretful at having entered the union of the Commonwealth.

Mr. EWING (Richmond).—Apart from the representatives of Queensland, there are but two members in this assembly who represent men engaged in the growing of sugar cane, the honorable member for Cowper and myself, and it may, therefore, not be out of place for me to occupy a few minutes in directing the attention of honorable members to the view of this subject taken by the white men engaged in the growing of sugar cane in the northern parts of New South Wales. You, Mr. Speaker, ruled this afternoon, when the honorable member for Oxley was speaking, that the question under discussion was, not the objection of the people of Australia to kanakas, but whether the House is in possession of such facts as enable it to decide upon this matter without further inquiry. Upon that aspect of the case, and upon it alone, I shall address a few remarks to you. I hope, too, to have a word or two to say with regard to the difficulty besetting the honorable and learned member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse. I had an opportunity, 25 years ago, to witness the advent of sugar-cane growing on the northern rivers of New South Wales. At that time the industry was in its infancy on the Richmond, and subsequently a large mill was built on the Tweed. In those days, and for a decade or two afterwards, there was no talk of the climatic influences being such as to injuriously affect the white men working there. Year after year the white man did the work alone, and the industry worked by white labour seemed to be established upon a thriving basis. But, as time passed, black men made their appearance in dribblets from Queensland and various parts of New South Wales, and apparently almost simultaneously with their coming arose the need for them. Now, it is no unusual thing to hear it said, in districts where previously there was no doubt that white men could do the work, that it is not possible to do without black labour. But all over the world when cheap and docile labour is obtainable, there is work for it to do. The moment that the farmer becomes

accustomed to employing kanakas, Syrians, or Hindoos, he finds in them an urbanity and manageableness not always to be found among whites. The question of the capacity of white men to work in the cane fields is limited to their employment in the operations of trashing and of cane cutting. I think the honorable member for Oxley will concede that point.

Mr. McDONALD.—They have shifted their ground in Queensland now, and they say that the white man cannot do the work at all.

Mr. EWING.—That, however, has been the contention, and the legislation which has been passed makes it fairly clear. The honorable member for Oxley will also concede that the climatic objections need not hold in regard to the operation of trashing, because the winter months, when white men can work well, can be chosen for it. Trashing is done most advantageously shortly before the cane cutting.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—It is done according to the rainfall.

Mr. EWING.—It is done a little before the cutting—that, at least, is the right time to do it. As the cane-cutting begins in July, it stands to reason that the trashing can be done during the winter months. It is a moot point whether trashing is required at all. I do not desire to enter into the details of the question, but it appears to me to be a moot point whether there is any necessity to trash the cane, and, if it is clear that it can be done in the winter months, we can almost eliminate the question of trashing from our consideration in connexion with the labour question. A good deal of the cane-cutting can also be done in the cooler weather, and, therefore, for all practical purposes, we can also eliminate a portion of the cane-cutting from our consideration when we are speaking of the capacity of white labour to do the principal work upon a sugar plantation. Therefore, the whole of the difficulty so far as trashing is concerned, and at least half the difficulty with regard to cane-cutting disappears. I should like to explain, for the information of honorable members who are representing southern districts, how the cane-cutting is done on the northern rivers in New South Wales. A number of men go to the northern rivers periodically year after year to cut cane. They are most of them men of very fine physique, and with considerable

independence of spirit. It suits these men to work very hard and to put an immense strain upon their physical powers, which are great, so that in three or four months they may make a large wage, and afterwards have a comfortable time. This is the type of man of extremely good physique who make their appearance on the northern rivers during the cane-cutting season. These men work by contract, and I will now come to an essential point, so far as the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse, is concerned. These men on the northern rivers have told me, and I give their statements for what they are worth on their own authority, that they would as soon work up at Cairns as on the Tweed River. It seemed a remarkable statement, and I pressed them just as any other honorable member would press them upon the point, and this was their explanation: A considerable proportion of the cane land on the Tweed River, for instance, lies on a great basaltic tableland, broken here and there by sharp declivities, and here and there by rolling slopes. On these tablelands there are strewn a considerable number of boulders, and the cane-cutters tell me that the extra labour involved in dealing with a ton of cane on these slopes and declivities and amongst these boulders takes more out of them than if they were dealing with a ton of cane at Cairns. On the Richmond and Tweed River the men make something like £2 to £3 per week with dry rations. I understand that dry rations do not include beef.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—We have never heard of dry rations before.

Mr. EWING.—That is exactly the position at which I desire to arrive. The men working on the Richmond and Tweed rivers working by contract make from £2 10s. to £3 per week, and they also get a dry ration which is worth about 5s. a week. Therefore they earn about £3 per week all round. They tell me, further, that the only opportunities they have ever been given to cut cane in Northern Queensland has been at the rate of £1 5s. per week. If that be a fact that the planters of Northern Queensland have never offered the white man contract work which would enable him to make £3 per week—as much as they would make by working a thousand miles to the south—it simply shows that white labour has never had a chance in the north. I do not like to be unreasonable, as

I know how very important the industry is. I know that not only money, but flesh and blood have been expended in the sugar industry in Northern Queensland, but if this Parliament is appealed to on the ground that white men cannot be obtained to do the work, that appeal possesses no force if it can be shown that white men have been asked to do the work for £1 5s. per week, whereas they can make £3 per week in New South Wales.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Under contract.

Mr. EWING.—Under any circumstances. If the facts are as stated, the white man has not had a fair chance to work in Northern Queensland, and I look to some other honorable member to prove whether I have correctly stated the case or not, or for a reply.

Mr. POYNTON.—How many tons of sugar cane are handled by these men on the Richmond River for £3 a week?

Mr. EWING.—The trashing of the cane costs about 1s. 6d. per ton, or about 30s. per acre. Then the price for cane cutting varies—according to whether it has to be cut on the level banks of the river or on the table-lands, such as I have described—from 1s. 9d. to nearly 3s. per ton, or an average of say 2s. 6d. per ton. Therefore the whole cost of trashing and cutting would be 4s. per ton, and that is the total amount per ton that is at issue in connexion with the labour question. That is to say, that giving the honorable member for Oxley the full benefit of his argument, there is only 4s. worth of work at issue in connexion with each ton of cane. I do not think there is half of that amount involved. Queensland at present sells her sugar, or most of it, in the open market. The production of sugar in Queensland is so great that she is able—with what comes from New South Wales—to almost supply the Australian markets. At present she sells her sugar at about £8 or £9 per ton free on board. Following upon that we have to consider that the Queensland sugar industry is not in a wholesome condition to-day. I am sure that honorable members do not desire to mislead, but the utterances of some of them would cause the House to suppose the Queensland sugar industry is in a satisfactory condition, and that the action of the Federal Parliament in putting a stop to the employment of kanaka labour will bring

ruin on a prosperous industry. The position in Queensland is that a large number of people, acting together on the co-operative principle, have borrowed money from the Government to start mills, and in almost every instance the central mills have failed to meet their obligations.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—No.

Mr. McDONALD.—In a large number of instances.

Mr. EWING.—I will say that they have failed to meet their obligations in a large number of instances. In addition to this, in many parts of Queensland one can see evidences of abandoned mills connected with the sugar industry. The price of sugar is so low, consequent upon the production of beet sugar with a bounty behind it, that I do not think that either in Queensland or the West Indies or in any other part of the world cane sugar can possibly be grown without the assistance of a protective duty.

Mr. McDONALD.—Does the honorable member not think that the price of land has something to do with it?

Mr. EWING.—It might have some influence, but that point is not so vital as the matter to which I am now referring. Because of the low price of sugar, and the large amount of cane grown, the sugar industry in Queensland is in a very unstable condition.

Mr. McDONALD.—How does the honorable member account for the large dividends paid by the Colonial Sugar Company?

Mr. EWING.—The Colonial Sugar Company does not limit its operations to cane-growing in Queensland or to growing sugar at all. It carries on its operations in Fiji, in Queensland, and New South Wales, and also in New Zealand, and it is an extremely well-managed company, which is not dependent solely upon the success or otherwise of Queensland sugar production. What appears to me to be the crux of the situation is this. I have just explained the position of the Queensland sugar industry. Because of the lowness of the price of sugar, and the fact that Queensland has to sell her sugar in the markets of the world, it is very doubtful whether there is any money in it. The Government proposal—to which the leader of the Opposition makes no very great demur—practically amounts to saying to the Queensland sugar-growers—"We are prepared to give you a £5 per ton

duty if you employ white men." That is what it comes to. Now what does this mean? Queensland produces approximately 120,000 tons of sugar per annum, and the amount of sugar required for Australia—170,000 tons—is rather more than the combined production of New South Wales and Queensland. Although I am a protectionist, I quite admit that when the local supply is less than the local demand, the producer of an article gets the full benefit of a protective duty that may be placed upon that article. This means that the Federal Parliament is virtually making a present of £600,000 to the Queensland sugar planters in order to induce them to give up black labour.

Mr. FISHER.—They expect to get the protection and to be allowed to employ black labour as well.

Mr. EWING.—I do not think the Federal Parliament will give them the right to the white man's market and the run of black labour too. As I say, £600,000 is proposed to be distributed annually amongst the sugar growers of Queensland, and I ask if that is not a fair thing for them? What does it mean? By the way, honorable members may recollect that the *kanaka* costs Queensland £300,000 a year in wages. We must also bear in mind that that State makes 120,000 tons of sugar per annum. On the assumption that 10 tons of cane make 1 ton of sugar, Queensland must cut 1,200,000 tons of cane annually. If that were paid for, trashed, and cut at the New South Wales rate it would cost £240,000 per annum. But Queensland will, under the Government proposals, be annually £600,000 in advance of her present position. Therefore, if this legislation passes, she will have £840,000 to pay for the cutting of 1,200,000 tons of cane, and if she pays that amount of money for cutting and trashing it, she will be in just the same position as she is now. What does that amount to?

Mr. FOWLER.—That the Government proposals are too generous.

Mr. EWING.—Let us assume, after passing of the Tariff, for the sake of argument, that the sugar planters of Queensland can give twice as much for cutting and trashing as do those of New South Wales. Let us suppose that they can pay 8s. a ton for cutting and trashing. Does the honorable member for Oxley tell me that if planters offered white men an opportunity of earning twice £3 a

week for four months in the year, at Cairns, they would not be rushed with men? That was the trouble with the honorable member for Tasmania, Mr. Piesse. If the honorable member visited Mount Magnet, Bulong, and Broad Arrow, and saw the men working there, and if he realized that the planter of Queensland would be able to give the trasher and grower of cane work by which under the contract system he could earn £6 a week, and be in no worse position than he is to-day, he would see that there is not the slightest doubt that white labour can be successfully obtained in these branches of this industry. Indeed, it seems to me that the indictment would be from the farmers in other parts of the States. So magnificent are the opportunities, and so large the wage fund, that the cry about the disturbance of labour would come rather from them than from the men who are given this splendid chance.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Until production outruns consumption.

Mr. EWING.—I am not going to enter into a discussion of that question now. Every honorable member knows that on the sea-board of Australia there are magnificent areas fit for sugar-growing; and we need not now pause to consider what will be the price of sugar in years to come. I am dealing only with the present.

Mr. POYNTON.—The same reason for the payment of the bonus will always exist.

Mr. EWING.—The question raised by the Attorney-General was that a time will come in the life of the sugar industry when Australia will produce more sugar than she needs. Then, under such circumstances, of course, the price must come down. I am not dealing with that aspect of the case, but with the condition of things which prevails at present. For the reason that honorable members do not desire the presence of the *kanaka* permanently in our midst, I consider that the scope of our arguments is limited to to-day and a little time in the future. Under these circumstances it must be evident that this Parliament is endeavouring to do all that it can. I think it is acting most generously in regard to the sugar planters. I do not wish to discuss the question of the docility of the *kanaka*. Of course some people would rather work with Assyrians, Japanese, *kanakas*, and other people who are more docile than themselves. The white workmen have what

are called the "growing pains" of society. We cannot take into consideration at all the argument as to the ease with which alien labour is controlled. I have mentioned only a few of the points in the speeches of honorable members opposite that appear to me to be pregnant with meaning. I shall conclude by saying that I think the masses of Australia are doing quite as much for the sugar industry, and are paying as high a price for the abolition of black labour, as the Queensland sugar-grower had a right to expect.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN (Melbourne).—I have no intention of detaining the House by making a long speech. As much has been said upon this subject as can reasonably be said. There is one point, however, which has received very little attention up to the present. I allude to the moral aspect of this question. The honorable member for Parramatta laid very great emphasis upon this phase of the subject. To-night we were told by the honorable member for Capricornia that in Queensland the sugar planters send their children to England in order to have them educated, not because they cannot receive the necessary education in Australia, but in order to set them free from the contamination of black people. I desire to read to the House a very short extract in reference to this question from the address of the Bishop of Brisbane to the Synod in 1892. It is as follows :—

While I should be disposed to suspend my judgment if I found men of the strong sense and calibre of Bishop Selwyn, with their long experience in the Islands, taking a distinctly opposite view, yet, viewing the matter from Australian shores, according to my present knowledge, and from what I have observed during the last seven years on the sugar plantations at Bundaberg and elsewhere in this diocese, I fail to see that it is a bad thing for these Islanders to be brought face to face with the more trying conditions of an unaccustomed civilization. Where such care is bestowed upon their welfare as is the case on some of the plantations which I have visited on my pastoral tours, and from my intercourse with the "boys" themselves, the inference to which I am led is that it is a good thing they should be here with us; and when they have become, as many have, Christian churchmen, it is well that our white people should have before them the good example in discharge of religious obligations which is set them by their coloured brethren.

In 1893 he wrote—

The brave visit of the Bishop of Tasmania to the Melanesian mission field takes high rank among the events of the year that has gone.

That he used his powers of observation and induction to some purpose is evident from the interesting account which he gave of his visitation tour, and the inference he drew from the facts before him. To myself, at least, his report is welcome reading, as it wholly confirms the view of the black labour question—almost to its very illustration—which I ventured to put before you last year. We approached the question, it may be remembered, not in the light of the changing phases of popular opinion or political necessity, or supposed rival interests, but in the fuller and truer light of that humanitarianism which we have learned from the Incarnation, and it is also from this same point of view that the Bishop of Tasmania has supplied such strongly confirmatory evidence. My words were spoken as from Australian shores; he has viewed the question from the Islands themselves, and his testimony is the more valuable because he entered upon his visitation tour with preconceived ideas of an opposite character.

In order to be sure that he had not altered his opinion, I caused a letter to be written to him recently. In reply to that communication, he writes as follows, under date 24th July, 1901 :—

With reference to the particular point mentioned in your inquiry as to whether the presence of the "boys" involves immoral traffic in Japanese women, I can only say that so far as concerns the sugar plantations in the neighbourhood of Bundaberg and the Isis in this diocese, I am able to give a flat contradiction to such charge.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why, the Isis is full of them.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I am referring to the allegation that the kanakas make use of this traffic for immoral purposes. The Bishop continues—

I have heard it said that it is unsafe for young women to be about alone in districts in which the "boys," i.e., the South Sea Islanders, are largely employed. I can only say that no single case has ever come to my knowledge, and I have been a good deal in the above-mentioned localities.

Mr. MAUGER.—Is that letter from the present Bishop?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—It is from the present Bishop of Brisbane.

Mr. FISHER.—It is utterly worthless.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I thoroughly believe what the Bishop says. A great deal has been said in this connexion which is utterly untrue. I would rather accept the opinion of the Bishop of Brisbane, supported as he is by Bishop Selwyn, than I would take the opinion of those who have seen very little of the traffic themselves, and who are speaking merely from hearsay.

Mr. MAUGER.—What about Canon Pyke's opinion?

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—I think that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, all through this debate, has assumed a knowledge which he does not possess. He has given the House perhaps more positive information than has any other honorable member who has spoken. He mentioned the condition of affairs at Cairns. In this connexion I will read a telegram from Mr. John Arthur, chairman of the Kanaka Bill Protest Committee of Brisbane. It is as follows :—

Sample of methods inquiry by Victorians. Mauger arrived Cairns midday. Left next morning ten o'clock. Two hours on plantation. Distinctly promised support Government inquiry before end of sitting.

Mr. MAUGER.—How does he know.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—The honorable member has acknowledged that it is true.

Mr. MAUGER.—Not as to the time I was on the plantation.

Sir MALCOLM McEACHARN.—If the honorable member arrived at Cairns late in the day he could not very well go on to the plantations at night. The wire continues—

Can get ample proof of forgoing.

I have in my hand another telegram which reads thus—

If Mauger says, as reported in this morning's *Courier*, that I told him that I could grow cane without kanakas, he states what is not a fact. You have my authority to deny it. Further, he only spent two hours in Bundaberg plantations.

That message is signed by Mr. Angus Gibson. I believe that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports will himself have some explanation to make in connexion with this matter. I believe that there is no difficulty about growing sugar in the Bundaberg district without black labour. But no amount of protection will assist growers in the north, because we cannot get white people to work there. Even supposing we could get white people to work there, they would prove very expensive, and I am led to that opinion from my experience in the north. I am not now interested in the sugar industry, but I had the satisfaction of gaining my experience at the cost of some £20,000 in an endeavour to grow sugar a great many years ago. I say, without fear of being directly contradicted, that so far as the northern portions of Queensland are concerned, we cannot rely on white labour for growing sugar cane. I am convinced

that if a great deal more money than the amount mentioned by the last speaker were available for distribution in order to assist the grower, it would prove of no use, in consequence of the impossibility of getting labour. To grant a Royal commission would be doing something to assist Queensland at a time when the people of that State are extremely and justly irritated at the action taken by the Government. Had the people of Queensland known or anticipated, when the question of federation was under discussion, that such a Bill as that now before us would have been introduced, the vote in favour of federation would have been much less, even had it proved possible to carry an affirmative vote. I hope that further time will be given in the Bill, but if this question goes to the vote I shall be found in favour of the motion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—

The honorable member for Melbourne has told us very emphatically—and I suppose he speaks from experience, like the rest of us—that it is impossible for white men to do this work in the north of Queensland. The answer to that statement is simply that, so far as we have any knowledge at present, white men have never been tempted by a fitting wage to work in that part of the continent. Until a fitting wage is offered, which would tempt the Australian working men to go there, it cannot properly be said that white men cannot or will not do the work. White men decline to do the work under existing conditions for a mere pittance of 4s. or 5s. per day, which, so far as we have any evidence at present, is the utmost that has been offered. When men can get 7s. or 8s. a day further south, under altogether more favourable conditions, they would be foolish indeed if they went to work in tropical regions for a paltry 5s. Further, if 5s. per day is the extent of the wages offered to white men in an industry which is protected with a duty of £5 or £6 per ton, it is a poor look-out for the encouragement of what we call our "native industries." I am inclined to think that a "native industry," protected to the extent of £6 per ton, which can give a black man only 2s. 4d. per week, and a white man 5s. per day, is not worth much encouragement. I sympathize to the full with the vested interests which have grown up in the north of Queensland. Nobody can view with equanimity the prospect

of men losing their hard-earned savings, and I believe they have the fullest sympathy of every man in this assembly. But what we have to look at, as has been said by other speakers, is the purity and integrity of our race. We have to consider not only the present passing conditions, but what north Queensland and the whole continent will be in generations yet to come. We should keep this in mind in carrying out what is undoubtedly the mandate of Australia, namely, that this country shall be kept "white." I have yet to learn that any fresh argument has been offered for departing from the position already taken up by the Government, or for reversing the decision unanimously arrived at last night. I listened very carefully to what the honorable member for Oxley had to say, and the many quotations he made use of simply amounted to the fact that there are people in Queensland who believe that black labour should be maintained. So far as I heard, the honorable member did not quote a single telegram which advocated a few more years' extension for black labour. All his correspondents desire inquiry. What for? For the purpose of trying to establish the fact that the sugar-growing industry must fail if black labour is not continued. It is not an extension of time that is sought; what is desired is to make black labour permanent. It is not so much the kanaka that the advocates of coloured labour are thinking of. Every one knows that in the north of Queensland, and in the islands, the kanaka is a diminishing quantity. He is decaying in his own home in consequence of the enormous deportation to this country, and this is recognised by the people of Queensland who want coloured labour permanently established, so that when the supply of kanakas ceases the industry may be continued by means of other kinds of alien labour. On the other hand the people of Australia have unanimously determined that there shall be no black labour on this continent, but that it shall be abolished as rapidly and prudently as may be; and the proposal is that the Government shall give a certain time within which this labour must cease. The honorable member for Oxley asks for a select committee of this House, and at the same time tells us that he does not want a select committee. When I asked him a question on the subject, he made it

quite clear that he did not want a select committee, but a Royal commission composed of experts. If that is the honorable member's object, the motion is entirely out of place, and he ought not to be taking up the time of the House in asking for a select committee. It is the first time I ever heard a man stand up in Parliament and say he did not want a select committee, and yet at the same time solemnly move that the matter under consideration be referred to such a body. It might have been proper for the Speaker to consider whether the honorable member should not be stopped from debating the matter under consideration. In any case it does seem strange that an honorable member should propose a select committee, and, in the course of his speech, make it quite clear that he does not want a select committee but some other kind of tribunal.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable member for Parramatta distinctly states that I asked for a Royal commission of experts. I never mentioned the word "experts" during the whole of my speech, either last night or to-night.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not a point of order. If the honorable member for Oxley desires to explain he may do so after the honorable member for Parramatta has spoken.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—May I ask if the honorable member for Oxley did not distinctly say, in reply to an interjection, that he would prefer a Judge to preside over the inquiry he proposed? Surely that would not have been possible under the motion now before the House.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Judges are not experts on sugar.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We do not usually call on Judges to preside over select committees of Parliament; neither do we call in any other kind of expert assistance. The honorable member, above all things, made it clear that he did not want a select committee of this House. Moreover, I should not think many honorable members would be willing to sit on a committee after the remark of the honorable member to the effect that there are not more than two in the House who understand anything about this question.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Quite right.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What folly it would be under the circumstances, to ask

honorable members to make further inquiry into this matter.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—They would get knowledge if they went up to Queensland.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I suppose the honorable member knows a little about the subject himself.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Not very much, practically.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am glad to hear that confession. I suppose that the honorable member for Oxley and the honorable member for Brisbane are about the only two honorable members who, in the opinion of the former gentleman, know anything about this question. The honorable member tells us that we are ignorant of the very question which he asks us to inquire into.

Mr. PIERCE.—That would not prevent honorable members being good judges.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Perhaps not. May I remind the honorable member that, according to his own statement, we might very well judge this matter without any inquiry such as is proposed. We have looked into this question and searched all available records. We have investigated the figures presented, read Dr. Maxwell's reports, and also reports of various Royal commissions, and I really do not think that much fresh information can be gleaned unless we make a personal investigation on the spot. If the honorable member had seriously suggested that we should take a trip north there might have been some reason in his proposal. But if he means that we are to have an inquiry within the precincts of Parliament House, and to invite Dr. Maxwell to give evidence, I am afraid that gentleman could not tell us any more than he has already told us in his reports. If we are to call Mr. Angus Gibson and other gentlemen who have from time to time given the Queensland Parliament the benefit of their knowledge, I am afraid they could not tell us anything more than we are now able to read in the Queensland *Hansard*. What, therefore, can be gained by any further investigation or delay? I should be glad, indeed, if I thought we were not sufficiently well informed on the matter, to agree to further delay in order to enlighten our minds, but since nothing fresh can be gathered, we ought not to grant further postponement. The honorable member read us telegram after telegram, and article after article, but there was nothing fresh in all he read. We have read ourselves, time and

again, of the possible displacement of some of the labour in Queensland in consequence of legislation of this character. The Government were aware of that when they framed and introduced the measure, but we believe, rightly or wrongly, that the people of this continent have made up their minds that, notwithstanding what may happen to the sugar industry, this black labour must be removed. That is the position in which we stand. If the honorable member who asks for further delay could make it clear to us that we were not interpreting the real feelings of the people of the country there would be something in his proposal. But he does not touch that point at all; nor do any of those who speak through the intermediary of the telegrams and reports which have been read. All that they say is that unless black labour is continued the industry must go down. We contend that the verdict of the people of the country is that if that is the price to be paid for the removal of black labour from the continent, great and serious as it may be, the price undoubtedly has to be paid. That is the verdict of the constituencies, and we are here to carry it out in the best and most prudent way possible. The honorable member for Richmond said that if we passed the duty on sugar proposed by the Government, Queensland would be very much better off than it is at present, even with the substitution of white for black labour. I think the honorable member succeeded in making it clear that there was a margin of this duty which could be safely struck off in committee. That is how the matter presented itself to my mind. When he referred to the additional sum of £600,000, which would accrue to the industry as the result of the duty, it struck me that that amount could be safely reduced when we got into committee. The honorable member must not shake his head, because he told the House very plainly that even with black labour banished from Queensland, and white labour substituted for it, the people interested in the sugar industry there would be in a very much better position than they are at the present time. I fail to see that we need to put them in any better position. As it is they are doing particularly well, if we have regard to the fact that the Colonial Sugar Company recently paid a 10 per cent. dividend. If that is an indication of the general condition of the industry, then it is doing

admirably. The honorable member's own figures make it clear that we may safely reduce the sum when we get into committee. Then we were treated by the honorable member for Melbourne to some letters from the Bishop of Queensland, relating to the moral aspect of this traffic. The honorable member and the bishop gave only one aspect of this question from the point of view of morality. So far as I am aware, I did not say one word as to the condition of the *kanakas* in Queensland in my speech of a few weeks ago. My remarks related to the moral effect of this traffic upon the *kanaka* in his own home. That, I think, is the most serious part of the question. Missionaries who go to these men tell us that the traffic demoralizes the homes of the *kanakas* in their own islands. It breaks up their family life. It causes them to become nomadic in their habits. It creates the greatest possible feuds and jealousies on the islands, which lead often to conflict and death. We are told too that in some instances disease has decimated the villages, and that this disease is the result of the traffic in the North of Queensland. It is the moral aspect of the question so far as it affects the *kanakas* in their own homes that I refer to more particularly, and it seems to me to be a far more serious one than that relating to their condition in North Queensland. I do not know what the position is in North Queensland. I have heard that it is bad, but in the consideration of the moral aspect of the question I rely upon that which is told me by the men who have seen the *kanaka* in his own home, and who speak of the serious consequences which arise there as the result of this traffic. Until the honorable member is able to give us rebutting evidence concerning the influence of the traffic upon the *kanaka* in his own home life I shall continue to say that in my judgment this is a most immoral traffic, which should be stopped at once in the interests of the *kanaka* himself and in the interests of the integrity of the islands from whence he comes. I have yet to learn that the depopulation of those islands is to be regarded as a light matter. To my mind it is a very serious thing. We have been told of the way in which many of these islanders are kidnapped and brought away from their own islands under every kind of pretence—by methods which are not honest and upright. That, again, I think is a

most serious aspect of the moral question involved in this traffic. An industry which perforce has to depend upon the kidnapping of these people—

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The kidnapping of these islanders is a matter of ancient history.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am told it is not. I am told that it goes on now just as it used to do. Any system which depends upon such a condition of affairs should not be tolerated by the Parliament of this country. I hope, and I believe, that the resources of science, and the enterprise and energy and initiative of the people will be available to meet the condition of things which may be brought about by the displacement of the *kanaka* in the sugar industry. I cannot believe that the £7,000,000 of money invested in it will be dropped quietly even if the *kanaka* is dropped. I am of opinion that the sugar growers of Queensland have too much pluck and enterprise to permit such a thing to happen. If we continue to allow this cheap labour, however, they will continue assuredly to take advantage of it. What does it mean? According to Dr. Maxwell's own statement, the substitution of white for black labour represents only, at the most, a difference of 6 per cent. upon the capital invested. We are told that a very small proportion of the sugar produced in Queensland is grown north of Mackay. Dr. Maxwell makes it clear that to the south of Mackay, and even so far as the districts around Mackay are concerned, there will be no difficulty even if the planters are confined to the employment of white labour. It is only to the north of Mackay that any difficulty will arise, and I do not believe that the resources of science, as applied to cane cutting, cane growing, and the tending of the cane, have reached their utmost point of development. It is notorious that the planters do not possess a machine which will cut or even trash their cane. The inventions relating to the sugar industry are not nearly so forward as are those which have to do with the reaping and garnering of our grain crops. Surely with all this field of invention open to them the task of making up the difference of 6 per cent., represented by the substitution of white for black labour, should not be insuperable. If they will give the white man a fair wage to tempt

him to go up to Queensland and cut sugar cane, he will go there just as readily as he travels to other parts of the world where the climatic conditions are as bad. Miners go to New Guinea, Klondike, and other parts of the world in which there are extremes of climate. All that is required is that there shall be a sufficient inducement. It seems to me to be a pity that with a duty of £5 or £6 a ton on sugar there is not available for distribution among the labour employed in the industry in Queensland a sum sufficient to induce white workers to wend their steps thitherwards. It is clear that this traffic has to go regardless of what the consequences to Queensland may be. The only hope is that the displacements will be as few as possible, and that the difficulties will be got over speedily. Then we shall settle down to a condition of things in which this menace will be removed for ever, and we shall have what we are all striving for: a clear straight future before us with respect to the integrity of our race, and the industrial conditions under which we live.

Mr. MAUGER.—May I be permitted to make a personal explanation in regard to one or two telegrams, bearing on my visit to North Queensland, which have been read? The first telegram to which I wish to make reference is one from the Honorable Angus Gibson, a gentleman whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Bundaberg. I stated last night that he had said that so far as he, as well as others in the district of Bundaberg were concerned, the kanaka could be dispensed with, especially if an adequate duty was imposed upon sugar. I have here Mr. Gibson's remarks as reported by the commissioner of the *Herald*, who accompanied me on that occasion. The writer says—

Mr. Gibson is an honoured member of the Queensland Legislative Council, and a man held in high estimation by all who know him. Black labour suits him as well as his neighbour, but he is one of the few men of his class who view the future with equanimity, and he declines to admit that sugar growing is wholly dependent upon the kanaka.

Mr. Gibson went further than that. He assured us that, so far as Bundaberg was concerned, there could be no doubt about the matter. He said that in the northern districts there would be some difficulties at first, but if time were allowed, and compensation given in the way of a duty of a differential character, he believed the

difficulties could be overcome. The same honorable gentleman has stated that I was only in Bundaberg for two hours. I reached Bundaberg at 8 o'clock in the evening, and I spent something like 24 hours there.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The telegram sets forth that the honorable member spent only two hours on the Bundaberg plantations.

Mr. MAUGER.—Mr. Gibson, as well as Mr. Young, assured me that if I had remained there for two months, I could not have witnessed more than I did during my stay. They showed me the kanaka at work, and at his meals. They told me of the conditions of the kanaka's life: of his religious services, and his mode of living. As I said last evening, I was assured by the Government officials, the planters, and mill managers at Cairns, on the Herbert River, at Bundaberg, and, in fact, wherever we called, that if we stayed there for six months we could not learn more in regard to this traffic. They gave us all the information on the subject that they could. The pamphlet which I hold in my hand has been quoted time after time in this House, and generally commended. Unless the information that we gained was of the fullest character, how could a pamphlet of this kind have been produced, containing as it does official documents and statements? I affirm that owing to the facilities offered to us by the Government, and by the sugar planters, we were enabled to gain all the information that was necessary, and that we saw and heard quite enough to convince us that, looking at the question in its moral aspect, it was necessary to get rid of the kanaka. The honorable member for Melbourne stated that I had made most damaging statements during this debate, and then he confessed that he had not heard my speech.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The honorable member for Melbourne said that the honorable member had made the most definite statements.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member for Melbourne said that he had not heard the whole of the honorable member's speech.

Mr. MAUGER.—He evidently did not hear the whole of it, because he stated that he did not hear the quotation I read from the *Church Commonwealth* newspaper, in which the opinions of Canon Pyke upon the moral aspect of the kanaka question were given. With all due respect to the Bishop of Brisbane, I hold that the opinion of a clergyman who has lived among these

kanakas for many years is entitled to the greatest respect. I will quote his words—

The writer has lived in North Queensland many years, and has personally studied this question from its alphabet. He affirms deliberately that the Cairns incident is a reduction to the lowest common denominator of the facts concerning every sugar district in the State. The alien races come here from social and moral conditions essentially different from our own. Their customs, their instincts, their laws of thought and life have been developed under circumstances which cannot be compared with those existing here. They cannot understand us, nor readily adapt themselves to our ideas. We have imported into the country thousands of men who know nothing of self-control, whose passions have been undisciplined by social custom, religious authority, or moral consideration, and to whom sexual morality, particularly, is almost unknown.

Can the moral life of any community be secure when these immoralities are regarded complacently? Can any consideration justify these things? Whatever the economist may have to say, surely the Church can find only one verdict, a verdict which is summed up in two words—“white Australia.”

That is the opinion of a gentleman who has been resident in the district, and who has worked in all parts of it. He knows all about the mission to the kanakas, and the lives the kanakas lead; and surely his statement is worthy of at any rate as much consideration as that of the visiting bishop connected with the Brisbane episcopate. I can assure honorable members that I was speaking within the mark in every statement I made with reference to the morality of the kanaka, and his general environment and conditions of life; and I am quite certain that if honorable members could visit Northern Queensland, they would bear out every statement I have made.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON (Brisbane).—It is not congenial to me to have to speak again on this kanaka question after having addressed the House during the debate on the second reading of the Bill. Although I made my remarks as brief as possible on that occasion, and omitted very important matters from my speech, I do not intend to introduce now anything that I then left out. The honorable member for Parramatta closed his speech by stating that the resources of science would doubtless in due time obviate the necessity for employing kanakas, or any other form of black labour. The observation reminded me very much of the speech of the leader of the Opposition at Toowoomba. The right honorable gentleman said that as we had developed a certain breed of men in the different parts of

Australia—upon the plains and in the bush, in the scrubs and in the forests, and in the Saharas of the west, so should we in due time develop a breed of men who would be fit to work in connexion with the sugar industry in tropical Australia. I put these two statements in juxtaposition.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not know about the statement of the leader of the Opposition, but the honorable member is misquoting my statement.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—I have no doubt about the resources of science. I believe that we shall be cutting cane by electricity and trashing by machinery, but we cannot wait for the growth of the special breed of labourers whom it may take any time from fifteen to 40 years to produce in order to carry on the sugar industry. The honorable member for Richmond observed that he did not want to go into the future, but wished to cut off the kanaka at once—to guillotine him. The honorable member reminded me of an old writer who was rather severe on both sexes when he said that man lived upon the future and woman upon the past. The honorable member for Richmond says that he does not want to look to the future, and if that old writer, to whom I refer, were alive, he would probably want to inquire into the sex of the honorable member. I now desire to say a few words that I omitted to say when I spoke on the previous occasion in connexion with this Bill. I charge the men who wish to extinguish the Polynesian labour traffic and to put a stop to the employment of kanakas in Queensland, and in other parts of Australia, with entirely ignoring the most important consideration in connexion with this great question, and that is the large number of white people who will lose their employment and their bread and butter if the kanaka goes.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has there been any protest from those people?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—Yes; I have no end of protests from them. I charge those honorable members who are trying to do away with the kanaka with conspiring under the cloak of the parrot cry of a white Australia to attack capital, to destroy the credit of the great financial institutions of Queensland, and to obliterate all the results of the wholesome pluck and enterprise of Australians in the tropical parts of Queensland. Where will the labour

party be when they once get the Government to fall in with their wishes? They are the tail that is wagging the dog now.

Mr. PAGE.—How about the honorable member, who is trying to wag the Opposition tail?

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—I defy any honorable member to say that I have made any attempt to influence a single vote, except by the expression of my honest opinion, in the course of these debates, that we should give fair play to the planter and to the kanaka, and to all the whites whose living is involved in this black labour question. I unhesitatingly say that kanaka labour should not be done away with within a shorter time than ten years from the present. But if that proposition is not accepted, an inquiry should be made by a Royal commission, whose time for bringing up a report should, as the honorable member for Parramatta has suggested, be limited. Let us have an inquiry made by honorable members, representing the southern States, who have shown such a want of knowledge upon this subject. Let us dispel the ignorance that is hanging not only over this Chamber, but over the public outside. I am now going to say something which is perfectly premeditated, and that is that if, as the result of such an inquiry as I have indicated, the commission recommend that the kanaka should go within six months, I shall accept their decision and support it most cordially. If the commission come to that conclusion I shall stand by the result of their inquiry, and vote for the deportation of these kanakas to their homes at once. It is, however, unworthy of the first House of this Commonwealth Parliament that they should attack capital under the cover of the cry for a white Australia; that they should cruelly throttle one of the finest industries in Australia. For years and years, as far back as the sixties, Queensland has been selling her land under the old 1868 Act, and under the Sugar and Coffee Lands Act, and has been encouraging men to come from all parts of Australia and from other parts of the world, and to enter upon the occupation of sugar and coffee growing. Provision was made upon the statute book for facilities to enable these men to take up land, and to bring coolies down to work their plantations. There was no stint of coolies in the first instance, but the kanaka was preferred afterwards because he was nearer home.

So the matter has gone on. The kanaka has never been regarded as a permanent institution, but he has been looked upon as necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the lower classes of work, such as draining swamps, and that sort of thing, which white men could not do. The honorable member for Maranoa, who has referred to his work in connexion with railway construction in Northern Queensland, must know that we had a large percentage of white men stricken down by fever and other diseases in connexion with the construction of the Rockhampton Western Railway.

Mr. PAGE.—That is quite true.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—We had to put on extra medical men. The same thing occurred between Dalby and Roma. The turning up of the soil in that locality in railway making does not conduce to the health of white men.

Mr. PAGE.—They built the railway all the same.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—They did, and died.

Mr. McDONALD.—What right have we to murder the kanaka?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—The kanaka is not murdered. It is the change of life which carries him off. The kanaka dies at a higher rate in his own islands than he does upon the mainland. He is delighted to come to the continent, in order that he may acquire the habits of the white man, which he imitates very closely. There is not a kanaka in Queensland who dresses less stylishly than does the honorable member for Maranoa. The kanaka would not accept a cast-off coat from the honorable member for Maranoa, the honorable member for Oxley, or myself. He buys his clothes direct from the shop. He does not take one penny out of the country. Only the other day I noticed that one steamer leaving for China had a couple of thousand sovereigns on board, whilst another took 12,000 sovereigns and a third 6,000. The Minister for Trade and Customs was eloquently persuasive a few days since in impressing on honorable members that it is a desirable thing to retain our money in the country. The kanaka does not take one penny away with him; whereas the Chinese, Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and Japanese are emptying Australia of sovereigns every month. Why did we not begin at the other end of the stick by tackling the British Cabinet upon our right

to expel Chinese and other undesirable aliens who are filling the avenues of trade and industry within the Commonwealth, and who engage in storekeeping, hawking, and other occupations which the kanaka never touches? Why did we not begin there, and leave the humble kanaka alone for a few years, which is all that the planters and people desire. The Government, it seems to me, have "kow-towed" to the labour party in order to secure their votes upon the Tariff and other questions. This Bill is the reward of the labour party. I feel humiliated that this question is to be voted upon by a congregation of men the majority of whom are utterly ignorant of the subject. Why cannot we postpone this measure for another year? What harm would transpire as the result of such delay? Is not capital already dislocated, and trade not merely dull, but dead, in consequence of this threatened legislation? I would further point out that in the early days Queensland sold her lands to cash purchasers and to selectors upon terms. Those terms included an understanding that every encouragement should be given for the development of the sugar industry. It was agreed concurrently with the purchase of those lands that the labour traffic necessary to fit them for the cultivation of sugar cane should not be disturbed without reasonable notice. Does this Bill give such notice?

Mr. McDONALD.—It gives a very liberal notice.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—The honorable member has been trying to get the Government to fix the notice at six months. He and the members of his party have no sympathy with capital or vested interests or credit. They have no consideration for any of these things. This Bill, I am told, is to be the revenge of a certain section for the shipping strike and the shearers' strike. I could cite quotations from journals whose utterances are not at all fiery in favour of the position which I take up. There is in Queensland a seething discontent bordering upon revolution owing to the determination of the Government to force this Bill through the House. I do not expect any quarter from the labour party upon this subject. I am pleading to-night, not for the black man, but for that large section of our own people which will be breadless and houseless if this Bill be carried. In this connexion I wish to read an

extract from the report of Walker's Limited, one of the largest foundries in Australia. Their works are thoroughly up to date, and they turn out some of the best quartz-crushing machinery and locomotives in the world. At the annual meeting of shareholders held on 30th August last, Mr. W. F. Harrington, chairman of directors, said—

If with that boon they could only obtain from the Federal Parliament a fair and reasonable settlement of the labour conditions for the sugar-growers, the outlook generally should be good. Shareholders must bear in mind that sugar machinery had always formed a large item in the business of this company. Some few months ago the Johnstone River Central Mill Company Limited accepted the tender of Walker's Limited for the supply and erection of their mill on the Johnstone, subject to the Amended Sugar Works Guarantee Act (passed by Queensland last session) meeting with the approval of the Home Government. The approval, as they were aware, having been withheld, the contract could not be proceeded with, and therefore an expenditure of approximately £50,000 had been lost to the white workers of Queensland, to say nothing of the disappointment and money losses sustained by the cane farmers on the Johnstone River.

He goes on to say that nobody ever dreamed that the kanaka traffic would be discontinued within a less period than ten years. The prospect of this Bill becoming law has led to the cancellation of other contracts. Quite £100,000 worth of white worker's labour has passed away like a mist before the rising sun. What does Dr. Maxwell say? It seems to me that his letter of 5th October has been denied a fair and generous consideration by some honorable members of this Chamber. I will read a portion of it. It is addressed to the Premier of Queensland. Dr. Maxwell says—

Sir,—I have the honour to receive your letter of the 4th instant, requesting my views "upon the Pacific Islanders Bill now before the Federal Parliament"; and further requesting me to "furnish you with an unreserved opinion upon the great importance of the sugar industry, and upon the probable effect of such a measure, if passed, upon the industry." The text of the Bill was set forth in the official telegram recalling me to Brisbane, and is before me. Concerning the measure, with its present provisions, if it is passed, I am persuaded it will paralyze the industry.

The Prime Minister says that the policy of the Government is revenue with incidental protection, and no destruction of industries. What does Dr. Maxwell say?—

I am persuaded that it will paralyze the industry. Personally, I am convinced that if we do not give a longer period the industry will

perish instant. Dr. Maxwell, continuing, says—

One effect will be instant. A very large proportion of the cane-growers are depending upon the banks and other financial sources to aid them in producing and harvesting their crops, and in the permanent development of their farms. This aid will stop, and in many cases at once.

I could have told honorable members that before I came back from Brisbane, four or five weeks ago. I found at Bundaberg and elsewhere that the financial nutrition to every one engaged in the sugar industry in Queensland has been frozen. Sugar is not grown south of Bundaberg to any extent. The honorable member for Richmond spoke of the cane plantations upon the New South Wales rivers. But one might just as well compare Gippsland with Wagga Wagga, or Hay or Deniliquin, as compare the southern districts of Queensland and northern New South Wales with Cairns or the Johnstone River.

Mr. McDONALD.—Dr. Maxwell classes them as the same.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—He classes them according to the rainfall, and the rainfall is very different in those places. In one district the rainfall was $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the year, while in other places the rainfall is only $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Dr. Maxwell continued—

My relations with the grower on the one hand, and with money institutions, who seek my opinions, cause me to be painfully well aware of the situation, and of what must happen, if given action is taken. A further effect will be that the industry must stop from want of labour to make and harvest future crops if the time provisions of the Bill are enforced.

I never read that letter until this evening; but my election campaign shows that I considered a period of time was necessary, and that I would be prepared to close the ports at the end of that time against black labour, just as heartily, enthusiastically, and loyally, as any honorable member.

Mr. McCAY.—What would happen to the sugar industry then?

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—If time were given it would enable the sugar growers to look round, and perhaps to get that breed of white labourer to whom the leader of the Opposition has referred. The men who receive £2 10s. or £3 a week on the Clarence River, do not work only eight hours a day. Anyone who has been an employer knows that contract labour means the

exertion of muscle and brain to the uttermost. These men are up at daylight, and after a spell in the middle of the day work until they can go on no longer. Dr. Maxwell further on in his report says—

Putting the matter briefly, and assuming that it will be enacted that the *Pacific Islander* must go, then in those districts which may survive the abolition of such labour, ten years is the minimum of time within which it will be found possible to adjust the industry to the proposed new conditions, and provide labour for its continuance.

I never met Dr. Maxwell until the other day, but here on the 5th October he writes words which really formed the text on which I fought the battle of my election. I never wanted to come into this Parliament, but I thought that the experience of a man who had been 39 years in the country would be valuable in many respects. I am a commercial man by training and instinct, and I say unhesitatingly that to move in the direction proposed, without further inquiry, would be destructive of the best interests of Queensland, and would be a blot upon the reputation of the Commonwealth for many a day. The honorable member for Wide Bay charged me with having the temerity to say that he represented only the diggers. Is it possible that that honorable member can think that I did not know intimately that part of the country before he was born, or, at any rate, before he came to this country? I wish the labour party to understand that I represent labour at least as much as they do. Wage-earners sent me into this Parliament, and they were not the white men sparsely distributed over the coastal regions. Is it not the fact that the bulk of the votes received by the honorable members for Maranoa and Kennedy were from wage-earners in the west?

Mr. PAGE.—That is right.

Mr. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—There is no more splendid type of men than the men in the west; but there are very few whites in the tropical jungles of the sugar districts on the east coast. The fight was fought on the old prejudices created when the squatters took blacks by the hundred, or certainly by the score, to the western districts to erect fences, shepherd sheep, and do work which the white men had hitherto done. The honorable member for Maranoa knows that I fought the kanaka question in 1883, and was beaten by a capitalist because I would

not allow the kanaka to leave high water-mark localities. I merely mention this incidentally, because I do not mind being defeated. I believe in fighting the battle again, if it be a good, wholesome battle. I am sorry to find that it is necessary for me in the Commonwealth Parliament to defend men from the old country, Victoria, and New South Wales, who have put their millions into this industry, which it is proposed to destroy without giving breathing time. As was well said by a newspaper the other day—What are ten years, or twenty years, in the life of a nation? It is possible to kill a tree either quickly or slowly. If we desire to kill a tree slowly we girdle it—which is a little more expensive than ring-barking. When a tree is ring-barked, it seems as though Nature had her revenge by causing a rapid undergrowth, which proves more expensive by far to remove than if the tree had been girdled in the first instance. Under the process of girdling, a tree may take two or three years to die; but, in dying, it does not hurt its neighbour which is required to give shelter to cattle or sheep. I believe trees have much sympathy from each other, and that when one is injudiciously killed, the others die from the change of climate which is caused thereby. There are men in this Chamber who have no more sympathy with the labour, with the solvency and enterprise of those men and those dependent on them, than they have with the granite pillars which grace the entrance to this chamber. Why is it that there is such a dearth of knowledge? Why do men not cultivate a knowledge of commerce, of the laws of the money market, and the operations of banking, which is the blessing of the world? I remember that when the tutor to the late Duke of Edinburgh wrote a book about money many years ago, I was startled by the statement that there is not enough money in the world to serve the exchange of New York. And neither there is; credit is more precious than gold.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am afraid the honorable member is wandering from the subject.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—I want to show that gold is labour, and that every sovereign husbanded by the working man, when in the prime of life, is so much labour saved. As to climate, I find that many well-bred horses taken from the Darling Downs die in the north of Queensland; and will it be said that that

is a proper place for white men where good horses cannot live?

Mr. PAGE.—Horses cannot be expected to live for ever.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—But 50 per cent. of the horses die within the first few months.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is not a place for anybody to be in. That is what the honorable member's argument means, if it means anything at all.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—It has been said that the incidence of the Tariff will benefit white sugar-growers; but here we read that the Bundaberg planters would not be able to do without kanaka labour even with a bonus of 4s. per ton on cane. That is my reply on the question of bonuses. Then there was a meeting of the Toowoomba Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. L. E. GROOM.—How many were present at that meeting? If the honorable member fathers the resolution, he is responsible for it.

Mr. MACDONALD - PATERSON.—I will also read an extract from a speech by the late honoured father of the honorable member. As to the Toowoomba Chamber of Commerce, we read that they arrived at the following resolution:—

That in the opinion of this Chamber, it is undesirable to pass any legislation dealing with the question of kanaka labour until the receipt of report from a Royal commission duly appointed by the Federal Legislature for the purpose of making an exhaustive inquiry into the subject.

I have copies of similar resolutions passed, I think, by all the Chambers of Commerce in Queensland, but I shall not take up the time of the House by reading them. I desire, however, to quote from an article published by the *Brisbane Courier* of 10th ultimo, in which it says—

It must not surprise the Southern States that there should be extravagant allusions to armed resistance. Reasonable men will of course have nothing to do with such nonsense. But reasonable men may soon have to decide whether the Federal Parliament should not be asked to allow Queensland to leave the Commonwealth, and no less an authority than Mr. Chamberlain has given it as his opinion that such a request under certain conditions ought to be granted.

Here is another newspaper extract relating to Dr. Maxwell and the new sugar duties—

A telegram has been received by the Chief Secretary from Dr. Maxwell, who is now at Bundaberg, under Tuesday's date, as follows:—“Federal Tariff provisions for sugar do not in any way affect any previous statements to you concerning the northern sugar districts—

Honorable members will see that Dr. Maxwell keeps to the northern districts—

It is neither a Tariff nor a wage question, but one of available labour to keep the mills going.

That is why we ask for extra time. As the hour is getting late I shall conclude with the following quotation from an article on the Kanaka Bill, published in the *Brisbane Courier* of the 9th ultimo. Referring to the report of the commission on Polynesian labour, of which, I believe, the late honorable member for Darling Downs was chairman, the article sets forth—

Mr. Barton here makes a point of the fact that the two commissioners who signed the majority report did not think that there should be an indefinite continuance of kanaka labour. The late Hon. W. H. Groom, he says, differed from them, and supported the termination of the licences in 1890. It is thus left to be inferred that Mr. Groom did not recognise the importance of kanaka labour in the carrying on of the sugar industry. Now, what are the facts? In his own report (page xlviii.) he says:—"Is Queensland in a position to do without the sugar industry or to confine the cultivation of sugar to white labour exclusively?" In answer to that question, he says:—"We are bound to look at the surrounding circumstances of the case."

I have been endeavouring to elucidate this evening the surrounding circumstances of the case—

He refers to the tropical climate in the districts north of Townsville, with their impenetrable jungle, and says that in these districts there is, in a great many instances, a disposition on the part of Europeans to have nothing whatever to do with agriculture until the land had been cleared and made ready for cultivation.

That is the crux of the question. We should keep the kanaka in Queensland to clear the land, and prepare it for the white man. The article continues—

His conclusion is:—"If the question, 'Is Queensland able to do without the sugar industry except on the basis of a white population?' is answered in the affirmative, then undoubtedly a very large portion of the coast districts of the north will not be cultivated, at all events for a long time to come, and from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 of capital, which has been invested in the industry, will be wiped out of existence, and the whole of the population now dependent on the sugar industry for a livelihood, will, for a time, and until new industries arrive, be thrown out of employment. Can Queensland at the present time afford to do this?"

When this report was written, we had not suffered from the terrible drought which has since come upon New South Wales and Queensland. We had not lost millions and millions of sheep and cattle. Our revenue had not been diminished by the curtailed

Mr. Macdonald-Paterson.

expenditure of the people. Our railway revenue had not been reduced from a net profit of from 3 per cent. to 3½ per cent. to from 1½ per cent. to 1¼ per cent. Yet he asked at that stage "Can Queensland afford it?" Even at that time we could not, and now when we are on our backs, struggling against the most violent wrench to trade and commerce that has ever occurred in the history of the States, we are to have this proposal thrust upon us, and the people of Queensland are to be called upon to carry a fresh load of disaster. I do not harbour resentment in my heart, even in politics. I could not do it, but I say that if I am not here after the next general election, some other representative of Queensland will be in my place, who will feel it his duty to endeavour to place the load upon the proper back, and secure the suitable punishment of those who are trying at the present time to bring the blackest of disasters upon Queensland. We are asking for a few years time in which to make this change. Dr. Maxwell said that ten years would be necessary. I said so some time before he made that statement. Others say that seven years should be allowed. It is because I have an intimate acquaintance with the ramifications of business, and because of the effects of this change which I can foresee, that I make this appeal. I foresaw the disasters of 1893 two years before any man in Melbourne foresaw them. If I had not done so I should not have been here now—I should have been in the insolvency court. I do not say this egotistically, but I have a foresight, politically, commercially, and financially, which teaches me to express the conviction that if the Government proceed with this Bill without giving proper time to dispel the ignorance which exists, both inside and outside the House, by means of a commission of inquiry, they will abstain from the performance of a duty which is due to themselves and the country.

Mr. CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—After listening to the impassioned speech made by the honorable and learned member for Brisbane, one would almost imagine that he was in the predicament of a man who had adopted the principle "when you have no case abuse the other side." The honorable member takes an extreme view in debating this question. I regret that we should have such extreme speeches, because many of us are anxious to learn the ins and outs of this question, so that we may give our votes in

a way that will best safeguard this great industry and yet be in keeping with the election pledges that nearly every honorable member has made upon the well-worn question of the kanaka. The honorable member for Brisbane says that in his opinion the Government have "kow-towed" to the labour party.

MR. MACDONALD-PATERSON.—No; I said that the labour party had "kow-towed" to them.

MR. CHAPMAN.—I have seen very little of it. If the honorable member means by that expression that the Government have knuckled down to the labour party, I should like to point out that, whenever a big question has arisen, the labour party have either been divided, or they have voted in a solid body against the Government. That does not look as if the Government had knuckled down in any way to the labour party. Whatever may be said regarding the Prime Minister, no one can assert honestly that he is not sincere on this question. We know that there is no man in Australia who takes a greater pride in his native land than does the Prime Minister. He has proclaimed from the house-tops, so to speak, that the black man must go. There can be no doubt about that. In proposing the policy which is now before Parliament, he is fulfilling only the pledges which he has made to the people from time to time. But the honorable and learned member for Brisbane goes further. He says that the leader of the Opposition told the people of Queensland that the solution of the trouble was that we should wait until we could breed a type of men capable of performing the arduous work, now discharged by the kanaka.

MR. RAID.—Why is the honorable member stone-walling? Let us come to a division.

MR. CHAPMAN.—If my memory serves me rightly, the leader of the Opposition is the only honorable member who has proclaimed himself to be in accord with the proposal made to-night by the honorable member for Oxley. I shall wait with interest the casting of his vote, for I believe that he told the people of Queensland that there must be some further inquiry before he could make up his mind. Consequently I can quite understand why he takes such an interest in this matter.

MR. R. EDWARDS.—I claim the right honorable and learned member's vote.

MR. CHAPMAN.—Unless the right honorable and learned member has turned round again, the honorable member for Oxley should have it. Those of us who do not understand this question have to depend to a great extent upon what we are told by honorable members who have had some experience of the industry, and by men who have read what has been written by the great authorities on this subject. I have read with a great deal of pleasure the very able report presented to the Prime Minister by Dr. Maxwell. I have read also some of the able articles written on this subject by men who are deeply interested in it, and some of those published by the newspapers, which take great care to ascertain what are the rights of the question. I have here a paragraph from the *Brisbane Courier*. I presume that very few honorable members would go so far as to say that the *Courier* would write of this question in any way other than what it believed to be true, and I confess that paragraphs such as these, as well as Dr. Maxwell's report, influence me in the vote I am about to give. The paragraph is as follows:—

No Government dare re-open the black labour question, even in the attempt to save a doomed industry. The present Government are pledged to the hilt to have no more to do with coloured labour, and political tergiversation of so black a kind as would be implied in the adoption of the recommendation of a majority of the commission is not possible; honour would not permit it, an all but unanimous people would not suffer it. The Queensland sugar industry is not doomed to extinction; the possibilities of science and invention are endless, and if only the planters were manfully to face their losses as other speculators have had to do instead of dolefully appealing for help to the State, they would in time surmount all difficulties, and see a fair good arising out of a past evil.

MR. R. EDWARDS.—In what year was that?

MR. CHAPMAN.—In the year 1889. This statement shows that, in the opinion of the *Brisbane Courier*, the kanaka traffic ought to have been stopped twelve years ago. I can quite understand the question of the honorable member for Oxley as to the year in which that statement was published, because this expression of opinion, taken in conjunction with others which have been given by the *Brisbane Courier*, shows what we have to face in connexion with this question. The whole cry is "Give us time." The honorable and learned member for Brisbane asks for a year, but what is

the use of waiting a year to settle this question?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—We do not want a year—six months would be sufficient.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—If we wait a year, or even six months, the cry will still be "Give us time." The honorable and learned member for Brisbane said that if the kanakas were abolished the capitalists would be ruined and financial institutions would be broken down. We always hear that cry whenever a monopoly is being attacked, but very few men in this House will dare to resist the mandate of the people at the last election that the kanaka must go. We are told that it is not the wish of Queensland that the kanaka should go. Probably the honorable and learned member for Brisbane knows better than I do what the public sentiment is in Queensland, but I cannot ignore the result of the election for Darling Downs, when Mr. Bell, who had the full force of the Queensland Government behind him in opposition to the Bill now before us, was defeated by a large majority by the honorable member now sitting for that electorate. The only conclusion I can draw from this and other circumstances is that Queensland has spoken most emphatically on this question, and has declared that the kanaka must go. But for the strong evidence I have in front of me, I should hesitate, after the terrible pictures painted by the honorable member for Oxley and the honorable member for Brisbane, to take any extreme course, because I recognise that in great matters of this kind it is sometimes well to make haste slowly. On the other hand, this is not altogether a Queensland matter, but is one which affects men in all the other States of Australia, and if there is one question upon which we should rise above provincial considerations, it is that of the purity of the race. These kanakas are a menace to the people of Australia, and as it has been pretty clearly proved that the white man can do the plantation work, coloured labour should be dispensed with. The one consideration underlying the whole question is that of pounds, shillings, and pence. The white man will not work for the same wages as the black man, and as a consequence the white man has gone without work, and all the employment has been given to the black man. I have had a little experience with labourers, and I have never seen a black man who could work better than a white man. All the

white man requires is to be paid for his labour, and he can do anything, and it is all moonshine to say that we cannot cope with this plantation labour question until a different type of man can be bred for the work. I think that very fair compensation will be afforded to the men who have invested their money in this industry, by the proposals of the Government in connexion with the sugar duty. Honorable members would not so calmly have accepted the proposal to impose a high duty on sugar if it had not been for their desire to deal considerably with the sugar planters. We realize that some hardship must be inflicted upon the planters, and we are desirous of offering them fair and generous consideration, so as to soften the blow to them as far as possible. I feel that the hardships will only be temporary, and that the change now contemplated will not be attended with any of the dire results indicated by the honorable member for Brisbane. From what I have seen on the northern rivers, I feel sure that there is plenty of country there upon which sugar can be cultivated by means of white labour, and there is no necessity to despair as to the future of the sugar industry. I am quite sure it will prosper and grow under the system of employing white labour, and I cannot see why there should be any further delay in arriving at a settlement of the question. The honorable member for Brisbane said that very few honorable members knew anything about this question, and, if that be true, I ask what would be the use of referring this matter to a select committee composed of honorable members who are uninformed. It is preferable to thresh the whole matter out in the House, so that we may have the benefit of the united wisdom of the representatives of the people here, and do our best in the interests of those who have their money invested in the industry, and at the same time meet the demand of the people for a white Australia. It has been stated that there is a strong feeling of bitterness in Queensland in connexion with this matter, and that if Queensland had known what this Government were going to propose, they would not have joined the Federation. These statements and the talk about sending a delegation to the home Government are all moonshine. It is idle to say that the majority of the people in Queensland are in

favour of retaining the kanaka, and it is also ridiculous to pretend that the home Government is in any better position to deal with the kanaka question than is this Commonwealth Parliament. I have no hesitation as to the way in which I shall vote upon this subject. I listened with care and with pleasure to the speeches of the honorable member for Oxley and the honorable member for Brisbane, but I would point out to them that they are fighting for a dying cause, for something which the people of Australia have said must go. The people may not have considered the cost, but it is for us to do that. Whatever the cost, however, the people have decided that the kanaka must go. If we are to retain the sugar industry, it must be carried on by means of white labour. If it came to a question of having to decide between retaining the kanaka and losing the sugar industry, I am quite sure that the large majority of the people would be in favour of sweeping the industry out of existence rather than of prolonging it by means of black labour.

Mr. THOMSON (North Sydney). — I have waited until this stage of the debate before speaking, as I recognised that it would be only right to hear what the representatives of Queensland had to say before expressing any opinion. I must say that owing to lack of information on the whole subject of black labour I was almost inclined to vote for the motion of the honorable member for Oxley.

Mr. PAGE. — We expected that.

Mr. THOMSON. — The honorable member may expect what he likes, but I will not do as some honorable members have done, and vote against my stated convictions.

Mr. PAGE. — We are not ashamed of anything we have done.

Mr. THOMSON. — No, perhaps not, because it takes so much to make some people ashamed. When the honorable member makes a remark that is not called for, he must expect to be paid back in his own coin. For the information of honorable members—excluding the honorable member for Maranoa, who possibly does not desire to be enlightened—I might say that I have all along had a strong objection to kanaka labour in Queensland. I hold the same opinion to-day—that this labour, apart from the question of black labour generally, ought to be abandoned, and as far as I am concerned, I

should prefer to see it abandoned at a date even earlier than is provided for in the measure before us. I have had some opportunities of knowing the injury that is being done to the island populations by this traffic, and I hold that if we are decimating the islands, or hastening in any way the natural reduction of their populations, we are incurring a responsibility which the profits that may be made in any industry will not justify us in incurring. Under these circumstances, I have no doubt whatever as to how I should vote on the kanaka question pure and simple, but there are considerations beyond that, as the representatives of Queensland have admitted. I think that the Government have not taken sufficient pains to lay before us information such as they ought to have obtained; firstly, as to whether white men can carry on tropical agriculture; secondly, whether, if they can, they will do it; and thirdly, whether, if they can and will do it, they ought to be allowed to do it. The reason I raise the question as to whether white men ought to be allowed to do this work, is this: We know that the white men who have been engaged in plantation work in the Southern States of the American Union and in other hot parts of the world have deteriorated physically and mentally. Work in the sugar plantations has produced people whom we do not wish to see produced in this continent. Whilst we naturally object to the reduction of the standard of our civilization by an intermixture with the coloured races, we have also reason to object strongly to the reduction of their physical standard by allowing them to perform work in tropical latitudes to which they may not be equal. If it can be shown that white men can do this work without deterioration, and that they are willing to do it, we shall have every reason for prohibiting the introduction of any class of coloured labour into our northern areas. But if it can be shown that white men are not able or willing to undertake this work, or that they should not be allowed to do it, the further question arises—is there good reason for not admitting any coloured labour at all on conditions of temporary employment and return, under the control of the Government? The Government being responsible for the interests of the whole of the continent, and for the future policy of the Commonwealth, and having been asked to take over a large area containing many millions of acres of

tropical land, should have given firm and decided answers to these questions. Holding the views which I had previously expressed, I could well have voted against the motion, and have taken the more popular course without further troubling the House on this matter. But I have no desire to conceal my views in any way, and therefore I have taken this opportunity to place them before honorable members. If this had been the only opportunity for getting the question of coloured labour in the north definitely settled, and of conceding to the Queensland Government what it asks, namely, inquiry, I might have been inclined to vote with the honorable member for Oxley. This Bill provides for the cessation of a traffic which, under no conditions, in my opinion of the wrong done is correct, ought to be continued. I do not say that the wrong has been done in Queensland. I am quite willing to accept the assurance that the traffic is properly regulated there, but there is a wrong being done to the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. We are affecting their lives, disturbing the natural balance, interfering with their customs and habits, and giving them nothing steady or permanent in return. We are sending back to these islands disease which, in many cases, is decimating the population. No country, and especially no British country, which has set for itself a high standard in dealing with these semi-civilized nations, has a right to continue that traffic for the mere purpose of gain. But, as I have already said, there may be, even though this measure passes, if Queensland desires it, an opportunity for full inquiry into the whole question. That is to say, a commission such as the honorable member for Oxley wishes, could ascertain whether, and in what way, our tropical agricultural areas may be used, and could do so in the light of all the views of our people, of their determination that there shall be no deterioration in our white population, of their desire to exclude any admixture, and to prevent the reduction of our white labourers to the level of the dark races. Such an inquiry could be made and a decision arrived at by this House when the report came before it. That can be done independently of the kanaka question altogether.

Mr FISHER.—It would take three years.

Mr. THOMSON.—However long it might take, it could be done. I should

vote for such a proposal, but I shall vote against this motion for the reason that it is purely a kanaka question, and I should not be justified in the light of my own knowledge in supporting a continuance of that traffic.

Mr. BARTON (Hunter—Minister for External Affairs).—I do not wish to say more than one or two words. I have not been able to discover that the necessity which the mover of this motion has put forward for further inquiry, really exists. My belief is that there is before this Parliament a more complete body of facts than has ever been before the Parliament of Queensland when it has been asked to deal with this question. In addition to all that has been before that Parliament, a report has been obtained, since it legislated, from the expert employed by the Government of that State, Dr. Maxwell—a man of very great ability and research. He has also made a report at our special instance, and with the leave of the Government in whose employ he is. Opinions will, and must, differ on such a subject as this. I have formed my own opinion, with an anxious desire to be just and fair. I give those who differ from me credit for the same desire, and for the same anxious eagerness not to do anything that is wrong for want of the necessary knowledge. I have tried to make myself possessed of that necessary knowledge. It is utterly untrue, as suggested in a section of the press, that at the recent Premiers' Conference I professed to know all that was to be known upon the subject. All that I said at any stage of the proceedings was that there was a large body of information before this Parliament, and a larger body than was ever before any other Parliament that had to deal with the question. I was never so presumptuous as to say that I possess any special knowledge on the subject. I cannot admit the claim that, before legislating upon great questions like this, it is an absolute necessity that every honorable member should visit the district or State concerned. If that were admitted, legislation would be impossible, and Parliament would become a mockery. That is not the spirit in which to approach this subject. It is not right to say that legislation should not take place until Parliament, in the personnel of its members, has visited every district concerned, or, on the other hand, to urge, where large bodies of facts have been presented, where protests have been made,

and where representations upon both sides have been frequent and continuous, that greater knowledge can be obtained on the question, without attempting to offer some proof in support of this contention. We have no proof in that direction. It seems to me, therefore, that I am justified in asking the House to vote against this motion.

Question resolved in the negative.

In Committee :

Clause 1 (Short title).

Progress reported.

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of the following message—

The Senate acquaints the House of Representatives that it doth not insist on its amendments to amendments Nos. 16, 19, and 20 of the House of Representatives to which the House of Representatives has disagreed, and does not insist on its disagreement to amendment No. 6 of the House of Representatives upon which the House of Representatives insists, in the Post and Telegraph Bill.

House adjourned at 11.12 p.m.

Senate.

Thursday, 7 November, 1901.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PAPER.

Senator DRAKE laid upon the table—

Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies relating to the conference of delegates on the question of the representation of the colonies in the final Court of Appeal, also resolution of the conference.

Ordered to be printed.

POST-OFFICE SORTERS.

Senator MCGREGOR asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Will the Postmaster-General inquire why eight junior sorters were promoted over a large number of senior sorters in the Victorian mail branch notwithstanding the protests of the latter?

2. Have the senior sorters any redress?

3. Is the Sorters' Association viewed with disfavour by the department?

4. Does membership of this association debar members from obtaining promotion?

Senator DRAKE.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow :—

1. The Postmaster-General has inquired into this matter and has ascertained that the junior sorters were promoted by the Public Service Board of Victoria previous to the transfer of the Post and Telegraph department to the Commonwealth.

2. Senior sorters have no immediate redress, as the junior sorters cannot be deprived of the position in which they were placed by the Public Service Board.

3. The Sorters' Association is not viewed with disfavour by the department.

4. Membership of this association does not debar members from obtaining promotion.

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS.

Senator PULSFORD asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

1. When will the regulations which have been issued under the Customs Act be laid upon the table of the Senate?

2. What arrangements do the Government propose in order to insure to the Senate full opportunity of negating any of the regulations within the time allowed by the Act?

Senator O'CONNOR.—The answers to the honorable senator's questions are as follow :—

1. The regulations referred to were laid on the table of the Senate on the 11th of October.

2. Fifteen sitting days provided by the Customs Act appear to the Government to allow ample opportunity for passing any resolution desired by the Senate.

Senator PULSFORD.—Not if the Government occupy all the time.

IMMIGRATION OF ALIENS.

Senator PULSFORD asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

Will the Government lay on the table of the Senate, before the second reading of the Immigration Restriction Bill is moved, copies (1) of all correspondence on the subject between the Consul for Japan and the Government; (2) of any communications on the subject received from the Imperial Government?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Inquiries will be made, and any communication not confidential will be laid upon the table of the Senate.

FEDERAL TARIFF.

Senator PULSFORD asked the Vice-President of the Executive Council, *upon notice*—

When do the Government propose to fulfil their promise to lay upon the table of the Senate

the various suggestions made to them for duties to be placed on the Federal Tariff, especially those made by the Protectionists' Associations and the Chambers of Manufactures?

Senator O'CONNOR.—Early next week.

PUBLIC SERVICE BILL.

In Committee.—(Consideration resumed from 11th October, *vide* page 5971.)

Clause 5—

(2) The commissioner and inspectors shall each be appointed for a term of seven years and shall be eligible for re-appointment.

Upon which Senator DE LARGIE had moved by way of amendment—

That sub-clause (2) be omitted.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—This sub-clause has been discussed at considerable length, and I moved for its omission because we have provided in an earlier part of the clause for the appointment of the commissioner. By the omission of the sub-clause we should provide that his appointment should not be for a definite term. It is advisable that he should be appointed on the same terms as any other officer in the public service. I do not see why we should fix upon a particular term, seeing that it is quite an experiment whether he will be a success or not. We ought to go slowly and be in a position to terminate the appointment if we think fit.

Senator GLASSEY (Queensland).—I do not agree with the proposal to omit the sub-clause, nor do I agree with the suggestion that because this is experimental legislation we should not define the term of engagement of the commissioner and the inspectors. As it is very desirable to procure the services of competent persons to fill these important offices, security of tenure should be provided for. If the services of these officers can be dispensed with at any moment, I am convinced that the Government will not be able to secure the most competent men to fill the offices. But if we stipulate in the Bill that they shall have a fair trial and enjoy some security of tenure, in order that they may be in a position to put the departments into an efficient state, it will afford them an opportunity to display their ability and capacity.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Give all civil servants the same terms of engagement.

Senator GLASSEY.—I do not place civil servants on the same plane as these officers. The commissioner should not come within the category of civil servants, nor should

the inspectors who will be immediately under his supervision. The commissioner will be the head of the civil servants, and will hold the balance between the Parliament on one hand, and the Ministry on the other. I do not place him in the same category as the head of the Customs or the Postal department. If we desire to secure the services of the most competent man we must provide for security of tenure. The most able man will not offer his services if the appointment is to be of a temporary nature. When a Commissioner for Railways is engaged in a State, he is placed for a term at the head of a number of civil servants, and is given an opportunity to put his department into an efficient state, and to prove his competency to discharge the duties of his office. I hope that the sub-clause will be retained.

Senator Sir FREDERICK SARGOOD (Victoria).—The Parliament has made provision in the Audit Act for the Auditor-General to hold office during good behaviour. The duties of the Public Service Commissioner will be quite as important as those of the Auditor-General, and his appointment should be during good behaviour. But the appointment of the inspectors, who are practically his lieutenants, should be for a term of seven years, as provided in sub-clause (2). I agree with Senator Glassey that the Government will not get a first-class man if he is offered an appointment determinable at pleasure. Unless they do, they had better not make any appointment. We want to secure a man who will discharge these very responsible duties without fear or favour. He should be absolutely free from political control, so that he can bring an unbiased judgment to bear on all the questions, many of them very difficult ones, which will arise in connexion with the amalgamation of the public services in the six States. The position will be no sinecure, and it is most important that the commissioner should feel that his position is absolutely safe, and that he will have good support in discharging the trust which is reposed in him. In order to test the matter I intend to move—

That after the word "commissioner," in sub-clause (2), the following words be inserted:—"Shall hold his office during good behaviour, and shall not be removed therefrom, unless an address praying for such removal shall be presented to the Governor-General by the Senate and the House of Representatives respectively in the same session of Parliament."

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

I N D E X

TO

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

SESSION 1901--2.

May 11, 1901, to October 10, 1902.

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PART I.

SPEECHES.

Explanation of Abbreviations.—*Adj.*, Motion of Adjournment; *ad. rep.*, Adoption of Report; *com.*, Committee; *cons. amds.*, Consideration of Amendments; *dis.*, Order of the Day Discharged; *expl.*, Explanation; *int.*, Introduction; *mes.*, Message; *m.*, Motion; *obs.*, Observations; *p.o.*, Point of Order; *q.*, Question; *1R.*, *2R.*, *3R.*, First, Second, or Third Reading; *recom.*, Recommended; *recons. amds.*, Reconsideration of Amendments; *cons. mes.*, Consideration of Message.

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PART II.

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FINANCE.

GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

HOME AFFAIRS.

**JUSTICE, ADMINISTRATION OF.
PAPERS.**

PARLIAMENT—

House of Representatives.

Senate.

PETITIONS.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

RULINGS—

Chairmen of Committees.

President, The.

Speaker, Mr.

TRADE AND CUSTOMS.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS.—*Adj.*, adjournment; *ad. rep.*, adoption of report; *amdt.*, amendment; *com.*, committee; *cons. amds.*, consideration of amendments; *cons. mea.*, consideration of message; *expl.*, explanation; *m.*, motion; *m.s.o.*, motion to suspend standing orders; *obs.*, observations; *recom.*, recommitted; *2r.*, second reading.

BILLS.

ACTS INTERPRETATION BILL:

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 32; second reading moved, 789; Bill read a second time, 796; considered in committee, 796, 831; Bill reported and recommitted, 832; reported, 847; recommitted, 1077; report adopted, 1080; standing orders suspended, and Bill read a third time, 1080; consideration of Senate's amendments, 1827; assent reported, 2745

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 1198; second reading moved, 1579; considered in committee, 1580; report adopted, 1671; Bill read a third time, 1799; assent reported, 2743

APPROPRIATION BILL (1901-2):

House of Representatives:

Standing orders suspended, 16446; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 16449; assent reported, 16735

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 16471; standing orders suspended, 16528; Bill read a second time and passed through its remaining stages, 16663; assent reported, 16735

BILLS—continued.

APPROPRIATION BILL (1902-3):

House of Representatives:

Standing orders suspended, 16446; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 16449; assent reported, 16735

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 16471; second reading moved, 16508; standing orders suspended, 16528; Bill read a second time, 16596; considered in committee, 16596, 16599; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 16714; assent reported, 16735

APPROPRIATION (WORKS AND BUILDINGS) BILL:

House of Representatives:

Standing orders suspended, 16446; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 16449; assent reported, 16735

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 16472; Bill read a second time, 16664; considered in committee, 16665; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 16667; assent reported, 16735

AUDIT BILL:

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 744; appropriation in committee, 1077; second reading moved, 1247; Bill read a second time,

BILLS—continued.

1257; considered in committee, 1257, 2106, 2215; reported, 2221; recommitted, 2634; report adopted, standing orders suspended, and Bill read a third time, 2743; consideration of Senate's amendment, 3474; assent reported, 3515

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 2743; second reading moved, 3219; Bill read a second time, 3233; considered in committee, 3233, 3362; report adopted, 3389; standing orders suspended, and Bill recommitted, 3459; report adopted, 3459; Bill read a third time, 3459; assent reported, 3551

BONUSES FOR MANUFACTURES BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 12243; second reading moved, 12851; debated, 13461, 13517, 13596; Bill read a second time, 13625; considered in committee, 13625, 13926, 14777; recommitted, 14781, 14782, 14808, 14837; standing orders suspended, 15606; Bill referred to select committee, 15626

CLAIMS AGAINST THE COMMONWEALTH BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Appropriation in committee, 16054-7; Bill read a first time, 16161; second reading moved, 16449; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 16454; report adopted, 16466; Bill read a third time, 16698; assent reported, 16735

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 16668; second reading moved, 16668; Bill read a second time, 16673; considered in committee, 16714; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 16728; assent reported, 16735

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 745; order of day discharged, 11238

COPYRIGHT BILL:*Senate:*

Leave to introduce, 7139.

CORONATION CELEBRATION BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Appropriation in committee, 11602; standing orders suspended, 11605; Bill read a first time and second reading moved, 11606; Bill read a second time, 11642; considered in committee, 11643; report adopted, 11649; Bill read a third time, 11649; assent reported, 11741

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 11650; standing orders suspended, 11655; second reading moved, 11655; Bill read a second time, 11673; considered in committee, 11673; report adopted, 11678; Bill read a third time, 11678; assent reported, 11888

BILLS—continued.**CUSTOMS BILL:***House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 745; second reading moved, 2090; debate resumed, 2284; Bill read a second time, 2327; considered in committee, 2327, 2401, 2515, 2659, 2684, 2745, 2824; message from Governor-General, 2941; Bill considered in committee, 2943; reported, 2957; recommitted, 3070, 3158, 3170, 3279; report adopted, 3288; Bill read a third time, 3416; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 4859; consideration of amendments, 4994; report adopted, 5065; consideration of message from Senate, 5347; report adopted, 5348; assent reported, 5584

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 3389; second reading moved, 3671; Bill read a second time, 3695; considered in committee, 3695, 3760, 3932, 4011, 4103, 4164, 4252; standing orders suspended, 4344; considered in committee, 4344, 4409, 4512; Bill reported, 4553; recommitted, 4554, 4597, 4668; standing orders suspended, 4754; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 4755; message from House of Representatives, 5085; consideration of message, 5183; report adopted, 5218; assent reported, 5517

CUSTOMS TARIFF BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Standing orders suspended, 11800, 11832; Bill read a first time, 11832; second reading moved, 11832; debated 11849; Bill read a second time, 11859; considered in committee, 11859; standing orders suspended, and report adopted, 11883; Bill read a third time, 11887; Bill returned from Senate with a message requesting certain amendments 14650; requested amendments considered, 14885, 14940, 14983, 15012, 15053; report adopted, 15169; consideration of message from Senate, 15676, 15782; assent reported, 15932

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 11888; second reading moved, 12001; debated, 12154, 12246, 12273, 12328, 12374, 12424, 12465, 12523, 12582; Bill read a second time, 12615; considered in committee, 12615, 12627, 12630; Division I., stimulants, 12641-12666; Division II., narcotics, 12707-12709; Division III., sugar, 12709; Division IV., agricultural products and groceries, 12709, 12750, 12785, 12808, 12898, 13148-13189, 13229-13269, 13311-13350, 13374-13425; Division V., Apparel and Textiles, 13425-13429, 13477-13514, 13555-13595, 13636-13662, 13819-13839, 13880-13917, 13959-13962; Division VI., metals and machinery, 13962-13972, 14014-14066, 14057-14084, 14085-14118, 14119-14156, 14158-14182, 14184-14210, 14210-14217; Division VII., metals and machinery, 14217-14245; Division VII., oils, paints, and

BILLS—continued.

varnishes, 14245, 14246-14284; Division VIII., earthenware, cement, china, glass, and stone, 14285-14306; Division IX., drugs and chemicals, 14306-14310; Division X., wood, wicker and cane, 14310-14333; Division XI., jewellery and fancy goods, 14334-14345; Division XII., leather and rubber, 14353-14379; Division XIII., paper and stationery, 14379-14395; Division XIV., vehicles, 14395-14410; Division XV., musical instruments, 14410-14414; Division XVI., miscellaneous, 14414-14443; resolutions reported, 14580; motion for adoption of report, 14618; amendment for recommitment of Bill, 14627; report adopted, 14628; message from House of Representatives, 15173; consideration of message, 15321, 15407, 15496, 15571; message from House of Representatives, 15780; consideration of message, 15813; report adopted, 15848; third reading moved, 15865; Bill read a third time, 15879; assent reported, 15989

DEFENCE BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 744; appropriation in committee, 779; second reading moved, 2159; debate resumed, 2958, 3102, 3186, 3292, 3416, 3515, 3591; Bill read a second time, 3607; considered in committee, 3607, 4392; order of day discharged, 11238

DISTILLATION BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 3621; second reading moved, 3728; debated, 4239, 4309; Bill read a second time, 4320; considered in committee, 4320, 4372, 4705; Bill reported, 4754; recommitted, 4893, 4979; standing orders suspended, report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 4994; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 5513; consideration of amendments, 5585; report adopted, 5594; message from Senate reported and considered, 5652; report adopted, 5653; assent reported, 5670

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 4976; second reading moved, 5022; Bill read a second time, 5023; considered in committee, 5023, 5085; Bill reconsidered, 5085; Bill reported, 5123; report adopted, 5218; Bill read a third time, 5452; message from House of Representatives, 5565; consideration of message, 5609; report adopted, 5610; assent reported, 5746

ELECTORAL BILL:*Senate:*

Bill read a first time, 9202; second reading moved, 9529; debated, 9745, 10325, 10405, 10493, 10595, 10674; Bill read a second time, 10712; considered in committee, 10712, 10737, 10788, 10855, 10951, 11006, 11151; standing orders

BILLS—continued.

suspended, 11151; report adopted, Bill read a third time, 11163; Bill returned from House of Representatives with amendments, 15181; amendments considered, 15227, 15286, 15659, 15754, 15800, 15848; resolutions reported, 15848; Bill recommitted, 15879; report adopted, 15896; message from House of Representatives, 16080; standing orders suspended, 16082; consideration of message, 16082; report adopted, 16101; message from House of Representatives, 16472; Bill returned by Acting Governor-General, recommending verbal amendments, 16528; amendments considered, 16663; report adopted, 16664; assent reported, 16735

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 11198; second reading moved, 13353; debated, 13783, 13841; Bill read a second time, 13850; considered in committee, 13850, 13942, 13992, 14500, 14584, 14637, 14653, 14703; Bill reported and recommitted, 14739; Bill reported, 14751; Bill recommitted, 14875, 15135; report adopted, and standing orders suspended, 15158; Bill read a third time, 15159; consideration of message from Senate, 16022; report adopted, 16054; message from Senate, 16165; consideration of same, 16466; assent reported, 16735

EXCISE BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 4859; second reading moved, 4916; Bill read a second time, 5020; considered in committee, 5020, 5051; Bill reported, 5059; report adopted, standing orders suspended, and Bill read a third time, 5127; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 5584; consideration of amendments, 5594, 5642; report adopted, 5643; assent reported, 5670

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 5123; second reading moved, 5290; Bill read a second time, 5291; considered in committee, 5291, 5434; Bill reported, 5452; standing orders suspended, and Bill recommitted, 5517; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 5518; message from House of Representatives, 5622; consideration of message, 5623; report adopted, 5623; assent reported, 5746

EXCISE ON BEER BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 2996; second reading moved, 3177; Bill read a second time, 3179; considered in committee, 3179, and report adopted, 3292; appropriation in committee, 3278, 3415; Bill recommitted, 3507; report adopted, 3591; Bill read a third time, 3622; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 5513; consideration of amendments, 5584; report adopted, 5585; message from Senate, 5667; assent reported, 5670

BILLS—continued.*Senate :*

Bill read a first time, 3671 ; second reading moved, 4354 ; Bill read a second time 4356 ; considered in committee, 4356 ; reported, 4372 ; recommitted, 4619, 4680, 5123 ; Bill reported, 5124 ; report adopted, 5218 ; Bill read a third time, 5452 ; message from House of Representatives, 5565 ; consideration of message, and report adopted, 5609 ; assent reported, 5746

EXCISE TARIFF BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Standing orders suspended, 11800, 11832 ; Bill read a first time, 11843 ; second reading moved, 11887 ; Bill read a second time and passed through its remaining stages, 11887 ; assent reported, 14651

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 11890 ; second reading moved, 12616 ; Bill read a second time, 12627 ; considered in committee, 14469, 14529 ; report adopted, 14578 ; motion for third reading, 14628 ; Bill read a third time, 14636 ; assent reported, 15173

FRANCHISE BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 744 ; order of day discharged and Bill withdrawn, 11341

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 11369 ; second reading moved, 11450 ; debated, 11552 ; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 11569 ; Bill reported, 11599 ; standing orders suspended, and Bill read a third time, 11679 ; consideration of message from House of Representatives, 13002 ; assent reported, 13555

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 11700 ; second reading moved, 11929 ; Bill read a second time, 11953 ; considered in committee, 11969 ; report adopted, standing orders suspended, and Bill read a third time, 11984 ; consideration of message from Senate, 13145 ; report adopted, 13146 ; assent reported, 13595

GOVERNMENT INSCRIBED STOCK BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 13144 ; second reading moved, 13437

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S ESTABLISHMENT BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 12090 ; second reading moved, 12213 ; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 12231 ; report adopted and standing orders suspended, 12242 ; Bill read a third time, 12243 ; assent reported, 13190

BILLS—continued.*Senate :*

Bill read a first time, 12848 ; second reading moved, 13011 ; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, and report adopted, 13049 ; Bill read a third time, 13096 ; assent reported, 13147

HIGH COURT PROCEDURE BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 740

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 740 ; second reading moved, 3497 ; debated, 4625, 4802 ; Bill read a second time, 4858 ; considered in committee, 4858, 5065, 5127, 5221, 5312, 5350 ; Bill reported and recommitted, 5393 ; Bill reported, 5394 ; recommitted, 5566, 5607 ; Bill reported and recommitted, 5608 ; Bill reported, 5608 ; report adopted, 5667 ; third reading moved, 5671 ; debated, 5801 ; Bill read a third time, 5828 ; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 8540 ; amendments considered, 8365 ; report adopted, 8644 ; assent reported, 8738

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 5788 ; second reading moved, 7141 ; debated, 7234, 7330 ; Bill read a second time, 7355 ; considered in committee, 7355, 8302, 8365 ; standing orders suspended, report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 8392 ; assent reported, 9007

INTER-STATE COMMISSION BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 743 ; appropriation in committee, 830 ; second reading moved, 2668 ; debated, 3094, 5654, 7021, 7068 ; order of day discharged, 11238

JUDICIARY BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 740 ; appropriation in committee, 779 ; second reading moved, 10962

LOAN BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Bill read a first time, 13273 ; second reading moved, 13431 ; debated, 13747

LOAN APPROPRIATION BILL :*House of Representatives :*

Appropriation in committee, 13273 ; Bill read a first time, 13276 ; second reading moved, 13436

MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL :*Senate :*

Bill read a first time, 4668 ; order of day discharged, 16728

BILLS—continued.

PACIFIC ISLAND LABOURERS BILL :

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 740 ; second reading moved, 5492 ; debated, 5828, 5893, 5994, 6813 ; Bill read a second time, 6824 ; motion to refer Bill to select committee, 6888 ; considered in committee, 6947, 6990 ; report adopted, 7011 ; Bill read a third time, 7059 ; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 8540 ; consideration of amendments, 8632 ; report adopted, 8635 ; assent reported, 8738

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 7057 ; second reading moved, 7561, 7669, 7781, 7961 ; Bill read a second time, 8010 ; considered in committee, 8010, 8232 ; Bill reported, 8281 ; motion for recommittal, 8283 ; motion for adoption of report, and amendment to delay its consideration, 8294 ; report adopted, 8302 ; Bill read a third time, 8392 ; assent reported, 9007

PARLIAMENTARY ALLOWANCES BILL :

House of Representatives :

Appropriation in committee, 16057 ; Bill read a first time and second reading moved, 16058 ; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 16058, and passed through its remaining stages, 16060 ; Bill returned from Senate with an amendment, message considered, and report adopted, 16710 ; assent reported, 16735

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 16081 ; Bill read a second time, 16502 ; considered in committee, 16503 ; report adopted, 16528 ; Bill read a third time, 16599 ; assent reported, 16735

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS BILL :

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 744 ; appropriation in committee, 830 ; order of day discharged, 9105

PARLIAMENTARY EVIDENCE BILL :

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 3551 ; second reading moved, 3842 ; Bill read a second time, and considered in committee, 3845 ; order of day discharged, 16728

POST AND TELEGRAPH BILL :

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 641 ; second reading moved, 749 ; Bill read a second time, 1064 ; considered in committee, 1070, 1154 ; instruction to committee, 1192 ; considered in committee, 1200, 1449, 1592, 1671, 1799, 1896, 2029, 2223, 2575 ; Bill reported, 2599, and recommitted, 2721 ; Bill reported, 2743, and recommitted, 2937 ; standing orders suspended, and report adopted, 2937 ; Bill read a third time, 2937 ; Bill returned from

BILLS—continued.

House of Representatives with amendments, 5218 ; consideration of amendments, 5518, 5610, 5623, 5788, 5856 ; report adopted, 5881 ; message from House of Representatives, 5976 ; consideration of message, 6861 ; report adopted, 6885 ; assent reported, 7462

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 3070 ; second reading moved, 3170 ; debated, 3608, 3622 ; Bill read a second time, 3661 ; considered in committee, 3661, 3730, 3797, 3885, 3968, 4053, 4132, 4205, 4472, 4561 ; Bill reported, 4596, and recommitted, 5059 ; Bill reported, 5065 ; report adopted, 5127 ; Bill recommitted, report adopted, 5220 ; Bill read a third time, 5221 ; message from Senate, 5992 ; consideration of message, 5992, 6007 ; report adopted, 6010 ; message from Senate, 6947 ; assent reported, 7462

POST AND TELEGRAPH RATES BILL :

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 8282 ; second reading moved, 8497 ; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 8513 ; report adopted, 8592 ; Bill read a third time, 8693 ; Bill returned from House of Representatives with amendments, 15629 ; consideration of amendments, 15743 ; report adopted, 15754 ; assent reported, 15848

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 8731 ; second reading moved, 15110 ; debated, 15159, 15182 ; Bill read a second time, 15205 ; considered in committee, 15205, 15469, 15539 ; report adopted and standing orders suspended, 15571 ; Bill read a third time, 15571 ; assent reported, 15896

PROPERTY ACQUISITION BILL :

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 743 ; withdrawn, 1669

Senate :

Bill read a first time, 1670 ; second reading moved, 2017 ; Bill read a second time, 2029 ; considered in committee, 2029, 2482, 2604, 2690, 3029 ; Bill reported, 3053 ; Bill recommitted, 4681, 4755, 4861 ; motion for adoption of report, and amendment for recommittal of Bill, 4924 ; report adopted, 4945 ; motion for third reading, 5021 ; Bill read a third time, 5022 ; Bill returned from House of Representatives with amendments, 7186 ; consideration of amendments, 7492 ; assent reported, 8711

House of Representatives :

Bill read a first time, 5059 ; second reading moved, 5394 ; debate resumed, 5459 ; Bill read a second time, 5486 ; considered in committee, 5486, 5505, 5600, 5643, 5653, 7011 ; Bill reported, recommitted, and reported, 7021 ; Bill recommitted,

BILLS—continued.

7076, and passed through its remaining stages, 7077; message from Senate, 7667; consideration of message, 8395; assent reported, 8731

PUBLIC SERVICE BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Bill read a first time, 743; appropriation in committee, 779; second reading moved, 1080; debated, 1257; Bill read a second time, 1309; considered in committee, 1409, 1509, 1524, 1620, 1723, 1831, 1956; reported, 2011; recommitted, 2066; reported, 2089; report adopted, 2637; motion for third reading, 2637; standing orders suspended and amendment for recommitment of Bill, 2656; Bill read a third time, 2659; Bill returned from Senate with amendments, 9870; amendments considered, 10989, 11039; message from Senate, 11503; consideration of message, 11918; report adopted, 11929; message from Senate, 12213; assent reported, 12850

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 2631; second reading moved, 3348; debated, 3857; Bill read a second time, 4681; considered in committee, 4681, 4781, 4865, 4945, 5029, 5452, 5881, 5965, 6948, 7038, 8592, 8693, 9031, 9109, 9203, 9322, 9428, 9637, 9717; Bill reported, 9745; standing orders suspended, 9839; motion for adoption of report, 9839; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 9843; message from House of Representatives, 11098; consideration of message, 11303, 11369; report adopted, 11379; consideration of message from House of Representatives, 12145; report adopted, 12154; assent reported, 12273

PUNISHMENT OF OFFENCES BILL:*Senate:*

Standing orders suspended, 8591; Bill read a first time, 8591; second reading moved, 8591; Bill read a second time and passed through its remaining stages, 8592; assent reported, 9007

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 8690; second reading moved, 8731; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 8733; Bill reported and passed through its remaining stages, 8734; assent reported, 8738

ROYAL COMMISSIONS BILL.*House of Representatives:*

Motion for leave to introduce, 15271; Bill read a first time, 15271; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 15355; report adopted, 15356; Bill read a third time, 15469; assent reported, 15896

BILLS—continued.*Senate:*

Bill read a first time, 15448; Bill read a second time, considered in committee, and report adopted, 15659; Bill read a third time, 15733; assent reported, 15813

SERVICE AND EXECUTION OF PROCESS BILL:*Senate:*

Bill read a first time, 31; withdrawn, 482

SERVICE AND EXECUTION OF PROCESS BILL (No. 2):*Senate:*

Bill read a first time, 1071; second reading moved, 1489; Bill read a second time, 1497; considered in committee, 2301; report adopted, 2482; Bill recommitted, 2599; report adopted, 2690; Bill read a third time, 2801; Bill returned from House of Representatives with amendments, 4945; consideration of amendments, 5300; report adopted, 5311; message from House of Representatives, 5565; assent reported, 6839

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 2941; second reading moved, 3440; debated, 4374; Bill read a second time, 4376; considered in committee, 4377, 4460; Bill reported, and recommitted, 4467, and reported, 4472; Bill recommitted, 4801; report adopted, 4893; Bill read a third time, 4979; message from Senate, 5505; consideration of message, 5599; report adopted, 5600; assent reported, 6134

STATE LAWS AND RECORDS RECOGNITION BILL:*Senate:*

Bill read a first time, 1071; Bill read a second time, and considered in committee, 1497; report adopted, 1498; Bill read a third time, 1568; Bill returned from House of Representatives with amendments, 3272; amendments considered and report adopted, 3473; assent reported, 4924

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 1670; second reading moved, 2089; Bill read a second time, 2090; considered in committee, 2941; report adopted, 3070; Bill read a third time, 3158; assent reported, 4977

SUPPLY BILL:*House of Representatives:*

Ministerial statement, 569; appropriation in committee, 848; standing orders suspended, 1020; Bill read a first and second time, and considered in committee, 1021; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 1022; consideration of message from Senate, 1174; ministerial statement, 1174; Bill laid aside, 1185

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 1023; motion for suspension of standing orders, 1023, and debate adjourned, 1033; ministerial

BILLS—continued.

statement, 1136; order of day for resumption of debate discharged, 1154; Bill returned to House of Representatives, with a request that it be so amended that it may show the items of expenditure comprised in the sums which it purports to grant to His Majesty, 1154

SUPPLY BILL (No. 2):

House of Representatives:

Standing orders suspended, 1185; appropriation in committee, 1185; Bill read a first time, 1186; second reading moved, 1186; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 1190; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 1191; consideration of message from Senate, 1471, 1499; message from Senate, 1524; assent reported, 1670

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 1198; Bill ordered to be printed, 1200; second reading moved, 1339; Bill read a second time, instruction to the committee, 1341; considered in committee, 1348; reported and recommitted, 1357; report adopted, 1365; consideration of message from House of Representatives, 1467, 1498; Bill read a third time, 1499; assent reported, 1617

SUPPLY BILL (No. 3):

House of Representatives:

Appropriation in committee, 2102; consideration resumed, 2173; standing orders suspended, Bill read a first and second time, and considered in committee, 2198; Bill reported, 2221; Bill read a third time, 2215; assent reported, 2745

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 2282; second reading moved, 2343; Bill read a second time, 2371; standing orders suspended, 2373; Bill considered in committee, 2373; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 2391; assent reported, 2743

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4):

House of Representatives:

Appropriation in committee, 5977; standing orders suspended, Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 5992; assent reported, 6011

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 5971; standing orders suspended, 5971; Bill read a second time, 5972; considered in committee, 5972; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 5976; assent reported, 6839

SUPPLY BILL (No. 5):

House of Representatives:

Appropriation in committee, 8716; standing orders suspended, Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 8730-1; assent reported, 8738

BILLS—continued.

Senate:

Standing orders suspended, 8691; Bill read a first and second time and considered in committee, 8705; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 8711; assent reported, 9007

SUPPLY BILL (No. 6):

House of Representatives:

Appropriation in committee, 10260; standing orders suspended, 10264; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 10264; assent reported, 10492

Senate:

Bill read a first time, and standing orders suspended, 10299; second reading moved, 10313; Bill read a second time, 10323; considered in committee and passed through its remaining stages, 10325; assent reported, 10444

SUPPLY BILL (No. 7):

House of Representatives:

Standing orders suspended, and appropriation in committee, 11172; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 11188; assent reported, 11199

Senate:

Standing orders suspended, and Bill read a first time, 11163; second reading moved, 11163; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 11169; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 11170; assent reported, 11290

SUPPLY BILL (No. 8):

House of Representatives:

Appropriation in committee, 11984; standing orders suspended, Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 12000; assent reported, 12036

Senate:

Standing orders suspended, 12000; Bill read a first time and second reading moved, 12016; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 12023; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 12032; assent reported, 12145

SUPPLY BILL (No. 9):

House of Representatives:

Appropriation in committee, 12939; standing orders suspended, Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 12994; assent reported, 13190

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 12995; standing orders suspended, and second reading moved, 13096; Bill read a second time and considered in committee, 13110; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 13127; assent reported, 13147

BILLS—continued.**SUPPLY BILL (No. 10):***House of Representatives:*

Appropriation in committee, 13665; standing orders suspended, Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 13698; assent reported, 14486

Senate:

Bill read a first time, standing orders suspended, and second reading moved, 13699; Bill read a second time, 13707; considered in committee, 13707, 13806; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 13819; assent reported, 14014

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The standing orders do not prevent an amendment to increase a salary from being moved. The Chair is not in a position and does not propose to interpret the Constitution, 3383

Bills.—If a clause is amended, it cannot be postponed, 1162, 15310

A new clause cannot be moved before the Committee has gone through the Bill, though the subject of the new clause may be proposed in the shape of a proviso to a clause. New clauses must be taken in the order in which they come, 1214

When a Bill is recommitted there is really another Committee; and anything can be done, 1214

A Bill cannot be so amended as to take it outside its title, 1350

Until it is moved that the report on a Bill be brought up, it is not competent to move that any clauses be reconsidered, 1355

When a Bill is reported to the Senate, any senator may move for a recommitment, 1356

Where an amendment to a clause has been moved it is postponed if the clause is postponed, 1461

The Committee does not deal with the marginal note of a clause, 1606

An amendment which conflicts with a decision of the Committee is out of order, 3033

If a senator objects an amendment cannot be withdrawn, 3365

The Committee cannot go back to a clause which has been passed, 4107

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It is usual to allow a little more latitude to a Minister than to others, 14113

A senator may quote the number of electors behind a majority of the Committee on a question; but it is out of order to discuss the policy of senators individually, 15444

Divisions.—It is not permissible to move that the Committee divide while a senator is addressing the Chair, 1614

A senator should sit on the right of the Chair when he desires to vote with the ayes, 14399

The vote of a senator sitting on the side of the noes will be counted with the ayes if he so wishes, but he ought to have taken his seat with the ayes, 14401

Supply Bill.—If a senator desires to discuss any item which has been passed, the schedule to the Supply Bill must be recommitted, 1351, 1355

The Committee cannot undo what it has done without recommitting the schedule, 1352

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Tariff Bill.—On a motion for a request to add an article to the special exemptions a senator cannot criticise the general administration of the Customs Department, but he can criticise its decision on that article, 13833

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When a Bill is recommitted to reconsider certain clauses the Committee is at liberty to make an amendment which had been rejected at a previous stage, 4607

Any clause may be reconsidered before the Bill is reported, 5027

An amendment cannot be withdrawn after it has been put from the Chair, and the Committee has decided to divide thereon, 5045

By concurrence a new clause can be put without a recommitment of the Bill, 5059

The provisions of a Bill described as an Act may be incorporated in the Bill, 5088

The clauses and schedules of a Bill have to be taken in the order in which they stand, 5972

It is not in order to move an amendment contradictory of a provision in a clause that has been agreed to, 8632

After a sub-clause has been amended it is too late to move its omission, 9324, 10871

Whatever is resolved upon at the consideration stage of a Bill can be to some extent qualified or varied on a reconsideration of the clauses; but it will be necessary to recommit the Bill for the purpose of reversing any decision of the present Committee, 10756

Only consequential amendments may be made in a portion of a clause to which both Houses have agreed, 11323

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An amendment to the question that the Bill be reported should be relevant, 16727

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RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (Senate)—continued.

The right to make incidental references to other items, by way of illustration, must be exercised only within reasonable limits, 12641, 12700, 12754

Where a senator desires the reduction and another the increase of a duty, the motion for the reduction will be put first. If a senator wishes to draw attention to an item it must be done before the item is agreed to. Where it is generally desired the exemptions will be put separately, 12641, 13387

No senator is obliged to give notice of his intention to submit a motion relating to an item, 12680

On a motion to limit the operation of the duty on tobacco general references may be made to the success or otherwise of a Government monopoly in the manufacture of the article. The motion is relevant, and does not conflict with the notice of motion on the business-paper, 12685-7

It is out of order to tediously repeat complaints of want of notice of a motion, 12692, 12708

Where an irregular reference has been permitted to be made to a question not before the Chair the rule of relevancy will not be enforced against the leader of the Opposition, 12737; or any other senator, 12746

The question of the effect of negating an item in the Tariff is a constitutional one which the Chair has no jurisdiction to decide, 12792

It is in order to discuss the effect of a duty on a State or to compare the former duties in the States with the Federal duty, and the alternative proposal before the Chair, 12821

When a senator indicates his desire to submit a motion the question before the Chair must be stated in such a form that if negated he shall not lose his opportunity of doing so, 12825

On an item of the Tariff it is out of order to discuss the question of a White Australia, 12828-30

A proposal to alter or abolish a duty should take the form of a substantive motion, 12922

On an item the Chair has no alternative but to put to the Committee the question that the item stand as printed, 13188

Once a proposal has been put from the Chair it precludes, until it is withdrawn with the consent of its mover, the submission of a motion in regard to an earlier part of the item, 13387

A personal explanation is in order if it is relevant to the item, 13498, 14450

In dealing with the special exemptions relating to an item it is only competent to move for a request to omit or to add an article, 14184

It is competent for a senator to move a request that the form of an item be altered, or that any part of it be omitted; and after the form of the item has been settled it will be for the Committee to consider the rate of duty, 14234

The consideration of a portion of an item cannot be postponed, 14270

The rejection of a motion for a reduction of the duty on one article in an item will not preclude the submission of a motion for a reduction of the duty on all the articles in the item, 14384

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A written objection to a ruling on a point of order may be briefly explained, 1948

It is irregular to discuss a matter foreign to the question, 1944, 1951, 2044, 2248, 2386, 2390, 2493, 5565, 5627, 5630, 5862, 5884, 5890, 6951-2, 6978-9, 8306, 8318, 8619, 9338, 10715, 10745, 10756, 11677, 12029, 13167, 13241, 13248, 13266; but some latitude is allowed when personal matters have been introduced into the discussion, 8383

Personal matters concerning other gentlemen should not be introduced, 10751

A senator is at liberty, by way of illustration, to make use of any argument which is relevant to the question, 4194, 5545

On a motion to report progress a senator cannot speak, except by leave, 4354

Unless he is going to appeal, a senator cannot comment on a ruling of the Chair, 4607

A senator may illustrate his argument on a clause by referring to other clauses, but he should not go into the details of any other clause, 4795

Where there was a general understanding that the fullest latitude should be permitted in the discussion of a clause, a senator need not confine his remarks to the amendment before the Committee, 4947

On a clause of the Public Service Bill a senator may refer, by way of illustration, to the correspondence arising out of a statement to the press by the head of a department, 4953-4

The denial of a senator must be accepted, 5618, 5627, 14575

No debate is allowed on a motion to report progress, 8271-3

A question which has been decided cannot be discussed, 8317, 9034

On a Supply Bill it is out of order to discuss the number of salaried Ministers in the Senate, 10324

Personal matters should not be discussed, 11677, 14373

A senator has a right to be heard in silence, but he has no right to reflect on any senator, 12696, 14416

An altercation between senators is disorderly, 12696, 12736, 13494

Personal interjections should not be made, 12697, 13495

It is for the Committee to say whether a senator is guilty of undue repetition after two warnings from the Chair, 13242, 16657

It is very improper for a senator to be singing while another is speaking, 14433

On an item in the Appropriation Bill the discussion should be relevant, 16609, 16625

Divisions.—If the vote of a senator is questioned he is called to the table and asked on which side he proposes to vote, 11069, 11161

After a division is called for a senator cannot rise to address the Chair, 12791

RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (Senate)—
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When the doors have been locked it is the duty of every senator within the Chamber to go either to the right or to the left of the Chair, 14389

Where by inadvertence a senator has voted in a division, the division list will be corrected by the Chair, if no exception is taken, 14435, 14442

Motion to report progress cannot be moved a second time until the expiry of a quarter of an hour, 8272

Parliamentary Language.—Any senator is at liberty to express the opinion that there has been "a waste of time," 4182; or to suggest that any senators wish to unseat the Government in order to distribute patronage amongst their friends, 8390; or to state that the Opposition took a certain course "simply to assert their authority," 13582

It is disorderly to interject, but not to express the opinion that "this is a wanton and unjustifiable waste of time," 4515; or "that this is 'stone-walling,'" 12693

Points of Order.—Only one point of order can be heard at a time, 1944, 12927

A senator who rises to a point of order cannot be heard while any senator is discussing a question of order, 1945

It is not possible to ask whether a point of order is itself in order, 12927

A point of order cannot be taken against the Chair while a statement is being made to the Committee, 16714

Quotations and References.—It is most irregular to mention a Bill which is before the other House, 2036

No reference is allowed to a point of order which has been decided, 4515

A question which has been disposed of cannot be referred to, 5184

It is out of order to refer to a Bill not before the Senate, 5612; or to quote from a debate in the other House, 9043, 9131, 12776

A senator may allude to but not read a speech made on the Bill at a previous stage, 6878

A quotation should be relevant to the question, 8270

It is irregular to refer to the attitude of a party in the other House, 12775

A senator may refer to the records of the other House, but he cannot allude to its debates of the current session, 12799, 13586, 15778

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It is out of order to allude to a debate of same session on a question or Bill not being then under discussion, 13502, 16655

Rulings.—When a written objection to a ruling is received the Chairman is required at once to lay the matter before the President for his decision, 1947, 1948

A dissent from a ruling must be stated in writing, 16727

Supply Bill.—Senators have a right to make suggestions and to be given information in regard to the various items. It is a convenient practice to put the schedule in divisions, 2373

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to dictate to the Chair, 14340

to accuse senators of a "deliberate waste of time," 4182; of an "underhand attack," 12692

to interject "this is a wanton and unjustifiable waste of time," 4515;

to say a senator "is willing to be the catspaw of despotism," 4606; has been "eternally on the grab for land," 13116; or is a "political criminal," 13419; or "has sold the people pretty well," 13571; or "a contemptible creature," 14567

to accuse a senator of obstruction, 5202; of "ungentlemanly" conduct, 14153

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to charge the Government with a "disgraceful exhibition," 6884

to refer to the action of the Governor-General, 9432

to imply that a senator is breaking his pledges to his constituents, 12696

An expression which is regarded as offensive should be withdrawn, 8322, 12696, 12746, 13345, 13571

It is for the Chair to decide whether an expression is offensive, 13345

A senator should not use such strong language as "the Victorian is the greatest political coward God ever made," 13504

Votes.—When a senator, sitting on the right of the Chair, gave his name to the tellers as voting with the noes, his vote cannot be challenged after fresh business has been dealt with, 1943

According to the standing orders a senator cannot remain in the Chamber without voting, 1944

In voting with the ayes on an amendment to a clause, when the numbers were equal, the Chair thought it was following the constitutional practice of affording another opportunity for its consideration, 1951

See *BEST*, Senator.

Chairman of Committees (House of Representatives):

As to the Chair retaining its seat until a question is being finally submitted, 2173

As to the use of special type to show the Senate's amendments in Bills, 4995

As to the partial abrogation of the Standing Orders when attention is called to the absence of a quorum, 7634

As to withdrawing the naming of Mr. Conroy, 7654, 14869; Mr. Joseph Cook, 8056; Mr. Poynton, 12234

As to the duty of the Chair in relation to members who are snoring, 8190

RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (House of Representatives)—*continued.*

Bills.—When it is desired to test the sense of the Committee on a question the amendment should be so worded that, if negatived, it will not block another member from raising another question for determination, 1552

If a sub-clause has been amended by the omission of any words, a member may move to omit subsequent words, but not the sub-clause, 1654

When, at the beginning of a sub-clause, some words have been left which, standing by themselves, are absurd, the Chair will take an instruction from the Committee to omit the words, 1656

An amendment to a late part of a clause must be withdrawn temporarily to enable an amendment to an early part of the clause to be moved, 1734

An amendment which is not contrary to the decision on a previous amendment is in order, 1841

No amendment can be moved in a part of a clause where the Committee has decided that the words of that part shall stand, 1956

Where a member desires to move an amendment to a clause which has just been agreed to, the Committee may allow the clause to be put again, 2429

After a sub-clause is amended, the Committee cannot go back to amend a previous sub-clause, 2552

An amendment to a prior part of a clause must be dealt with before an amendment to add words to the clause can be moved, 2664

According to the standing orders the postponed clauses of a Bill must be taken before the schedules; but with the concurrence of the Committee the Chair will put the schedules before the postponed clauses, 2772

An amendment to one part of a clause precludes the Committee from amending an earlier part, 3814, 5595

A motion to report progress may be proposed by a Minister at any time, 3839; and in certain circumstances the Chair may decline to accept such a motion from a private member, 14868

Until an amendment to an amendment is disposed of, no further amendment can be moved, 3917

A motion or an amendment is not in possession of the Committee until it has been stated from the Chair, 3918

An amendment is not in order unless it is relevant to the subject matter of the Bill or pursuant to an instruction, 3921

An amendment cannot be re-submitted to the Committee, 4916

An amendment to omit from a clause a word which has not been dissented from by the Senate is not admissible, 11057

It is competent for the Committee to amend a second proposal to which the Senate has not yet agreed, but not to deal with the original proposal, 11922

The amendment of Mr. Higgins to clause 2 of Governor-General's Establishment Bill is in order, 12233

RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (House of Representatives)—continued.

The amendment of Mr. Hughes to substitute "monopolies" for "manufactures" in the short title of the Bonus for Manufactures Bill cannot be accepted, because the Governor-General's message and the order of leave contain no mention of monopolies, 13631

A clause cannot be postponed after it has been amended, 14592

The rejection of an amendment to add words does not prevent a member from moving another amendment, 14983

Debate.—When a member rises in his place to speak, he must address the Chairman by name, 1008

A member must confine his remarks to the clause before the Committee, 797, 1983, 13626, 15205

The rule of relevancy applies to an amendment, 1630, 3914-5, 5574, 7008, 11644, 11963, 12235, 12237, 14832, 14840, 14861, 14868, 15142, 15551; a motion to report progress, 8183-4, 8190-1, 8202; a motion to postpone a clause, 14782; a motion not to make an amendment requested by the Senate, 15030, 15043, 15098-9

The discussion on a clause which has been agreed to cannot be re-opened, 1669, 14780

Where the leader of the Opposition was permitted to make a statement not strictly relevant to the clause before the Committee, a reply was allowed to the Minister in charge of the Bill; but to avoid confusion and disorder the discussion must now be confined to the clause, 1983

After an amendment is made in the last line of a clause, the previous part cannot be discussed, 2552

Although the rule is for the discussion to be confined to the clause, still it is usual to allow requests for postponement to be made to the Minister in charge of the Bill, 4394

On the first item of the Tariff a general discussion is allowed; but it should be confined to the items, 7121, 7123

The discussion on any item in the Tariff should be relevant, 7231, 7297, 7547, 7737, 7741, 7747, 7765, 7773, 7895, 8072, 8078, 8103, 8122, 8150, 8152, 8170, 8483, 8673, 8920, 8927, 8935, 8989, 9059, 9066, 9071, 9095-6, 9249, 9258, 9285, 9406-8, 9515, 9583, 9692, 9940, 9971, 10058, 10295, 10380, 10553, 10772, 10828, 11140, 11205, 11774; but an incidental reference to other items is not out of order, 7232, 7651, 8655, 9065, 9594, 10379, 11507, 11707, 15785-7

With concurrence, the leader of the Opposition may reply to a Ministerial statement, 7513; and the Prime Minister to a statement by the leader of the Opposition, 7844; and the Minister in charge of the business may make a general statement, and the leader of the Opposition reply thereto, 8122, or the Minister in charge of the Bill may make a general statement, 14885

The Chair is bound by the practice of the House of Commons to recognise only the Government and the Opposition, and any general statement should be confined to the leaders of those parties, 8123-5

RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (House of Representatives)—continued.

It is irregular to allow a general debate on a statement which has been made by the Minister in the course of his speech, and which members have been afforded an opportunity of refuting or replying to, 8458

Only the member concerned may reply to a statement in which his conduct has been reflected upon, 9406, 9416

On an item in the Tariff, it is not in order to make lengthy comparisons between the treatment accorded to two industries or classes of producers, or to reflect upon the conduct of the Government, 8655-6, or to make more than an incidental reference to the question of wages, 10554

When the Minister exercises his inherent right to refer to other items in the Tariff, a reply is permitted to the leader of the Opposition, but to no other member, 9071

The collection of new duties, in accordance with Ministerial authority, is a subject for debate in the House, not in Committee, 7518

It is not usual to allow a general discussion on a suggested adjournment, 7660, 8589

The denial of the accuracy of a member's statement must be accepted, 7667, 7862, 8463, 8568, 16395

A member should be referred to by the name of his constituency, 7920

Except when he is addressing the Committee, a member has no right to ask a question, 8648

It is out of order to discuss the exemption of any articles which are free of duty, 9687

On a motion to postpone a division of the Tariff, its subject matter cannot be discussed: members can only advance reasons why it should or should not be postponed, 9941-2

On an item in the Tariff a member may only debate the question of free-trade or protection in so far as it applies to the industry to which the item relates, 10015

On an amendment to reinsert an item in the Tariff it is not competent to discuss the action of the Government with regard to another omitted item, 11507

On an amendment to a clause it is irregular to refer to "the twisting and turning about" conduct of the Minister in charge of the Bill, 14873

Personal remarks are irregular, 14874

Where members generally evince a desire that the discussion on a request of the Senate should be allowed to extend to other requests of a similar kind it will be permitted by the Chair, 14988

Disorder.—It is distinctly disorderly for a member to walk out of the Chamber while he is being called to order for defying the authority of the Chair, 7654

When for disobeying the ruling of the Chair a member is ordered to discontinue his speech, he can only move that he be further heard, 14868

Distillation Bill.—The Chair must allow the proposed addition to the Senate's amendment in clause 58 to go to the Committee, 5588

Divisions.—The provisional rules do not prevent members from crossing the floor after tellers have been appointed, 892

RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (House of Representatives)—continued.

When a division is called for, the bells will be rung, and after the doors are closed and the tellers appointed, the question will be restated, 979

There can be no division until the doors are locked and the sand has run out, 2440

When the Chair has declared the voices on a question and its decision is challenged, it will keep the bells ringing while the sand in the glass is running, and it will not again alter its decision unless it is altered on a division; no matter how great may become the desire that there shall be no division the Chair will not yield from its position until a division is taken, 2440

Unless more than one member calls for a division, it cannot be taken, 2552

A member is not bound to vote in accordance with his speech; he must vote according to his voice when the question was finally put, 5288

The mover of an amendment is at liberty to vote as he thinks fit, 9590

Where the numbers are equal it is the rule for the Chair to vote so as to permit of further discussion, 9612, 9802, 10117, 10786, 11710, 11781

The Chair has no jurisdiction in regard to pairs, 9803

A member must remain and vote after the doors are locked and the question is stated from the Chair, 10172

Strictly speaking it is not in order to withdraw a call for a division; but with the view of facilitating business and conserving time, the Chair, with concurrence, has allowed, and will allow a call to be withdrawn, 11435

Documents.—A document cannot officially be laid on the table, except in the House, 11535

Interjections.—A member should refrain from making interjections which are personally offensive to members, 7649, 7661

It is a breach of the standing orders to interrupt a speaker, 8648; but reasonable interjections may be made, 8649

Every member has a right to be heard in silence, 9404

According to the standing order an interjection or interruption of any kind, whether relevant or irrelevant, is disorderly, 9974

While short interjections will not be noticed by the Chair, lengthy and continuous interjections are disorderly and must be desisted from, 10000

New Clauses.—There is nothing in the standing orders to prevent any member from proposing a new clause at any time he may think proper. Where a member has placed his new clause upon a paper, which is not the business-paper, it is not to be treated as if it appeared upon the business-paper, and it may be moved, 1995

New clauses are introduced after the clauses of the Bill have been considered, 2548

When a Bill is recommitted for the reconsideration of certain clauses, a new clause cannot be inserted, 4582

Order.—The Chair cannot maintain order unless the Committee is determined that it shall be maintained, 2750

RULINGS—Chairman of Committees (House of Representatives)—continued.

Points of Order.—A point of order as to its relevancy can be taken after an amendment is made in a clause, 3925

When a point of order is raised the Chair is bound to give a ruling, 13461

Post and Telegraph Bill.—The amendment of Mr. Hume Cook to clause 26, and Mr. Page's amendment to the amendment are in order, 3917, 3922

The amendment of Mr. McDonald to clause 26 is not in order, 3921

Clause 26, as amended, is in order, 3925

Clause 27 is within the scope of the Bill, 3928

The amendment of Mr. Clarke to clause 55 is in order, 4102

Quorum.—When attention is called to the want of a quorum no member may leave the Chamber, 7311

If a quorum is present at any time before the Speaker arrives in the Chamber, the Committee can proceed with business, 7922-3

Quotations and References.—A member cannot quote from or allude to a debate in the Senate, or allude to the Senate, 3734; or refer to what may occur there, 11515; or to members of the Senate or its actions, 15090

Every member has the right to reply to any statement made in debate, and to quote his own notes of the statement; but it is out of order to read an extract from any report of a debate of the same session. He is not required by the standing orders to give the authority for any statement he may make, 3832-6

A member is not precluded from taking notes of a speech in shorthand or longhand, and quoting from those notes during the debate on any question, 3839

A shorthand report of a speech in the current debate may be quoted from, if it has not been procured from a stranger, 3887

No member may quote from *Hanard* the report of a speech made in the current session, 3892

Until the procedure is more clearly defined the Chair will allow a member to read a document or an extract referring to the current debate, 3896, 4073

A member cannot allude to what took place on the Bill in another place, 4562; or read from a report relating to another Parliament, 9709, or from the report of a speech made during the session, 9962

It is not out of order to make any references to the Maitland speech of the Prime Minister for the purpose of showing that he did not in that speech make a certain statement, 9960

If a petition contains any strictures on a debate during the session it cannot be read; its substance should first be stated to enable the Chair to judge as to its relevancy, 11534

Requests for Amendments.—To a Supply Bill will be put in their order, but there may be a general discussion on the first request within the bounds of the message from the Senate, 1475

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The Tariff cannot be discussed on an item for the Federal Patents Office, under the sub-heading of Miscellaneous, although it appears under the general heading of Minister for Trade and Customs, 1015

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It is out of order to discuss the action of the chairman in voting in a division, 16205

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Adjournment of the Senate.—Under the standing orders a motion for adjournment to bring on some matter which cannot be brought on in the ordinary manner must be moved before the business is called on. It must be moved before the questions are called on, and in the form that the Senate at its rising adjourn to some unusual day, or to some unusual hour, and it can only be moved to bring forward a matter of pressing public importance, 895, 7465. It is for the Senate to decide the question of urgency, 5958, 14346. The debate should be confined to the question at issue, 14352

A senator cannot move the adjournment of the Senate to debate a matter of urgency when it is objected to, 1022; and, if moved, the business of the day must be called on when any senator objects to the debate proceeding 10300, 14347; only one such motion can be moved at same sitting, and it must relate to one matter, 15849

According to the standing orders a motion for adjournment to close a sitting must be put immediately, without debate, 946, 1072, 5458, 7057, 7362; and no question may be asked unless it relates to the business of the Senate, 14284

Strictly speaking the motion to adjourn the Senate ought not to be debated; but on an exceptional occasion it is allowed by leave of the Senate, 3492, 3493

Amendments.—Although there are no standing orders, the ordinary practice of Parliament ought to be observed, that if an amendment to a later part of a question is carried, an amendment to an earlier part of the question is not admissible, 636

A further amendment to a question cannot be moved while there is an amendment before the Senate, 645

Pending the adoption of standing orders, although theoretically there can be only one amendment before the Senate, other senators may indicate amendments which will be moved at a later stage; and when the amendments are put, they will be put in their order, 648

A senator cannot move two amendments at the same time, 658

A senator can only move one amendment at a time; his amendment and his suggestion of another amendment should be consistent with each other, 660

A senator cannot move to alter the words of an amendment which has been agreed to, 685

On a motion to make an adjourned debate an order of the day for to-morrow, the only amendment that can be moved is one to adjourn the debate to some other day or hour, 1037

While the Chair has grave doubts as to whether an amendment for the appointment of a Chairman may be moved to the question for the President to leave the chair, he will put the amendment, as the circumstances are most exceptional and cannot occur again, and because it is necessary to the conduct of business, 1066, 1067

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Where a proposed amendment has been amended by way of addition, it is not competent to move to amend an early part thereof, 1069

When the question for the President to leave the chair has been amended by the addition of certain words, a senator cannot move an amendment except it be an addition. It is too late to move the omission of any words; but the Senate can negative the motion if it chooses, 1069

A senator may not move an amendment which is a direct contradiction of a decision of the Senate, 1069; or after he has spoken to the question, 16476

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On a motion for a special adjournment it is permissible to make indirect references to a Bill on the order-paper; but it must not be discussed, 5433, 5954, 7558

A senator ought not to discuss a Bill on the order-paper more than is necessary to show that an adjournment is not required, 9815

Where Government business is given precedence a Government notice of motion can be taken before a private one on the same subject, 15321

Bills.—The practice of italicizing in a Bill all words relating to the imposition of penalties, or the appropriation of fines, has no application to the Senate. Under section 53 of the Constitution Act, it is competent to introduce into the Senate a Bill containing such provisions. Unless the Senate orders otherwise, the Chair will instruct the Government Printer to print such provisions in the Post and Telegraph Bill in Roman type, 763

Where the House of Representatives has sent up a Bill by message, the Senate has the whole Bill in the form in which it was sent up. The fact that a Minister proposes to lay a paper on the table does not alter the Bill; the Bill sent by the House of Representatives is the only Bill before the Senate, 1036, 1038

A Bill which has been read a first time will not appear on the business-paper unless it is set down, 1041

Where the standing orders are suspended to facilitate the passage of a Bill, its second reading may be moved immediately, 1045

The enacting clause of a Bill cannot be dealt with unless an instruction is given to the committee, 1199

A Bill which has been amended cannot be recommitted on the day it is reported; a time must be fixed for taking the report into consideration, and moving its adoption; and, in the meantime, the Bill, as reported, must be printed, 2599

When a Bill is recommitted to reconsider a clause, and to insert a new clause, the rest of the Bill cannot be considered in committee, 2599

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A motion to recommit a Bill supersedes a motion to adopt the report thereon, 8282

A clause of a Bill must be recommitted entirely, if at all, 8283

It is not competent for a committee on a Bill to go back and alter in a clause words which have been agreed to by both Houses, 11327

The Tariff Bills may be remitted to the same committee, 12145

The report on the Customs Tariff Bill may be adopted immediately, without suspending the standing orders, 15848

An irrelevant amendment to the question that the Bill should be reported is out of order, 16728

Business of the Senate.—The standing orders permit the leader of the Government to move at the close of the business of a day—that is, whenever he thinks it to be necessary—a motion fixing some other hour and day for meeting than have been fixed by the sessional order. In reference to the conduct of the business of the Senate it is not necessary to give notice. Motions relating to the business of the Senate are constantly carried without notice. For instance, the sittings are suspended without notice. The theory is that all senators should be present; and if they are not, then, of course, they ought not to complain that the business of the Senate has been arranged in any particular manner. No one knows at any moment what emergency may arise. It is not necessary to suspend the standing orders. The motion to fix an earlier day was strictly in accordance with the standing orders, 1567

Motions connected with the business of the Senate may be moved without notice. It is entirely for the consideration of representative of the Government whether he moves without notice or whether he gives notice, 4164

Chairman of Committees.—As a standing order provides that Bills shall be referred to a committee of the whole, a senator must be chosen to temporarily take the chair until a Chairman of Committees has been elected, 1067

If the standing order is contradictory of the Constitution, then undoubtedly the Chairman could not have a casting vote, but must have a deliberative vote. But he could not exercise his deliberative vote without overriding the standing order, because it clearly gives him a casting vote. The Chair does not think it makes very much difference whether the Chairman's vote was intended as a casting vote or a deliberative vote; he was quite justified in the vote he gave, 1951

The Chairman is the proper person to deal with an occurrence in Committee: the Senate can have no cognizance of it unless it is reported, 16713

Close of Debate.—According to the South Australian practice, the debate on a question is concluded when an amendment to and words to the question is negatived, 641

When a motion has been amended, another debate may take place if any senator wishes to speak on the amended motion being put, as a new question is raised by the amended motion, 2806

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After the mover of a motion has replied, no senator is entitled to speak, 14628-8

Customs Bill ought not and could not be amended to provide for the time when Inter-State free-trade shall begin, 3693, 3694

Customs Tariff Bill.—It is no breach of the spirit of section 55 of the Constitution Act to provide that the Customs Act shall be incorporated and read as one with the Customs Tariff Act, 14628

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The speech of a senator should be relevant to the question, 638, 670, 769, 776, 1036, 1153, 1196, 1339, 1447, 3343, 3348, 5429, 5762, 5771, 5780, 5956, 9025, 9833, 11148, 16484

Pending the adoption of standing orders, every senator is entitled to make one speech, except the mover of the motion, who has a right of reply. Although theoretically there can be only one amendment before the Senate, other senators may speak, and indicate amendments which will be moved at a later stage. When the amendments are put they will be put in order, and if the original motion is amended, then a new question arises, and every senator can speak again. When they are speaking they can discuss the motion, and all the amendments that have been proposed or suggested, 648

Every senator has a right to speak to a question after it has been amended, 682

According to the standing orders, a senator who has no right of reply cannot make a second speech giving reasons for withdrawing a motion, 778

It is irregular to discuss a matter on a motion for fixing a day for the resumption of an adjourned debate; but as the matter was of very great importance, the Chair thought it was wise to allow the debate to greatly exceed the ordinary limits, though it must not be regarded by senators as a precedent, 1039

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On a point of order as to the application of a rule, a senator cannot argue whether the rule is inconvenient, but what it means, 3126

By leave a senator may make a personal explanation without notice, but it cannot be discussed by any other senator, 1135

When a senator desires to postpone a motion, he cannot argue the question, 2116

The debate on the second reading of a Bill must be relevant to the Bill, 2359, 3684, 3685, 3693, 3694, 7175, 10318, 10501, 12378, 13013-5, 13035-6

The subject of an order of the day cannot be discussed on a question for its postponement, 2575

RULINGS—President, The—continued.

Any member of the minority on a committee can give his reasons in debate for disagreeing with the report of the majority, 2575

No debate can take place as to the form of a question which has not been asked, 3218

Senators ought not on every possible occasion to discuss and rediscuss matters which have been disposed of or which are put down for discussion, 3693

It is quite in accord with the standing orders to discuss the third reading of a Bill, 8692

As the Senate has no opportunity of discussing grievances, and as the standing orders are provisional only, until the Senate objects, grievances may be discussed on the second reading of a Supply or Appropriation Bill, 11164; but at the third reading stage a senator should confine his remarks as far as possible to the subject matter of the Bill, 16015-7

Neither the leader of the Senate nor any other senator is entitled to make a statement unless he moves a motion except by leave of the Senate, 11099

It is out of order to refer to discussions in committee on a Bill, 11162

A senator can make remarks about persons, whether they be in the House or out of it, 12385

It is irregular to use offensive words against either House or against a statute, except in moving for its repeal, 15860-2

A discussion on a ministerial statement is irregular, 15863-4

It is not out of order to discuss all matters in any way affected by the provisions of an Appropriation Bill, and even of a Supply Bill, 16541

Divisions.—When the numbers are equal the motion passes in the negative, 1068

A motion that the Senate do now divide must be moved without a speech, 2119

The vote of a senator should be recorded on the side on which he sits, 14401

The standing orders are founded on the supposition that the President does not vote, 15657

Election Petition.—Before the Senate can consider the report of a Select Committee or come to a decision thereon, notice of a specific motion will have to be given, 2481

Interruptions.—No senator can interrupt a speaker except on a point of order, or to ask that the words be taken down, unless the speaker himself gives way, 3023

It is disorderly to hold conversations across the chamber, 13047

Instructions.—A Committee can only act within the powers delegated to it, and therefore it cannot deal with the enacting part of a Bill without an instruction, 1199

Joint Committees.—A joint committee, such as the Library Committee, has, in the absence of a mandate from either House, the power to fix its own quorum, 764

Messages.—There is no way of sending a message from the Senate to the State Parliaments, 3553

Motions.—A complicated motion will be put in parts if it is desired, 1339, 1578

It is irregular to move a motion in which are involved two questions having no relevancy to each other. On the present occasion, as

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the Chair did not hear exactly the terms of the notice when it was given, the senator in whose name it stands may move the second part of his motion, after the first part has been dealt with, 1427-8

By leave, the wording of a motion may be altered after it has been debated, 1799

It is competent for the Senate to discuss any abstract proposition, 2481

A senator cannot move to amend his own motion, but when he replies he may ask leave to do so, though it would be more regular if an amendment were moved by another senator, 2805

With the concurrence of the Senate the Chair will strike a word out of a motion and substitute another, 3127

If a senator objects, a motion cannot be moved in an amended form, 3465

A motion cannot be moved without notice when a senator objects, 3546

A motion, not contradictory of a resolution of the Senate of the same session, is in order, 6855, 8495

A motion to report progress must be decided without discussion, 8275

Notice.—When the regular time for giving notice has passed, a senator must get leave to give notice of a motion, 1200

Orders of the Day must be called in their turn, 3459

When an order of the day is called on, any senator may move its postponement to another day, 5021

Papers.—The printing of papers laid upon the table is not a question for the Government, but for the Senate and its Printing Committee, 5181

If the Senate orders a paper to be printed it will not rest with the Printing Committee to say whether it shall be printed, 5183

A Minister may lay a paper upon the table by command, but not on his own motion, 5609

Parliamentary Language.—Not out of order to say that a senator has made an incorrect statement, 2122; or silly and stupid remarks, 14349

A senator is in order in saying that some senators have spoken in a certain way, and that he is anxious to know whether they will vote in accordance with their expressed opinions, 3019

Personal Explanation.—When the indulgence of the Senate is asked by a senator it is only to explain how he has been misrepresented, not to show that he was right in his contention. Re-arguing a question is not a personal explanation, 1579

Until a speaker sits down no senator has the right to interrupt; but any senator who considers that he has been misrepresented can rise at the close of the speech and offer an explanation, 3023

A senator may not make a personal explanation in reference to the vote he proposes to give; he may offer an explanation in regard to any material part of his speech in which he has been misrepresented; but he cannot introduce any new material, 3028

RULINGS—President, The—continued.

By leave of the Senate a senator may make a personal explanation on behalf of an absent senator, 3218

It is not proper for a senator to contradict in the Senate statements made in a newspaper, and call the contradiction a personal explanation, 8364

Petitions.—The proper way to approach the Senate is by petition, and not by communication to the President, 1136

Telegrams and letters cannot be presented as petitions, 2222

No petition can be received unless it has been left with the Clerk and certified to be in accordance with the standing orders, 3546, 5516, 9105, or is in fact in accordance with the standing orders, 9107, except it is near the end of the session, when a slight technical objection may be waived, 16597

Any citizens of the Commonwealth may send in a petition, so long as it is respectfully worded, and make allegations relevant to its prayer, which may or may not be correct, 9105

In all cases in which a petition is not certified to by the Clerk he will be asked if it is correct, 12660

A petition without a prayer is not in order, 12749

Point of order must be taken before other business intervenes, 15658

Private Business.—If it is desired to continue the debate on a motion beyond the time allotted to the discussion of motions, under standing order 224 the senator in charge of the first order of the day must be asked whether he will move that such order of the day be postponed. If he does not move that it be postponed, it, as a rule, is debated. Each order of the day must be postponed before the interrupted debate on the motion can be resumed, 3126

Privilege.—A question of privilege suddenly arising can be brought on immediately, but a senator cannot, as a matter of privilege, call attention to a statement in a newspaper unless it reflects on the Senate. If a senator brings forward a question of privilege he must state before he argues the matter what motion he is going to move, and it must be a motion in vindication of the privileges of the Senate. It is not in the power of any senator to get up and make a statement concerning privilege unless he intends to submit a motion which will vindicate the privileges of the Senate which he alleges have been infringed. A senator ought to give notice of motion before he can bring forward a matter which took place outside the Senate some time ago, 896

If a matter has arisen outside the chamber since it last met, and if a senator wishes to bring it forward as a question of privilege which has suddenly arisen he can do so if he will state what motion he intends to move in order to vindicate its privileges. When a senator desires to bring forward a matter reported in the press he must produce the report, and it must be read by the Clerk, 897

RULINGS—President, The—continued.

When a senator rises to speak to a question of privilege he should at once state what it is, and announce the motion he desires to move, 1199, 14310

In order to give a senator the right to move a motion without notice, the question of privilege must have suddenly arisen, 1200, 14345

A breach of a sessional order at the previous sitting is not a matter of privilege; it is a matter of the conduct of business, 1559

A question in regard to the seat of a senator is always a matter of privilege, 3018

No matter of privilege can be referred to on a motion for adjournment, 5458, 14346, or except when it arose, 15657

The manner in which the *Hansard* staff report the debates does not constitute a breach of privilege: it may be discussed either on a specific motion or on a special motion for adjournment, 14346

Questions upon Notice.—Without a request from the senator in whose name it stands, a question ought not to be asked by another senator, 1192, 3218

It is not necessary to withdraw a question which a senator does not desire to ask. The proper procedure is for the senator not to say anything, 3218

If a senator adopts an objectionable form of asking a question the Chair cannot intervene unless the question violates the practice of the Senate or the standing orders, 3218

No argument or opinion should be offered in a question, 3931; but reasons may be given, 13476

It is irregular to ask a Minister for his opinion on a point of law: when the opinion of the law officers is required the proper way is to pass an address to the Crown, 4596

It is in order to ask a senator a question concerning a matter or a Bill of which he is in charge in the Senate, or to question a Minister on matters of general policy, 9108

A senator is not concerned with a motion within the meaning of the standing order simply because he makes a speech on the motion, 9202

Questions without Notice.—A senator may ask a question arising out of the reply to any question, 896, 1023, 3337

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In his reply a Minister should not argue the question, 5084, 15173

There is no obligation on a Minister or other senator to answer a question, 15311

Quotations and References.—A senator should not refer to speeches made in the other House this session, 1313

Former debates may be referred to by a senator so far as is necessary to illustrate his argument, but no further, 3342

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In the discussion of a question a senator may read a statement with regard to facts, or a contradiction of alleged facts; but no comment upon the debates in the same session on other subjects may be quoted, 3851

It is not in order to quote any document reflecting on the conduct of business in the Senate, 13801

A senator may quote from any paper or report which has been laid upon the table, if it is relevant to the discussion, 5411, 5765, 5780

No reference can be made to the proceedings of a Committee which has not yet reported, 5755, 5778-9, 5787; but it is permissible to say that its proceedings have not been brought before the Senate for two months, 5755

Except by leave a senator cannot refer to speeches delivered in a previous debate of same session, 5773

A ruling, given in another debate, may be referred to or quoted from, 5783

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Strictly speaking, reference cannot be made to a former debate of the same session; but inasmuch as the present debate is really a continuation of that debate the rule will be relaxed, 6849

It is not out of order to read an extract from a speech made by a senator at a previous stage of the Bill during the same session, 6878

No comments on debates in the other House in the current session can be read, 7154, 13023

The debate on a Bill which has been passed cannot be referred to, 7171, 11379

When there is no question before the Chair, a telegram relating to a communication which was sent to the Senate cannot be read by a senator except by unanimous leave, 7560; but any communication bearing on the subject of the Bill under discussion which will give information to the Senate can be read by a senator in the course of his speech, 7574

A senator ought not to refer to a former debate of this session, 9814, 16066

The records of the other House may be referred to, but not the debates in the current session, 12776, 13013

Requests for amendments.—It is not necessary for the Senate to give its reasons for requesting amendments in a Bill which it may not alter, 1365

Until the two Houses are in accord as to any request or modifications of request, the House of Representatives ought not to make amendments in any Bill which the Senate cannot amend, as it has no right to assume that the Senate will agree to such modifications. In its message the House of Representatives states that it has agreed that it will amend the Supply Bill, but the Bill has not been amended. It is not the Clerk of that House who should amend the Bill, but the House itself. Now that the

RULINGS—President, The—continued.

House of Representatives has agreed to all the Senate's requests except one, and the Senate has agreed to the modification made by the House of Representatives in that one request, a message will have to be sent, and the House of Representatives can amend the Bill in accordance with such agreement, 1468-71

Returns.—As a matter of procedure the Senate ought not to order returns the production of which it cannot enforce; but it is quite within its competency to pass a motion for a return, 638

Right of Reply.—Under the standing orders in force, a reply is not permitted to a senator who has moved an order of the day which is not a second reading of a Bill, 778, 3018

A reply is permitted to the mover of a substantive motion, but the mover of a motion on notice which becomes an order of the day before it has been moved has not the right of reply, 3018

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A ruling is only given by the Chair as the occasion arises, 1067

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If the Chairman of Committees considers that an objection to a ruling was taken at once, the Chair will not overrule his decision, 1947

The Chair will not give a ruling on a point of order which ought to have been taken in the Committee. The Chairman is the proper person to appeal to, 1948

The reasons for a senator's dissent should be stated in his exception to the Chairman's ruling, 16727

Select Committees.—Under the standing orders, select committees have to be appointed by ballot. After it is resolved that a select committee should be appointed, it can be appointed right away, or at some future time. If senators wish to vote for seven, they must include the mover. If they vote for six, and do not include the mover, the vote will be in order. But if they vote for five or for six, and include the mover, their papers will not be in order. If the mover wishes to indicate what senators are willing to act there is no objection to his doing so, 3127

Speaking Twice.—When a senator has moved an amendment to a question he cannot speak again to that question, 637

In the South Australian Legislative Council the representative of the Government has the opportunity to speak twice to a question; this right is given to him by sessional order, 679

A senator ought not to make a speech in asking leave to withdraw a motion which is an order of the day, 778

The mover of a motion must not make a second speech on that question unless he is replying, 945

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A senator cannot make a second speech on a motion which has been moved by another senator, 1032

A senator who has spoken to the main question cannot speak to an amendment to that question except by the leave of the Senate, 3846

A second speech on the same question is not permitted, 7803

After a senator has exercised his right of speech he cannot speak to an amendment to the question, 15651

Standing Orders.—The committee had to make some alterations in the standing orders of the State Parliament which it suggested should be temporarily adopted, because the Senate cannot adopt standing orders which are contrary to the Constitution, 748

The Chair is not going to allow a technicality to stand in the way when the Senate has only temporary standing orders, 1066

It is not necessary to suspend the standing orders to move for an earlier sitting of the Senate than is provided for by sessional order, 1567

Undoubtedly any standing orders which are contrary to the terms of the Constitution are null and void, 1951

Where notice of motion has been given, the standing orders may be suspended by a majority of those present in the Senate, 2372, 2373

So long as the provisional standing orders exist it is the duty of the Chair to administer them, 3846

A motion to suspend the standing orders may be moved either as a substantive motion, or as a contingent motion, 4754, or without notice, 5516, and when it is moved without notice it must be carried by an absolute majority, 13002. No senator has the right to object to the motion being moved without notice, 14579

Unparliamentary Language.—It is not in order to impute motives to a senator, 1445

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to state that the Parliament or the Administration of Victoria are corrupt, 5433, or that the Parliament of Queensland did a "most dastardly thing," or "violated every pledge of honour," 7680

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to characterize a provision in an Act as "unfair and unjust," 8293, or a question as a piece of "gross" impertinence, 15311

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President, Deputy—

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See BEST, Senator.

Speaker, Mr.

Address in Reply.—A member is entitled to make any statement on the subject under discussion, but not to go into other matters which are not connected with the main question. If he is prepared to connect the Commercial Bank with the main question, he can proceed, 617

The remarks of a member should be relevant to the subject before the House, 708

A member should confine himself to the address in reply, 709

A member cannot discuss an election in a State in 1891 unless he can connect his remarks with the present issue, 712

Adjournment of Debate.—When a member has moved the adjournment of the debate on a question, no discussion can be allowed on that motion, 2157

It is not quite regular for a member to move the adjournment of a debate after having commenced his speech; but under the circumstances probably the House will excuse the irregularity, 5673

On a motion to adjourn the debate a member is not allowed to discuss other questions, 6234

Adjournment of the House.—Before a member can move the adjournment of the House to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, five members, including himself, must rise in their places, 1072

The subject of the motion must be stated and handed in to the Chair, 3060

The only amendment that can be moved to a motion for the House at its rising to adjourn to a certain day is an amendment relating to the next sitting day, 9559-60

Amendments.—On a motion, which is simply a recommendation to the Standing Orders Committee, it is competent to move that the prayers should be read by a chaplain instead of the Speaker, but it will be necessary, before it can make any definite provision, that some appropriation should be arranged for, 819

If the House pleases, a consequential amendment to a motion may be made without being moved, 822

An amendment to a later part of a question should not be made until a proposed amendment to an earlier part of the question is dealt with, 822

An amendment to a motion cannot be accepted where it raises quite a new issue, 828

On a motion to refer an election petition to the Elections and Qualifications Committee, a member may move any amendment he may think fit, 1073

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An amendment for the appointment of a Select Committee to report on the advisability of establishing Commonwealth or State iron works is relevant to the subject matter of a Bill relating to bonuses for the encouragement of manufactures, 13528, 13602

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An amendment to an earlier part of a question cannot be moved unless an amendment to a later part is temporarily withdrawn, 16140

An amendment to a question cannot be moved by a member who has spoken, 16159

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On the motion to go into Committee on "grievance day," it is out of order to discuss any question which is dealt with in the Tariff, 7615, though incidental references to the subject are allowable, 9159; or to discuss any phases of the subject of a notice of motion, 9179, or a Bill on the order-paper, 14776

Bills.—In South Australia the practice requires that Bills shall be presented at the bar; but that practice is not provided for in the standing orders under which the House is working, and so it has not been required to be followed, 740

The custom of the House of Commons is to require, if necessary, a statement concerning the scope of a Bill on the motion for leave to introduce; but no such statement could be made there, or ought to be made here, on the motion for first reading, 742

The standing orders will provide that after a Bill has been presented it cannot be altered, except by the House; but on the present occasion, simply to facilitate business, it would be well to follow the course of allowing drafting alterations to be made in a Bill after it has been read a first time, 743

The title of a Bill must agree with the wording of the order of leave, 744

Under the standing orders no further motion is necessary after a Bill has been read a third time, 1022

In the future the distribution of Bills should take place through the recognised channel, and then the officers of the House must take the responsibility of it, 1247

The distribution of Bills is a matter for the officers of the House, and one for which they accept the full responsibility. The Chair has taken steps which will insure the prompt distribution of Bills from time to time, 1618

After a Bill has been read a second time and committed, a member may move to refer to the committee a petition for the omission of certain clauses, 2632

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So soon as the question for third reading is put from the Chair, it is not possible to move for the recommittal of the Bill. 2648, 2649

If no amendments have been made in a Bill the report may at once be adopted, 2651

When a member wishes to bring before the House any alterations made in a Bill in committee, he may propose the recommittal of the whole Bill or of a clause or clauses before the question for third reading is put; but after that stage a motion for a recommittal becomes impossible, unless the question for third reading is withdrawn by leave, 2651

When the order of the day for a third reading is called on, and before the question is put, any member may move for the recommittal of the Bill. But when once the motion for third reading has been put, no member can move for a recommittal unless the motion for third reading be withdrawn, 2651

The third reading of a Bill should not be taken immediately after the adoption of the report, unless the standing orders have been suspended, 2653

No substantial injustice having been done to any one by allowing the third reading of the Public Service Bill to be moved prematurely, there is no course open to the Chair but to allow the debate to proceed; but in the future the strictest reading of the standing orders will be insisted upon, 2656

By leave of the House a member may withdraw his motion for the recommittal of a Bill, and he can then move his motion in another form. He cannot amend his original motion; he must either proceed or withdraw it, 2659

After a Bill has been read the second time it may be referred to a select committee, 5895

When a Bill is reported with amendments the adoption of the report may be moved with concurrence, and any member may propose that the Bill be recommitted, 15145

Chairman of Committees.—If a member desires to question the action of the Chairman, he should move that the ruling be dissented from. The Chairman is not, by virtue of his office, deprived of the right to vote in the House, 11821

Circulation of Documents.—Any document which is not of an objectionable character may be circulated amongst the members of the House, without any disturbance of the business, upon the authority of any member, 3395, 4980

Close of Debate.—After the mover of a motion has replied, no further debate can be allowed, 26, 3061

The speech of the mover of an order of the day does not close the debate, 2648

No member can address the House after the right of reply has been exercised on the motion to terminate the sitting, 4666

After the first part of a complex motion is put no further debate is permitted, 11803, 15626

Debate.—Until standing orders are adopted, members should observe such rules as are common to the procedure of every legislative body, 26

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A member should address his remarks to the Chair, and not to members personally, 92, 95, 701, 6695

It is out of order to allude to members by name, 174, 1397, 6760; but when a member has referred to himself as "the youngest member," it may be applied to him by another member, 174

The House has been acting in accordance with the practice of the House of Commons, and the ordinary practice guiding chairmen of public meetings, 742

The remarks of a member should be relevant to the subject of the debate, 818, 1399, 3476, 3477, 3874, 6063, 6080, 6085, 6323, 6575, 6583, 6628, 6699, 6711, 6898, 6904, 7735, 8779, 9500, 15726

On a motion to refer an election petition to the Elections and Qualifications Committee it is fully competent for a member to advance reasons why it should or should not be so referred: it would not be right to restrict debate so long as it is confined to that question, 1075

A motion for the recommittal of a Bill may be debated by the mover or any other member, 2651

Where some hours have been spent in discussing a motion for the third reading of a Bill on the assumption by members generally that the right course of procedure had been followed, the Chair does not think it would be justified in ruling the debate out of order, 2653

The rule of relevancy applies to the discussion on a point of order, 2655; a motion for adjournment under standing order No. 38, 3069, 3278, 3412, 7199, 10233, 10246, 11336-8, 11958, 11967, 15129, 15459, 15462; a motion for second reading of a Bill, 4240, 5910, 6003, 11613, 11617, 11620, 11858, 12229, 12855, 13781, 15197; a motion to refer a Bill to a select committee, 6897-8, 6904; a motion for printing a paper, 14938; a motion for appointing a select committee, 15622; a motion for a message, 15797, 15799

A Minister is perfectly in order in making such remarks as he desires before he submits a motion to suspend the standing orders, 2957

There is no rule applying to one member, no matter who he may be, which does not apply equally to others. No practice would be tolerated which applied to one member and not to all, 3059

If the mover of a motion desires to continue his speech on a later day, it will be competent for him to ask leave and for the House to grant it, 3155

At the second reading stage of a Bill the discussion should be confined to its principles, 13357, though a member is not out of order in incidentally referring to details, or in discussing a principle by grouping clauses, 13845

When the second reading of a Bill is moved the question of an adjournment cannot be discussed in the absence of a motion, 4917

On a motion of censure, relating to financial and Tariff proposals, it is in order to quote the opinions of any member at any time on

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free-trade or protection, to follow a line of argument which is intended to prove that owing to free-trade or protection, or to any principle included in a policy advocated or condemned, a certain result had accrued, 6630; to discuss New South Wales finances in so far as they relate to the fiscal issue, 6678; to refer to the minimum-wage question only if it can be connected with the Tariff proposals, 6688; but it is not in order to refer to the conduct of a Minister or other member in a State Ministry years ago, 6063; or to relate the history of what any politician has done in the past, or to refer to any past action of Ministers in any State, 6069, 6323; or to discuss at length the question of arbitration, 6335; or to canvass the reasons why a tender for a bridge was or was not accepted, 6608; to refer to the publication of erroneous statements in 1893 by the directors of banking and other institutions, 6617; or to any matter which cannot be closely associated with the financial and fiscal proposals of the Government, 6630; or to the financial methods of New South Wales Governments, except so far as they relate to fiscal issues, 6678

A member cannot read his speech to the House, 6694

When a member is addressing the House he cannot ask any member a question, 6699

On an amendment to a motion the debate will not be confined to the amendment, except in the case of members who have already spoken before the amendment is moved, 6670

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On a motion to go into Committee of Supply, it is not competent to allude to the fiscal issue or other questions before the Senate such as the customs duties, 13057

By leave a member may exceed the time limit on a motion for adjournment under standing order No. 38, 15453-5

Disorder.—The Prime Minister will be asked to protect the Chair if Mr. McDonald persists in continuing his remarks after he has been requested to resume his seat, 26

Election Petition.—In the absence of a standing order, the Chair has felt bound to reserve the petition against the return of Mr. Solomon for the consideration of the Elections and Qualifications Committee to be appointed, 76

An election petition which was presented before the adoption of standing orders is duly before the House, although it does not comply therewith; in other cases it could not be received, 1075

Any member is entitled to speak on a motion to refer an election petition to the Elections and Qualifications Committee, but it is undesirable, 11846

Elections and Qualifications Committee.—The warrant of the Speaker nominating the Committee must lie on the table for four sitting days before it can act, and during that period a member may take exception to the nominations, 1073

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Interruptions.—Under the practice of the House of Commons, which the House follows, and under any possible standing orders, interjections are disorderly. Any interjections that do not break the current of the thought of the speaker are not objected to; but other interjections are undesirable, 112

Frequent interjections interfere with a member's speech, 198, 6091, 6094, 6268, 6314, 6365, 6460, 6774

It is not in order for any member to answer a question put by a speaker who is addressing the House, 421

The Chair takes no notice of interjections so long as they do not interfere unduly with the current of a speaker's remarks; but it cannot allow cross-firing from one member to another. It is quite impossible for the reporters to do their work correctly while these interjections are going on, 706

Interjections are quite out of order, and while the Chair does not take any notice of very short ones, it could not ignore a remark which was partly a repetition of a member's speech, 2326

All interjections are out of order, but so long as they are short and do not interrupt the thread of the speech the Chair will not interfere, 4810

No member can be allowed to continually interrupt the speaker, 6038, 6094, 6120, 6153

Members should not converse in such a tone as to be heard all over the chamber, 6120

A member who is misrepresented should not interject, but should wait until the close of the speech to make an explanation, 6588

Constant interjections are disorderly, and reduce the proceedings very much below that standard which ought to be maintained, 11936

It is disorderly for members to stand about the gangways and passages, and to converse in such a tone as seriously to interfere with the speaker being heard, 11965

Language, Parliamentary.—It is permissible for a member to say he desires to avoid objections, "whether they be captious or not," 3057, or to use the term "stone-walling" in a general sense, 7629

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Leave of the House.—Where the leave of the
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Messages.—Under standing order 381, any
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A breach of the privileges of a select committee ought first to be brought under the notice of that body, not the House, 12090

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Questions without Notice.—A member may ask a question arising out of the answer to a question which he has put; but he is not at liberty to make a speech, 947, 6989; nor to debate the subject of an answer, 5669

Ordinarily no discussion is allowed in asking a question; but by leave of the House the acting leader of the Opposition may proceed further than is usually permissible, 1618

There is no direct provision in the standing orders for the asking of questions without notice; but as there is no prohibition of the practice, if a Minister chooses to answer a question without notice, the Chair does not think that it should object, 1954; and the provisions in standing orders 94 and 95 will apply to questions without notice as well as to questions upon notice, 1955, 16674

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References to matters which occurred long before the formation of the Parliament are undesirable, 10233

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Requests for Amendments.—The course followed by the officers of the House with the Supply Bill could not very well have been controlled by any reference to the practice of the House of Commons, because there is none of the kind. And it could not very well have been controlled by any precedent of this Parliament, because there has been no case of a similar kind. It could be influenced only on adherence to the standing orders; and the course followed has been the nearest possible approach to the form laid down in No. 195, 1507

The question of receiving and considering the Senate's message relating to the Customs Tariff Bill is one to be determined by the vote of the House, 15676

Right of Speech.—A member cannot make a speech when there is no question before the House, 947

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When an order of the day is formally moved the mover is still entitled to speak; but his speech will not close the debate, 2648

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Every member has a right to speak once to every question; and when a member has exhausted his right to speak to a question by moving a motion, even though he withdrew that motion, he could not speak again with a view to move another, 3057

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Speaker expressly avoided asking the Governor-General to approve of his appointment by the House, or making any request for privileges which it enjoys by statute, 304

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Standing Orders.—An absolute majority of members must be present before the standing orders can be suspended without notice, 2637

A motion to suspend the standing orders may be moved at any time; but when it is moved, without notice the vote of an absolute majority of the House is required to carry it, 2957–8, 8738

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